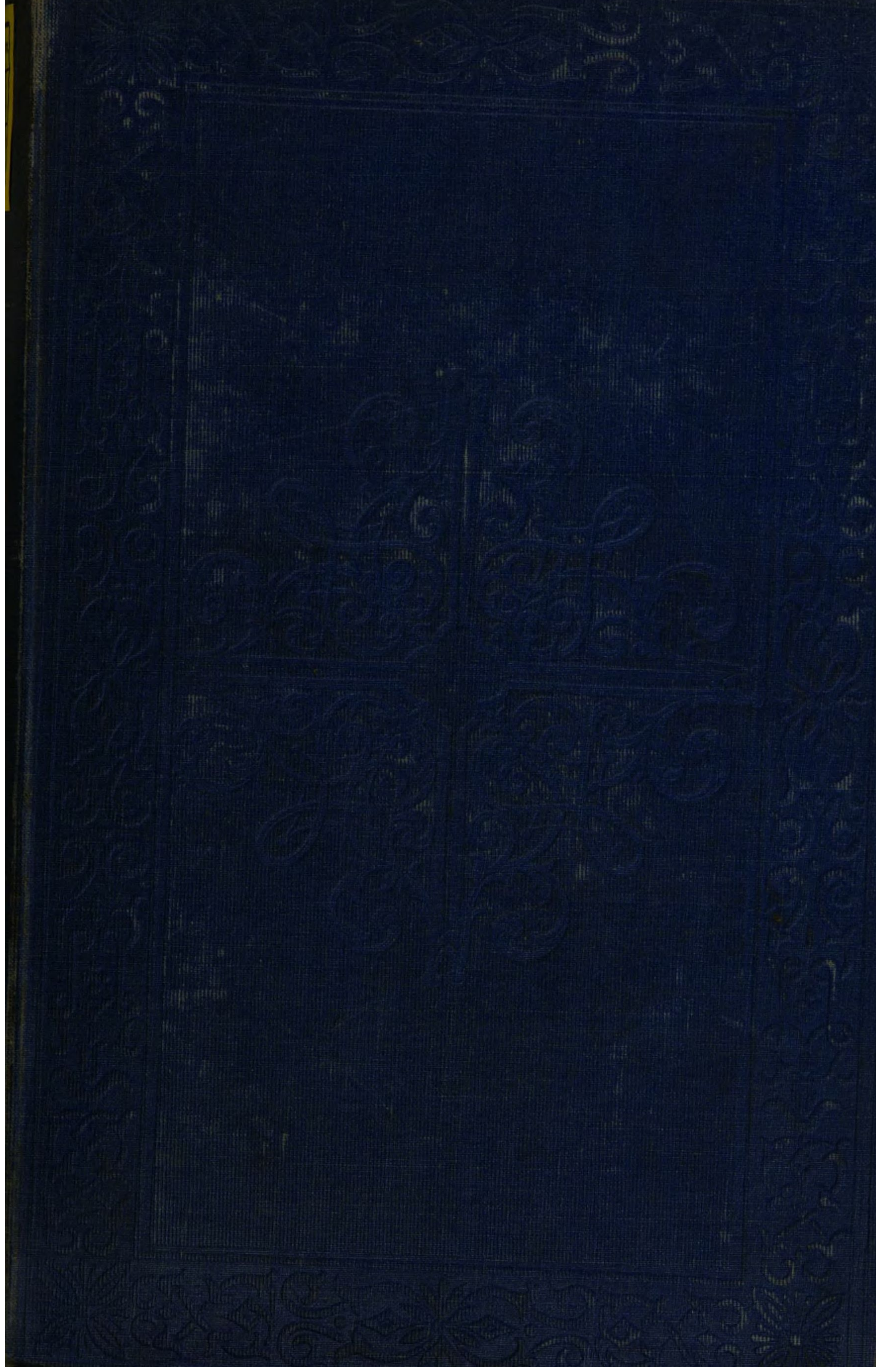




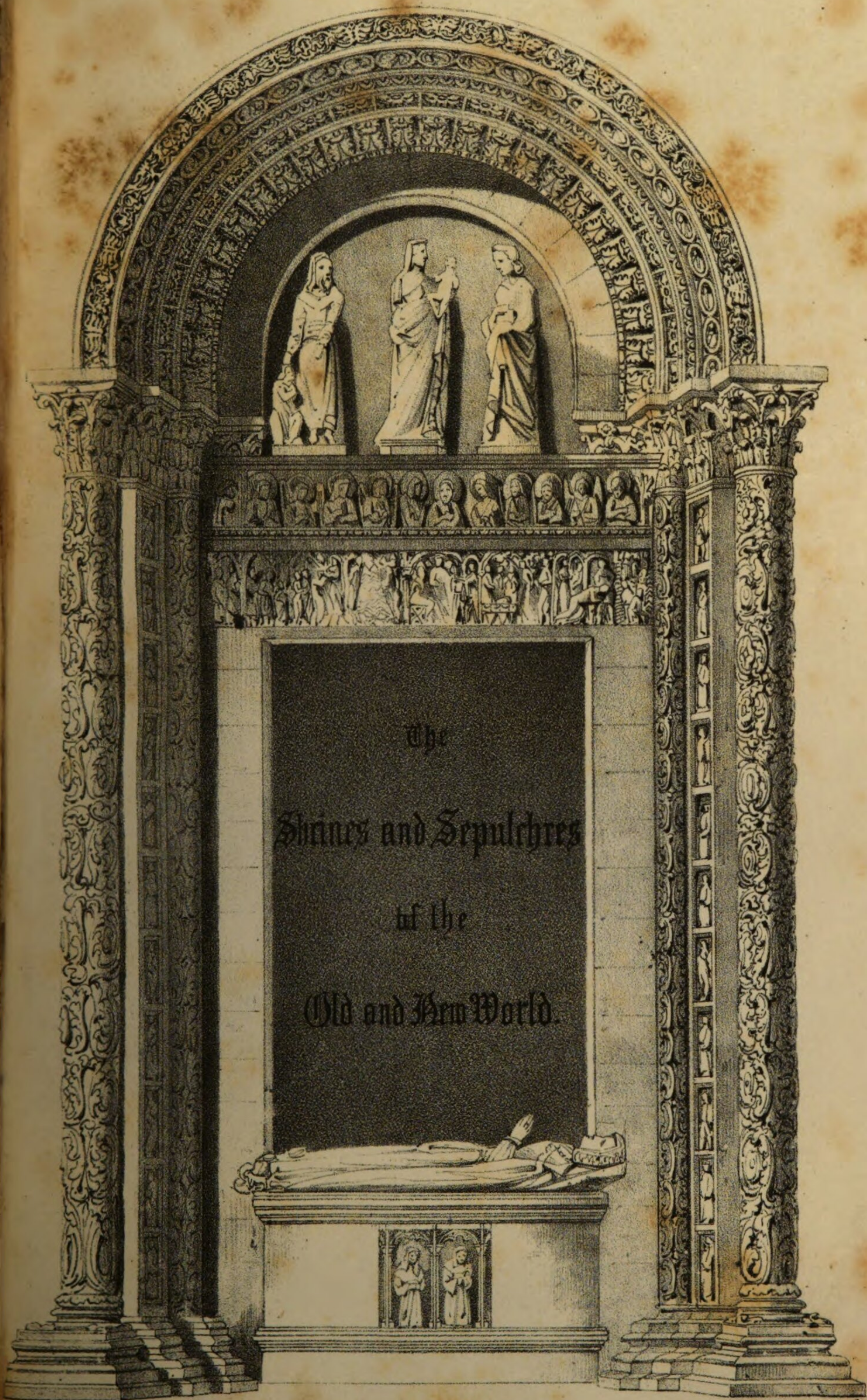
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THE
SHRINES AND SEPULCHRES
OF THE
OLD AND NEW WORLD :

RECORDS OF PILGRIMAGES IN MANY LANDS,

AND

RESEARCHES CONNECTED WITH THE HISTORY OF PLACES REMARKABLE FOR MEMORIALS
OF THE DEAD, OR MONUMENTS OF A SACRED CHARACTER ;

INCLUDING NOTICES OF THE

Funeral Customs of the Principal Nations, Ancient and Modern.

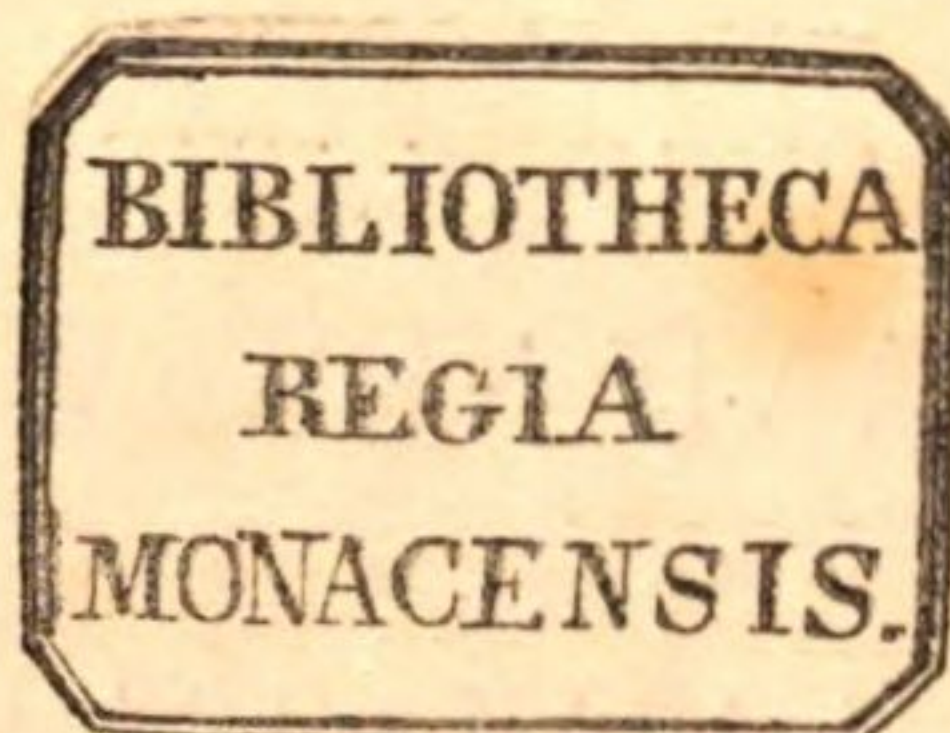
BY R. R. MADDEN, M.R.I.A.

"The sepulchres are quick, and every tomb
Labours with life, and proves a fruitful womb."—BLACKMORE.

"Amidst the ruins of cities, I will inquire what was the wisdom of former ages.
In the inmost recesses of sepulchres I will invoke the spirit that gave splendour to
states, and glory to their people. I will inquire of the ashes of the lawgivers of
old, the causes that have led to the creation and to the overthrow of Empires."
VOLNEY'S "*Ruins*," chap. ii. p. 14.

IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. I.

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1851.



DEDICATION.

TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD HOWARD DE WALDEN,
ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY
AT THE COURT OF BRUSSELS,
IN GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE
OF MANY ACTS OF KINDNESS, AND OF INTEREST
TAKEN IN THE PURSUITS OF THE AUTHOR
DURING A RESIDENCE OF THREE YEARS IN PORTUGAL :
OF MANY OBLIGATIONS
TO HIS LORDSHIP'S INTIMATE ACQUAINTANCE
WITH PORTUGUESE LITERATURE AND REMAINS OF ANTIQUITY ;
AND TO HIS AMIABILITY
OF CHARACTER
FOR MANY MOST AGREEABLE REMINISCENCES
OF THAT RESIDENCE,

This Work is respectfully inscribed,

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S

VERY OBEDIENT, HUMBLE SERVANT,

R. R. MADDEN.

July 10, 1851.

DEDICATION

TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD HOWARD DE WALDEN

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S
VERY OBLIGED, DEVOTED, AND
AFFECTIONATE SON,
AND TO HIS AMPLITUDE
OF CHARITY
AND MANY MOST AFFECTIONATE
OF THAT RESPECT
The Author is respectfully
BY HIS LORDSHIP'S
VERY OBLIGED, DEVOTED, AND

M. R. MADDEN

Nov 20 1861

INTRODUCTION.

“I’ve wandered through the wrecks of days departed,
Far by the desolated shore.”—SHELLEY.

THE reader need not take alarm at the title of this book. He is not invited “to go weeping through it,” a mournful traveller wandering continually in the valley of Jehosophat, “sorrowing without hope” of ever hearing an end of the lugubrious requirement :—

“Let’s talk of graves, of worms, and epitaphs.”

The intention of this work is not to make the journey through life, or that portion of it that is travelled over in these pages, a dismal procession of mourners, in which we are to walk in solemn mood, chaunting, as we go along, a melancholy dirge for our inevitable destiny :—

“Art is long and time is fleeting,
And our hearts, though stout and brave,
Still, like muffled drums, are beating
Funeral marches to the grave.”

The world has its joys, and man his duties to perform in it, to his Maker, to himself, and to his fellows. The flowers of the field were not made to be looked on without pleasure, or to be watered with our tears ; the glorious firmament was not framed to be gazed at by those who only “rejoice exceedingly when they have found the grave ;” the sun was not set on high to

illumine a world that will not be delighted with its effulgence ; the melody of birds was not imparted “ to vex the dull ear of a sickly sensibility ;” nor was the poetry of heaven given to the stars, to be a sad and silent witness to the soul, of the Divinity that is there ; nor was that poetry communicated to noble minds except to make their thoughts harmonize with all that is good, grand, and beautiful on earth, and aspiring in man’s spirit beyond its prison and the grave !

It is not to minister to a morbid melancholy, to clothe the charities of life in sackcloth and ashes, the sentiments of religion in mourning garments, to invest the grave with any additional adventitious gloom or terrors, that this work has been undertaken.

The strongest sympathy, indeed, of man for his fellow-men in their afflictions is compatible with the highest pretensions to wisdom, piety, and philosophy. It is not to be repressed by the sanctimony or stoicism that looks on every manifestation of the feelings of our nature, occasioned by the loss of friends and relations, as indications of “ a will most incorrect to heaven.” Nor are its tendencies of the same nature as those of the terrible competitions of the times we live in,—the fierce contentions of sects, classes, and strugglers of all grades in society, that are calculated to make mere animal instincts and material interests prevail over all spiritual influences, natural feelings and affections. It is good for literature occasionally to labour to counteract these tendencies. It is good to have the dead, thought of in the world. It is desirable to be reminded that the tomb-stones of the earth are the monuments of little cares, soon brought to a termination, and of great ambitions in a short time, signally frustrated. This work treats of a vast number of such sepultures. It is not a mere collection of inscriptions or a series of descriptions of tombs extracted from treatises and disquisitions on the architecture of sepulchral monuments.

The funeral customs and general character of the monumental

remains of the principal nations of antiquity, as they may be learned from the accounts given of them by the most eminent ancient, and modern writers, are chiefly comprised in the first volume. Wherever the author found the best information, he availed himself of it, and, to the best of his knowledge, has borrowed from no work without acknowledging his obligations to it.

The main design of this performance is to do that which has not been done in any previous original work published in this country—to bring together all the authentic information that can be obtained on this subject, with the view of furnishing the means of comparing the burial rites and sepulchral remains of various countries; and of contrasting those of ancient times and enlightened nations with the funeral customs of semi-barbarous or of savage people now living in regions where civilization may perhaps have formerly existed.

Records of many pilgrimages to tombs and shrines of celebrity in various countries, and accounts of modern funeral rites and monuments, will be found in the second volume.

If these should be found devoid of interest, the labour of the collection must have enhanced very unduly the value of the materials in the judgment of the Author. In that case, in vindication of his pursuits, he must call old Weaver from the grave, and adduce his testimony as to their utility and legitimacy.

At the commencement of his great work on *Monumental Inscriptions*, published in 1631, he tells us of “the ardent desire that all or most men have to visit the sepulchres of eminent and worthy persons.” In his eighth chapter he expatiates on the sacredness of such researches, and “the sanctity of ancient funeral monuments.” Elsewhere he observes, that “the fear of not having burial, or of having ignominious or dishonourable burial, hath ever affrighted the bravest spirits of the world.” He tells us that “the burial of the dead was a work acceptable unto God;” that epitaphs on tombs were helps to history—records that solaced friends, and “served good purposes in future

times," and that such records were "inscriptions in prose or verse; writ, carved, or engraved upon the tomb; briefly declaring (and that sometimes with a kind of commiseration) the name, the age, the deserts, the dignities, the state, the praises both of body and mind, the good and bad fortunes in the life, and the manner and time of the death, of the person therein interred."

He cites Camden's opinion of their utility:—"Epitaphs have always been most respected, for in them love was shewed to the deceased, memory was continued to posterity, friends were comforted, and the reader put in mind of human frailty."—*Camden's Remains*, p. 361.

Sir Henry Chauncey, in his Preface to the "Antiquities of Hertfordshire," speaks of the necessity of preserving the Inscriptions upon monuments and gravestones, "these being memorials of our once flourishing ancestors, designed to perpetuate their remembrance to future ages, and of no despicable use to heralds in tracing pedigrees, or lawyers in making out titles to estates."

In making those researches, which have demanded an amount of labour that it would be difficult to exaggerate, the author cannot pretend to have been influenced, by the ambitious motives referred to, by Sir Henry Chauncey, of helping heralds to make pedigrees, and lawyers to trace titles to estates. Humbler objects have led him to these enquiries. It might be difficult, however, to give a satisfactory explanation of them; they have to do, with the propensities of early life, for ramblings amongst tombs and ruins, indulged in later years in wanderings of a wider range, and with ampler opportunities for making researches of this kind, than fall to the lot of the generality of men to do. Some people in early life seem more than others to desire strongly to see the graves of men who had been famous in their times for valour, learning, excellence in art, or eminence in philosophy or piety; to visit the final resting-places of those who had either signally served their country or suffered for it;

to know all that might be learned of the tenants of such tombs from those records, scanty as they may be, of life and death, that are strewn over graveyards, or scattered amidst the ruins of ancient cities mouldering in the dust.

The interest that is felt in such enquiries, extends beyond the perishable stones that are intended to immortalize dead men's virtues, fondly imagined or affectionately remembered. It inspires feelings that are calculated to make men think more humbly of themselves, more considerately and compassionately of humanity; more highly of the obligations of justice and charity both to the living and the dead. Some qualifications requisite for this work the author is conscious of bringing to it:—an interest in the subject of it more than common; some taste for antiquarian research; an acquaintance with the customs, creeds, and superstitions of many nations, the languages of several; some industry in literary pursuits; a strong desire to ascertain facts that may have been overlaid with falsehood, or obscured by age, injustice, or neglect; lastly, an extensive acquaintance, which enables him to introduce many notices of eminent persons in connexion with his accounts of remarkable monuments in various countries.

With these records of tombs and pilgrimages, the retrospects of travel readily fall into company, and become advantageously associated. After many years' reflection on the past and its experience, in many lands, when exaggerated notions of the importance of things that cannot be known without toil and trouble have been cooled down; when sober views are taken of scenes and objects that may have excited perhaps too much wonder at the time of our first acquaintance with them to have been then justly appreciated;—such reminiscences, improved by opportunities for meditation and comparison, cannot fail to be of service to any subject with which they are legitimately connected.

In fine: the author would say to his reader in the words of

old Burton ; " If thou vouchsafe to read this treatise, it shall seem no otherwise to thee than the way to an ordinary traveller,—sometimes fair, sometimes foul ; here champaign, there enclosed ; barren in one place, better soyle in another ; by woods, groves, hills, dales, plains, I shall lead thee."—*Burton's Anatomie of Melancholy*.

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THE
SHRINES AND SEPULCHRES
OF
THE OLD AND NEW WORLD.

CHAPTER I.

IT IS GOOD FOR THE LIVING TO THINK OF THE DEAD.

. "De dormientibus non contristemini, sicut cæteri qui spem non habent."—*Apostoli I., Thess. c. iv. 13.*

"IN the midst of life we are in death," and yet we eat, drink, and are merry ; we make it the business of our lives to live as if we were not doomed to die, or were destined at least to go down to the grave at some distant period indefinitely remote.

The higher nations advance in civilization, and the more they increase in wealth and greatness, the stronger is the attachment to life, and the greater is the reluctance to think of death or of the dead. The votaries of pleasure will not be reminded of their mortality. The wealthy and the worldly-wise do not think it is good to go into the house of mourning, or consonant with their philosophy to meditate among tombs,—to visit with reverential feelings places of sepulture,—to ponder on old monumental piles or new-made graves,—and to be made to feel that "all man's days are full of vanity, sorrows, and of miseries."*

This world, however, is not made for mourning and lamentation without measure, for endless sorrowings and continual bewailings for departed friends, or the losses of those around us.

* Eccles. c. iii.

It is not in this sense it is said to be "better to go into the house of mourning, than to the house of feasting."

This work is not written to make men melancholy drones, whimperers, ever-drooping sentimentalists; to induce them to abandon cheerful thoughts and cheering objects for sombre and lugubrious speculations; but to render things that are to be feared and are inevitable more calmly to be looked on, courageously encountered, and more patiently endured.

Men of action, whose lives are bestowed on enterprises of great pith and moment, find it necessary to make many pauses in their career, in order to spring forward from time to time with recruited energies of mind and body. The salutary pause that takes place in the turmoil of our thoughts, when the great truths of our mortality are presented to us, even for a short season, helps to place us in more close communion with our inward being, makes a wholesome impression on our feelings, and leaves some holy influences to sustain us in the every-day struggle with the world and ourselves.

But, above all things, the tendency of the consideration of the subjects which are treated in this work is to produce a profound conviction of the vanity of all human efforts to enhance our happiness by the acquisition of power and riches, and the aggrandisement of ourselves and our successors, or to render our memories longer lived than our deserts, by all the appliances of pride and pomp, and the perishable monuments which can be raised over the remains of man.

"Upon the church-yard of the whole earth (says Jean Paul Richter) should this universal epitaph be placed:—

"Here lie the beings who in life
Knew not what they would have."

We are told by Herodotus, that when Cræsus, King of Lydia, entertained Solon "with all humanity" at Sardis, on the third or fourth day after his arrival he ordered his officers to shew him the wealth and magnificence of his treasury; which when Solon had seen and considered, Cræsus said to him, "My Athenian guest, having heard much discourse of your person, of your wisdom, and of the voyages you have undertaken, as a philoso-

pher, to see many things in various countries ; I am very desirous to ask you, who is the most happy man you have seen ?” This question he asked, because he thought himself the most happy of all men. But Solon, resolving to speak the truth freely, without flattering the king, answered, “Tellus the Athenian.” Cræsus, astonished at his answer, pressed him to declare what reasons he had so to extol the happiness of Tellus. “Because,” replied Solon, “Tellus lived in a well-governed commonwealth ; had several sons who were valiant and good ; his sons had children like to themselves, and all these survived him ; in a word, when he had lived as happily as the condition of human affairs will permit, he ended his life in a glorious manner. For coming to the assistance of his countrymen in a battle they fought at Eleusis against some of their neighbours, he put the enemy to flight, and died in the field of victory. He was buried by the Athenians at the public charge in the place where he fell, and was magnificently honoured at his funeral.” When Solon had said these and many other things concerning the felicity of Tellus, Cræsus, hoping at least to obtain the second place, asked, who of those he had seen might be accounted next to him ? “Cleobis,” said he, “and Biton, two Grecians of Argos, possessed of a plentiful fortune, and withal so strong and vigorous of body, that they were both equally victorious in the Olympian exercises. Of these it is reported, that when the Argians were celebrating a festival of Juno, and their mother was obliged to go to the temple in a chariot drawn by a yoke of oxen, the two young men, finding that the oxen were not brought time enough from the field, and perceiving that the hour was passed, put themselves under the yoke, drew the chariot in which their mother sate forty-five stades, and brought her in that manner to the temple. After they had done this, in the view of a great concourse of people met together to celebrate the festival, a happy period was put to their lives ; and God determined by this event, that it is better for a man to die than to live. For when the men of Argos, who stood round, commended the resolution of the two brothers, and the women magnified the happiness of the mother of such sons, the mother

herself, transported with joy by the action and the honours she received on that account, made it her petition, as she stood before the image of the goddess, that her sons Cleobis and Biton might be rewarded with that thing which was of most advantage to men. When she had finished her prayer, and her sons had sacrificed and feasted with her, they fell asleep in the temple, and awaked no more. Upon which the Argians, in commemoration of their piety, caused their statues to be made and dedicated at Delphi." Thus Solon having adjudged the second place of felicity to Cleobis and Biton, Cræsus said with indignation, "Is my condition then so contemptible in your opinion, as not to be thought equal to that of private men?" "Cræsus," said Solon, "you ask me concerning human affairs, and I answer as one who thinks that all the gods are envious, and disturbers of mankind. For in the course of a long life, men are constrained to see many things they would not willingly see, and to suffer many things they would not willingly suffer. Let us suppose the term of man's life to be seventy years, which consist of twenty-five thousand and two hundred days, without including the intercalatory month; and if we add that month to every other year, in order to fill up the just measure of time, we shall find thirty-five months more in the seventy years, which make one thousand and fifty days. Yet in all this number of twenty-six thousand two hundred and fifty days, that compose these seventy years, no one day will be found like another. So that upon the whole matter mankind, is a miserable thing. You appear to me to be master of immense treasures and king of many nations; but I cannot say that of you which you demand, till I hear you have ended your life honourably. For the richest of men is not more happy than he that lives by the day, unless his good fortune attend him to the grave, and he finish his life in honour. Many men, who abound in wealth, are unhappy; and many, who have only a moderate competency, are fortunate. He that abounds in riches, and is yet unhappy, exceeds the other only in two things; but the other surpasses him in many more. The wealthy man indeed is better furnished with means to gratify his passions, and to bear the hatred of many; but if the other have not the same power

in these two points, his good fortune secures him from the necessity of doing either the one or the other. He is free from troubles ; free from diseases ; his looks are serene ; and he has good children : and if all these things come at last to be crowned by a decent end, such a one is the man you seek, and may justly be called happy. For to that time we ought to suspend our judgment, and not to pronounce him happy, but only fortunate. Now because no man can possibly attain to this perfection of happiness ; as no one region yields all good things, but produces some and wants others, that country being ever esteemed best which affords the greatest plenty ; and farther, because no human body is in all respects self-sufficient, but possessing some advantages, is destitute of others ;—he, therefore, who, after he has most constantly enjoyed the greatest part of these, finishes the last scene of life with a decent serenity of mind, is in my judgment truly a king, and justly deserves the name of happy. For men ought to observe the end of all things ; because God frequently brings utter destruction upon those he has shewn to the world in the height of prosperity.” Solon, having said these things to Cræsus, without the least flattery or shew of esteem, was dismissed as a man of no experience, who, without regard to present prosperity, counselled men to observe the end of all things.

“After the departure of Solon, the indignation of the gods fell heavy upon Cræsus, probably because he thought himself the most happy of all men.”*

It was not till Cræsus was stretched on the funeral pile prepared for him by his conqueror, that he began to meditate on the vicissitudes of life ; and when the clemency of Darius permitted him to descend from it, he came down a changed man.

The influences which turn the feelings of nature away from objects that are painful, and concentrate all cares on those that contribute to comfort, enjoyment, or aggrandizement, operate not on the poor, the struggling, the working, and the thinking portion of society, and it is for them that Washington Irving wrote the following observations on the Grave :—

* Herodotus, Clio i. pp. 12, 13.

“The sorrow for the dead is the only sorrow from which we refuse to be divorced. Every other wound we seek to heal—every other affliction to forget; but this wound we consider is a duty to keep open—this affliction we cherish and brood over in solitude. Where is the mother who would willingly forget the infant that perished like a blossom from her arms, though every recollection is a pang? Where is the child that would willingly forget the most tender of parents, though to remember be but to lament? Who, even in the hour of agony, would forget the friend over whom he mourns? Who, even when the tomb is closing upon the remains of her he most loved; when he feels his heart, as it were, crushed in the closing of its portal; would accept of consolation that must be bought by forgetfulness? No, the love which survives the tomb is one of the noblest attributes of the soul. If it has its woes, it has likewise its delights; and when the overwhelming burst of grief is calmed into the gentle tear of recollection; when the sudden anguish and the convulsive agony over the present ruins of all that we most loved, is softened away into pensive meditation on all that it was in the days of its loveliness, who would root out such a sorrow from the heart? Though it may sometimes throw a passing cloud over the bright hour of gaiety, or spread a deeper sadness over the hour of gloom, yet who would exchange it, even for a song of pleasure, or the burst of revelry? No, there is a voice from the tomb sweeter than song. There is a remembrance of the dead to which we turn even from the charms of the living. Oh, the grave!—the grave!—it buries every error—covers every defect—extinguishes every resentment. From its peaceful bosom spring none but fond regrets and tender recollections. Who can look down upon the grave, even of an enemy, and not feel a compunctious throb, that he should ever have warred with the poor handful of earth that lies mouldering before him!

“But the grave of those we loved—what a place for meditation! There it is that we call up in long review the whole history of virtue and gentleness, and the thousand endearments lavished upon us, almost unheeded in the daily course of intimacy—there it is that we dwell upon the tenderness, the solemn, awful tender-

ness of the parting scene. The bed of death, with all its stifled griefs—its noiseless attendance—its mute, watchful assiduities. The last testimonies of expiring love! The feeble, fluttering, thrilling—oh! how thrilling!—pressure of the hand. The last fond look of the glazing eye, turning upon us, even from the threshold of existence! The faint, faltering accents, struggling in death to give one more assurance of affection!

“Ay! go to the grave of buried love, and meditate! there settle the account with thy conscience for every past benefit unrequited—every past endearment unregarded, of that departed being, who can never—never—never return to be soothed by thy contrition!

“If thou art a child, and hast ever added a sorrow to the soul, or a furrow to the silver brow of an affectionate parent—if thou art a husband, and hast ever caused the fond bosom that ventured its whole happiness in thy arms, to doubt one moment of thy kindness or thy truth—if thou art a friend, and hast ever wronged, in thought, or word, or deed, the spirit that generously confided in thee—if thou art a lover, and hast ever given one unmerited pang to that true heart which now lies cold and still beneath thy feet;—then be sure that every unkind look, every ungracious word, every ungentle action, will come thronging back upon thy memory, and knocking dolefully at thy soul—then be sure that thou wilt lie down sorrowing and repentant on the grave, and utter the unheard groan, and pour the unavailing tear; more deep, more bitter, because unheard and unavailing.

“Then weave thy chaplet flowers, and strew the beauties of nature about the grave; console thy broken spirit, if thou canst, with these tender yet futile tributes of regret; but take warning by the bitterness of this, thy contrite affliction over the dead, and henceforth be more faithful and affectionate in the discharge of thy duties to the living.”

It is good for the living to think of the dead. Judas Maccabeus believed it was “a holy and a wholesome thought to pray for the dead.” The old Tobias considered it was a work of charity “to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, and to bury the dead.” But a pilgrim has worn “his sandal shoon and

scallop shells" for many a weary day to little purpose, if his meditations among tombs have made him desirous of verging even on subjects that have to do with controversies.

We are not debarred, however, from bidding peace to the manes of our departed friends, and bending over their graves in a prayerful as well as a pensive spirit. In this sense surely "it is better to go to the house of mourning than the house of feasting, for in that we are put in mind of the end of all, and the living thinketh of what is to come." *Ecclesiastes*, c. vii. v. 3.

It has been truly said, by one who must have meditated much on life and death — "As the dust which falls alike on neglected lumber or on golden vases and rich draperies, so come and go the men and women, high and low, of every generation—children of one family, who, having strayed far asunder all the day, are called at last together and led home. Stripped of its associations, sifted observingly, looked into pryingly, may be discovered the empty spaces of the world behind painted canvass, and white cheap timber beneath flaming gildings which bewilder the admiring. The same human life, but little modified, pervades all, diversified in little else than place and position, as those clouds which at evening hang their placid beauty round the setting sun may on the morrow, black and boding, be driven before the tempest. And well, too, it is that nature is impartial in her gifts, making Death all things to all, the avenger of outrage, the hiding-place of dishonour, the soothing of anxiety, the satirist of fear and of hatred, the heavenlier rest of the toil-worn, the last step in the good man's beatitude.

"'Take your boys to the churchyard, Sir,' said an old woman to a gentleman, whose sons had been mocking her decrepitude. 'Maybe they'll be better for it, too, good woman; but it's a sad place for enterprise,' was the reply. 'They who sip the cup to the brim should see the sediments.' There is truth in such scenes. It is vain and foolish to attempt to separate and exile Death, which perhaps forms a part not the least prominent in a picture of the world. It is not the antithesis, but the ultimatum of life. Happy is he who can sit awhile, calmly and resignedly, and trace life and its concerns to death and peace, and onward, outward,

far away into the past and future, as streams which flow into those rivers which give their waters to the sea. In the slow but certain changes of our lives there is something romantic and poetical—so thinks Carlyle. When another generation shall have occupied the places of the present—when, a century hence, some stranger, leisurely looking into some sequestered grave-yard, shall break the quiet in a whisper, and say, alas! but a hundred years ago!—when a year shall come and go without us, and our streets, and market-places, and familiar scenes shall be filled with strange faces, speaking to each other ‘good-morrows,’ and ‘farewells,’ and, mindful sometimes of us, may wish, in the goodness of their hearts, greenness to our graves and freshness to our memories. They were, to whom our past was future—they will be, to whom our future shall be past.”

Paganism and Christianity had very different modes of manifesting sorrow for the loss of departed friends. The grief of St. Bernard for his friend Giraldus is of a very different kind from that of Alexander for his favourite companion Hephæstion. The piety of St. Bernard did not stifle the feelings of tenderness and humanity. In one of his sermons those feelings are allowed to interfere with the subject of his discourse, and thus he gives vent to his emotion for the death of his Giraldus, a brother of the Monastery of Clairvaux: “How long shall I dissemble and conceal the interior fire which consumes my sad breast? What is this canticle to me who am in bitterness? *Quid mihi et cantico huic, qui in amaritudine sum?* The power of grief has defeated my intention, and the indignation of the Lord hath wasted my spirit. I have done violence to my soul, and I have hitherto dissembled, lest affection should seem to have conquered faith. While others wept, I, as you can testify, followed the sorrowful train with dry eyes; with dry eyes I stood at the grave, until all the solemn rites were fulfilled. Clad in the sacerdotal habits, I recited with my own tongue the accustomed prayers for him; with my hands I threw, as usual, the earth upon his beloved body, which was soon to be earth. They who beheld me wept, and wondered that I did not weep, and they rather lamented me who had lost him; but I only struggled against affection with

the strength of faith. Nor had I the same command over my grief as over my tears, but, as it is written, *turbatus sum et non sum locutus*. But grief suppressed sinks more deeply, and is more intense from not being suffered to have vent. *Fateor, victus sum*. *Exeat necesse est foras quod intus patior*; it must come out to the eyes of sons who, knowing the loss, will hear my complaint with more humanity, and will console me with greater gentleness. You know, my sons, how just is my grief. You observe what a faithful companion hath deserted me on my road, one so awake to care, so active in affairs, so sweet in conversation. Who so necessary to me? by whom was I so loved? *Frater erat genere, sed religione germanior*. I was weak in body, and he bore me; I was faint in heart, and he comforted me; negligent, and he excited me; forgetful, and he reminded me. Whither art thou torn from my hands, man after my own heart? We have loved each other in life, how shall we be separated in death? Hard condition! but it is my fortune, not his, which is tearful. For you, dear brother, if you have lost those dear to you, it was that you might find those who were still dearer: but what consolation is left to me? I have lost the delights of friendship: you have but changed them. How I desire to know what you, who are in the choir of angels, now think of me in the midst of trouble and sorrow! if thou canst think of the miserable, who hast entered that abyss of light, and art absorbed in the ocean of eternal felicity; for perhaps, although thou hast known me according to the flesh, now thou no longer knowest me, being entered into the power of the Lord, mindful only of His justice, forgetful of us; *qui adhæret Deo, unus spiritus est*, and is changed into divine affection; neither can he perceive or understand aught except God, and what God perceives and understands; but God is charity, and by how much any one is more near to God, by so much is he more filled with charity. Moreover, God is passionless, but not without compassion, whose property is always to have mercy and to forgive. Therefore, of necessity, thou must be merciful who art joined with mercy, although thou mayest not be in the least unhappy; and thou who art without suffering, must nevertheless have compassion.

Thy affection is not diminished, but unchanged; nor since thou hast put on God hast thou thrown off the care of us; for he hath care of us. What is weak thou hast thrown off, but not that which is pious: for charity never faileth; and thou wilt not forget me for ever. Methinks I hear my brother saying, *Numquid mater oblivisci poterit filii uteri sui? Etsi illa oblita fuerit, ego tamen non obliviscar tui.* Thou knowest where I lie, where thou hast left me. There is no one to stretch out a hand to me. On every occasion I am looking to Girard as I was accustomed, and he is not. Alas! then, I lament as one without assistance. Who will carry my burdens? who will shield me from danger? No one would come to me who had not first sought Girard; for he would meet them coming, offering himself, lest they should suddenly incur my danger. O, industrious man, faithful friend! Who ever departed from him empty? if rich, he had advice; if poor, he had alms. Thanks to you, brother, if there be any fruit of my studies in the Lord, to you I owe it, if I have made any advance. Thou wert occupied, and I kept holiday and gave myself to study; for why should I not feel secure within, while I knew that you were abroad, my right hand, the light of my eyes, my breast and my tongue? But what do I say of his occupation without, as if Girard was destitute of spiritual gifts? They who are spiritual who knew him, knew how spiritual were his words. How often, when conversing with him, have I learned things which I knew not before, and I, who came to teach, went back more learned! He had no learning, but he had the sense, the creator of learning; he had likewise the spirit which giveth light. Nor was he only great in great things, but also in the least. What escaped the skill of Girard in building, in tillage, in gardening, in irrigation, in all rural arts? He was master of hewing stone, of building, of husbandry, of making shoes, and weaving. When in the judgment of all he was wiser than all, alone in his own eyes he was not wise. I could say more of him, but I forbear, because he is my flesh, and my brother; but this I confidently add, that to me he was useful in all things, and above all; he was useful in small and great things, in private and public, abroad and within. Justly I depended on him, who bore

the labour, and left me to gain the honour. I was called abbot, but he was the first in solicitude. Justly did my spirit rest in him, by whom I was enabled to have delight in the Lord, to preach with more freedom, to pray with more security. Alas! thou art taken away, and all these things are gone! for with thee I have lost my delights and my joy. The hand of the Lord hath touched me. Let him who is holy condescend to me, and him who is spiritual, in the spirit of gentleness, let him bear with my grief. We daily see the dead bewailing their dead—much tears and no fruit: we do not blame the affection, unless when it exceeds moderation. This is of nature, that is vanity and sin; for these bewail the loss of fleshly glory and the sorrow of the present life; and they are to be mourned over who thus mourn; but my sorrow is not of this world; for I mourn things which are of God, a faithful helper, a wise adviser; I mourn for Girard, my brother in the flesh, but one most near to me in spirit. I confess I am not insensible to punishment; I shudder at my death, and at the death of my friends: he was my Girard, mine altogether. Pardon me, my sons; nay, if sons, share with me in grief. Have pity on me, have pity on me, at least you, my friends; but I condemn not the sentence which hath obtained the crown for him, and the punishment for me. Thou art gone before; thou art gone to those whom, about the middle of thy last night, thou didst invite to praise, when suddenly, with a countenance and voice of exultation, thou didst break forth, to the astonishment of those who were present, with the words, *Laudate Dominum de cœlis, laudate eum in excelsis*. And now, my brother, the day was beginning to dawn to you at the dead of night, and the night did shine as the day: I am sent for to behold that miracle, to behold a man exulting in death, and insulting death. Death, where is thy victory, where is thy sting? There is no sting, but there is jubilation. The man dies singing, and sings in dying. When I arrived, I heard him finishing the psalm with a clear voice: he looked up to heaven, and said, *Pater, in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum*; and repeating these words, and frequently sighing, *Pater, Pater*, turning towards me

with a joyful face, he said, What condescension in God, to be the father of men ; what glory for men, to be the sons and heirs of God ! For if sons, then heirs. Thus did he sing, and thus did he almost turn my sorrow into songs of gladness. Justus es, Domine, et rectum judicium tuum. Thou gavest Girard, thou hast taken him away ; and if we mourn for his departure, we do not forget that he was given. I remember, O Lord, my agreement and thy mercy, that thou mayest be the more justified in thy sayings, and that thou mayest conquer when thou art judged. When we were at Viterbo last year, for the affairs of the church, he fell sick ; and when he seemed near death, I bitterly lamenting that I should have to leave the companion of my journey in a strange land, and that I should not be able to return him to those who had entrusted him to me, since he was loved by all, and was most worthy of love, I betook myself to prayer, with tears and sighs, and I said, ‘ Wait, O Lord, till we return.’ Thou didst hear me, O Lord ; he recovered ; we fulfilled our object ; we returned with joy, and brought back the sheaves of peace. I almost forgot my agreement ; but thou didst not forget it. I am ashamed of these sobs, which convict me of prevarication. What remains ? Thou hast sought thine own. Tears shall make an end of words. Do thou only, O Lord, prescribe limits and an end to them.”*

The veneration for the dead that existed in ancient times amongst heathens, was productive indeed of different effects from those which the same sentiment calls forth in Christian climes. We are told by Plutarch, that “ Alexander, on entering Persia, having found the tomb of Cyrus broken open, he put the author of that sacrilege to death, though a native of Pella, and a person of some distinction. His name was Polymachos. After he (Alexander) had read the epitaph, which was in the Persian character, he ordered it to be inscribed also in Greek ; it was as follows :—‘ O man, whosoever thou art, and whensoever thou comest (for come I know thou wilt), I am Cyrus, the founder of the Persian empire ; envy me not the little earth which covers my body.’—Alexander was much affected at these

* S. Bernardi in Cantica Sermo xxvi.

words, which placed before him, in so strong a light, the uncertainty and vicissitude of things."

Grief, it would seem, was productive of the same tendencies to ferocity in the breast of Alexander, that music of a martial kind is said to be the occasion of stirring up in the hearts of those who are meditating violence. Alexander's grief for his friend Hephæstion, who died at Ecbatana of an excess, was manifested by "pulling down the battlements of the neighbouring city," "ordering his mules and horses to be shorn," to make them sharers in his mourning, and finally by crucifying the poor physician who had attended the deceased. "After this," says Plutarch, "he relieved his sorrows by hunting, or rather by war, for men were his game."

"In this expedition he conquered the Cussæans, and put all that were come to the years of puberty to the sword. This he called a sacrifice to the manes of Hephæstion."*

Mourning, indeed, with a vengeance, is this Macedonian mode of sorrowing for the dead, and doing honour to their memory!

It is not without an object the barbarity above mentioned has been referred to; the influence of Christianity on the feelings and manners of men stands out in strong relief when contrasted with that of paganism on the minds even of those who were the heroes and demi-gods, nay, even in many countries of old, the sages, philosophers, and sacerdotal caste of their time.

Human sacrifices in honour of the dead prevailed in Egypt, Assyria, Canaan, Scythia and Etruria; in Greece and Rome even murderous games and contests with wild beasts were celebrated for this object. Christianity introduced the sacrifice of prayer for the dead, and the celebration of the mysteries of a religion of mercy for the comfort of the living, and the peace of departed friends. Even those who may question the efficacy of the latter must see the happiness of the change that so far softened the manners of mankind, and forbade the ferocity of brutes and brutal men to be turned against beings created in God's image, in imaginary honour of dead men's memories.

* Plutarch's Lives, Langhorn, p. 493.

Another happy influence of Christianity was the reverence for the dead, which the great doctrine of the resurrection encouraged and inculcated.

“The fact of the resurrection of Christ, and the faith of the church respecting the resurrection of the body, rendered the early Christians most careful in their respect for the bodies of the departed. ‘We gathered up his bones, which are more precious than jewels and gold, and preserved them in a suitable place, where the Lord gave us power to assemble, that with joy and rapture we might keep the anniversary of his martyrdom.’ Thus writes the contemporary of St. Polycarp, the disciple of St. John, making mention of his death. The festivals of the martyrs were celebrated as early as the second century, in the places where their bones or reliques were preserved; as the church of Smyrna writes to that of Philomel respecting St. Polycarp. So says Tertullian, ‘On consecrated days we sacrifice in memory of their deaths.’ St. Cyprian also requires attention to the precise day on which the martyrs suffer, in order that it may be celebrated by gifts and sacrifice.”*

The care for the dead was no longer a custom that governed the rich and powerful for their order only, and imposed no duties on the state towards the dead who belonged to the poor.

It became a duty of the ecclesiastical government to see that the poor were not deprived, by reason of their poverty, of the rites of burial decently performed. Public cemeteries were made in Rome and other Christian countries. Three existed in the former city already, in the time of Gregory the Great. When the seat of empire was changed to the East, Constantine charged his government with the interment of all the citizens, and established confraternities for the discharge of the funeral duties of his capitol, as we shall find more particularly referred to in another chapter.

The poor found, in those countries where hitherto they were regarded as beings of a lower scale in humanity than their masters and the wealthy classes, that they were the children of

* Kenelm Digby. Tancredus.

the church, deemed worthy of its care, fellow-Christians with their countrymen, however rich, and co-heirs with them of the same promised immortality, through the merits of the one Saviour of all men, rich and poor, who believed in him.

The same humanizing influence which thus gave consideration to the poor, by extending the care for the dead to all classes, gradually elevated the lowest in the scale of Christian dignity, and created a sense of human rights, common to all men as Christians, which eventually militated against the feudal power, and broke down the system of vassalage in most European countries. The care of the Christian church for the dead bodies of the poor, necessarily extended in time to the security of the living people from the injustice of the rich.

Though the latter might erect splendid tombs in the courts, vestibules, porches of the churches, and at last, in most countries, in the churches themselves, the poor had the same funeral prayers for their dead in the cemeteries and church-yards established for them; and the great majority of people of the middle and even of the upper ranks, we learn from the best authorities, were interred in those public consecrated places of burial.

There is no place where the doctrine of equality works well except in church-yards. There it is meet that all ranks should rest in peace together: the poor and the rich, the young and the old, the servant and the master, dwell like brothers in "the house appointed for all the living," and are equally accommodated in the grave. No matter what distinctions of rank, differences of interest, dissimilarity of disposition, rivalries and rancours may have separated them in life, in death their bones in common dissolution can moulder into dust, and their ashes incorporate kindly. They are of kindred clay, and it is fit their remains should mingle in "the last long home" of all humanity.

"It was not by chance that the Primitive Christians joined their cemeteries to their temples, or places of divine worship; they well understanding that the instructions communicated to them through their ears in the one, were enforced by those they

took in from their eyes in the other, and that both tended to the same blessed end, of rendering them wise and religious. Of which truth Plato was so convinced, as to define wisdom the meditation of death ; ratified by the divine oracle in that pathetic wish,* Oh, that they were wise, that they would consider their latter end !”†

In our modish cemeteries the aristocracy of the dead has its privileged ground for graves,—a pleasure-ground on a large scale, from which every thing that has a sombre and a solemn air is carefully excluded.

“In the ages of faith,” says a vigorous writer, “men visited and knelt by tombs and graves ; now they would shun them, and try and banish them from their sight as things odious and dreadful ; and, in accordance with the spirit of the times, which strives to make churches like assembly rooms, gay and comfortable, with carriage drives and covered porticoes to set down the company—the very remembrance of death is to be excluded, lest the visitors to these places might be shocked.”

Men of old “helped themselves with illusions,” when those they loved were taken from them. They surrounded themselves with memorials of the departed. They solaced themselves by communing with their shadows. They liked not to be very far removed from the ashes of their friends. They visited often the churches and church-yards in which they were interred, notwithstanding all the poetic terrors of superstition with which Sir Thomas Brown and others have invested graves and grave-yards.

“I believe,” says Sir Thomas Brown, “that the blessed spirits are not at rest in their graves, but wander solicitous of the affairs of the world ; but that those phantoms appear often, and do frequent cemeteries, charnel-houses, and churches, it is because these are the dormitories of the dead, where the devil, like an insolent champion, beholds with pride the spoils and trophies of his victory in Adam.” Plato argues it in a manner somewhat similar, when, speaking of the souls of wicked men,

* Deuter. xxxii. 29.

† Anon. Trans. of Muret, Cer. Fun. Introd.

which have been intimately united to the body, he says, "the soul, loaded with the weight of flesh, sinks again towards the visible world; it goes wandering, as it is said, among the monuments and tombs, where dark phantoms are often seen, such as the shades of guilty souls ought to be, which have departed from life without being previously purified, and have retained somewhat of the visible region, and therefore the eye of man can still behold them;"* which is copied by Milton, when he speaks of

Those thick and gloomy shadows damp
Oft seen in charnel vaults and sepulchres,
Lingering and sitting by a new-made grave,
As loth to leave the body that it loved.

Which idea seems to him so little absurd, that it inspired him with that rapture in the well-known lines which follow:

How charming is divine philosophy!

But whatever philosophy or legendary lore may teach,

Spotless in faith, in bosom bold,
True son of chivalry should hold
These midnight terrors vain;
For seldom have such spirits power
To harm, save in the evil hour
When guilt we meditate within,
Or harbour unrepented sin.

"I well remember," says an old man, "the first night I held a vigil. It was in a vast church, built by one of our heroic kings. They who sat round the blazing hearth of castles had different thoughts from mine, when

Nought living met the eye or ear,
But well I ween the dead were near.
The pillar'd arches were over our head,
And beneath our feet were the bones of the dead.

When each man would try to rouse his spirits, and whisper to himself, Be not dismayed

Because the dead are by:
They were as we; our little day
O'erspent, and we shall be as they.

Within these solemn walls no murmur of busy men, no light

* Phædo.

laugh of pleasure, no sound of human existence, met the ear ;
but, while

Full many a scutcheon and banner riven
Shook to the cold night-wind of heaven,
The midnight wind came wild and dread,
Swell'd with the voices of the dead."*

And haply the chivalrous Tancredus "has wondered at the tale" of rustling sounds and spectral shades in lone churchyards, and gone to rest, casting around an anxious look at every step athwart the gloom, after reading lines like these :

"Oft in the lone churchyard at night I've seen,
By glimpse of moonshine, chequ'ring through the trees,
The schoolboy, with his satchel in his hand,
Whistling aloud to bear his courage up,
And lightly tripping o'er the long flat stones
(With nettles skirted, and with moss o'ergrown),
That tell in homely phrase who lie below.
Sudden he starts ; and hears, or thinks he hears,
The sound of something purring at his heels :
Full fast he flies, and dares not look behind him,
Till, out of breath, he overtakes his fellows ;
Who gather round, and wonder at the tale
Of horrid apparition, tall and ghastly,
That walks at dead of night, or takes his stand
O'er some new-open'd grave ; and (strange to tell !)
Evanishes at crowing of the cock."

BLAIR'S GRAVE.

* Tancredus.

CHAPTER II.

THE TENDENCIES OF INORDINATE DEVOTION TO MATERIAL INTERESTS, TO PRODUCE FEELINGS OF UNCERTAINTY OF THE REUNION OF DISEMBODIED SPIRITS IN ANOTHER WORLD.

“Then he said unto me, Son of man, these bones are the whole house of Israel: behold they say, our bones are dried, and our hope is lost: we are cut off for our parts.”

“Therefore prophesy and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God; behold, O my people, I will open your graves and cause you to come up out of your graves, and bring you into the land of Israel.

“And ye shall know that I am the Lord, when I have opened your graves, O my people, and brought you up out of your graves.”

EZEKIEL ch. xxxvii. ver. 11—13.

A SECRET dread of annihilation, a sense of the uncertainty of the reunion of disembodied spirits in another world, will be found at the root of the prevalent repugnance of our times to the consideration of all subjects unconnected with material interests. Now and then astounding revelations of heathenism widely extended reach our ears. Sudden manifestations of mischief and threatenings of danger to the social fabric are forced on public attention—perils arising from brutalizing ignorance, crime-compelling poverty, covetousness leagued with cunning, a soul-devouring eagerness for gain, unrestrained by any fear of consequences that are not legal, or that may be evaded by guarded fraud and wary knavery, become more startling every day.

Dr. Newman, in a recent work, observes: “As for England and Scotland, it is notorious, that a horrid heathenism has taken root in our town population” (having already shewn the wretched moral condition of the people in the rural districts), “and that millions have cast off all reverence for any claims of authoritative religion. Facts so widely spread over the face of Europe

cannot be lightly treated. Churches are built, but that class does not come to them which has cast off the Christian yoke. Ministers may be sent to seek them out, but it must not be hastily assumed that they will be successful: hitherto, experience is the other way; and the causes of spiritual difficulty deserve analysis. . . .

"If we continue to do as we are doing, if no action of a totally new kind is set up,—the present course of action must go steadily forward, but with accelerated velocity, in proportion to the increase of mental sharpness or physical destitution: a real black infidelity will spread among the millions, an infidelity of the soul to God, of the heart to virtue.* . . .

"And here I am led to avow that the Churches of England and the decorous part of society, to which they set the tone, appear to take a less true and less Christian view of the relative enormity of crimes than the common heart of the world takes. The world broadly distinguishes crimes of selfishness and malignity as unbearable, and imposes on them many opprobrious epithets,—mean, sneaking, rascally, &c.; and these are precisely the crimes which, of all others, indicate that a man has no stamp of the infinite spirit upon him. But transgressions of passion, not so indulged as to injure or betray others, the world treats very mildly: and those, though implying the temporary conquest of the soul by baser impulses, yet by no means denote the total absence of God's spirit, if the sins be unpremeditated or the passion violent. Mean and griping conduct especially, if habitual, is a far worse spiritual sin than a bout of drunkenness. . . .

"As the publicans and harlots were nearer to the kingdom of God than the Pharisees, so were Byron and Shelley than many a punctual reciter of creeds: and this the world well knows, but the Churches have no mouth to declare."†

Mr. Dickens recently witnessed a revolting scene in the metropolis of England, in no wise worse, nor even so bad, as similar scenes on former occasions; but it had found a close observer

* "The Soul; its Sorrows and Inspirations," by Dr. Newman.

† Idem.

and a graphic historian to impress it deeply on the public mind. "I believe," says Mr. Dickens, "that a sight so inconceivably awful as the levity and wickedness of the immense crowd collected at that execution this morning could be imagined by no man, and could be presented in no heathen land under the sun. . . . When the sun rose brightly—as it did—it gilded thousands upon thousands of upturned faces, so inexpressibly odious in their brutal mirth or callousness, that a man had cause to feel ashamed of the shape he wore, and to shrink from himself as fashioned in the image of the devil.

"When the two miserable creatures who attracted this ghastly sight about them were quivering in the air, there was no more emotion, no more pity, no more thought that two immortal souls had gone to judgment, no more restraint on any of the previous obscenities, than if the name of Christ had never been heard in the world, and there were no belief among men but that they perished like the beasts."

In a remarkable article on the same subject, evidently written by one of a master mind, we read such statements and opinions as the following: "There is no domestic tie, no public principle or duty, that has not of late years been violated from the love of money. . . . In all directions, in every sphere, the acting impulse of crime is the same. The charities, that once were potent to restrain, have ceased to operate. No social love or sacred recognition now interposes between the motive and the crime. A shallow thing, which calls itself philosophy, has inculcated that religion is a fiction and faith a weakness. The populace are now superior to the sympathies and obligations which made their forefathers happy and prosperous. To be cunning and get rich constitute the study of the rising generation."

The times we live in have been variously and compendiously designated—"The age of materialism professing Christianity"—"The age of mechanical inspiration"—"The age of bronze," "of brass," "of iron"—"The age of political economy"—"The age of intellect," "of reason," "of progress," "public opinion;"—"The age," in short, of every thing except "of chivalry."

The age of faith, however, that maintains a trust that never shakes in the power of the sword, the omnipotence of money and machinery, is that which we are best entitled to call our own. But where are we to seek for the credence in God, that is manifested by faith in humanity,—in high principle,—in heroic virtue,—in fidelity to the interests of truth and justice, of the oppressed and of the poor,—or, by feelings of reverence for the laws that are made to protect society as it exists? Thinking men cannot shut out from their minds the formidable fact, that is every day manifesting itself more clearly—that a dark spirit of materialism, professing Christianity, has taken possession of vast multitudes of people in this land,—a spirit of exasperated indigence, of mortal disquietude, of poverty released from religious restraints in dire contention with property, a fierce competition in every class with the one above it and below it, making each man's course of life a constant struggle, arduous and desperately eager, and difficult to sustain beyond any thing that can be imagined of former difficulties, to procure the means of living, to support a family, and to maintain a position in society that far more frequently is a false one, than a proper *status* in it.

The aversion to every grave and solemn subject of enquiry, the scoffing spirit that is abroad, that pervades much of our political, periodical, and miscellaneous literature, our parliamentary discussions, our public meeting proceedings, our works of fiction and of art; a disposition to ridicule all that is noble or elevated, to make a mockery of every thing exalted; an aching sense of vacuity and ennui, a vapid dulness of spirit, and yet a morbid avidity for strange incidents—a craving for records of egregious crime, an insatiable appetite for excitement;—these are so many proofs of a sickly state of society, evidences of sensual activity, of spiritual inertness, of indifference in matters of religion merging into materialism, supplanting all settled convictions of moral government in the affairs of this world, and of an immortal destiny for man in another life.

No one thoroughly acquainted with our teeming towns and cities can possibly deny that such is the state of things with respect to a large portion of the population.

Jean Paul Richter, in the introduction to one of his works—the “Rampaner Thal”—holds a dialogue with some of the dramatis personæ of his work on this subject, which is worthy of notice and reflection:—

J. P. observes, “I cannot tell thee how painful, how monstrous and horrible, the thought of an annihilating death, of an eternal grave, for this noble form in all its spiritual beauty, appears to me. . . .

“Let the unbeliever in immortality look upon the face of a beloved being, or upon a noble and a wise man, as upon an aimless hour-long appearance, as a thin shadow that melts into light and leaves no trace, can he bear the thought? No, the supposition of unperishableness is always with him.

“And now, oh God, when so many houses are houses of mourning, so many fields are fields of battle, so many cheeks are pale, when we have before us so many eyes red with weeping or closed in death: Oh, can the grave, that haven of salvation, be the last swallowing, unyielding whirlpool? No, the trampled worm dares raise itself towards its Creator, and say—‘Thou couldst not create me *to suffer alone.*’ Carlston replied—‘And who gives the worm the right to hold this language?’ The fair Gione answered softly—‘The all-good God himself, who has given us feelings of compassion that speak aloud in us for all our fellows; and this alone would give us a hope of an hereafter, and a claim upon our Maker.’”

. . . . The gentle and beautiful words of Gione could not immediately calm Carlston’s spirit—“the forms of those whose hearts had been without guile or guilt, and their lives without joy in this world, passed before him—the shadows of loved friends, whose fate seemed to have been linked to a mournful destiny, as the beautiful flower narcissus is consecrated to the God who presides over the grave, flitted across his path.”

And then he remembered the remark of a dear friend—“that he had never heard the words, sorrow and the past, spoken by a woman without at the same time heaving a sigh over the eternal union of those two words.”

And Richter found a reason for the melancholy fact in the

greater generosity of woman's nature—"they build more than we do upon the worth of others, and have to suffer more failures than their own."*

Jean Paul derived his consolations from the most spiritual philosophy of this world, and sometimes from a higher source. But with all his reverential feelings for the Deity, his practical religion was not always manifest; and hence, when misery and pain were near him, when—"The sorrows of death encompassed him, and the perils of the deep" had "found him,"—in spite of his own esthenical aspiration, he "praised the dead rather than the living." But still not without hope for the departed.

"We shall die, and like waters that return no more, we fall into the earth, neither will God have a soul perish, meaning that he who is cast off shall not altogether perish."†

Richter had no sympathies with the Carlstons of this material age. The sceptic's plea, of the inexplicability of our spiritual union with the body, and the uncertainty of an union with the friends of this life in another world, he put aside in this dialogue on death, with a mild remonstrance touchingly impressive, as he makes his advocate for man's immortal destiny point to the sun sinking behind the Alpine mountains, and the giant shadows rising like birds of night out of their eternal snows, and taking his friend's hand, say—"Ah, Carlston, upon what a blooming world do you throw your immeasurable grave-stone that no time can lift!"

"The invisible hand of God leads, protects, and nourishes the inward being; the nurseling of an outward existence; that hand moulds and smoothes and makes it beautiful, and wherefore? Is it that when that nurseling becomes a demi-god in the midst of the ruins of the temple of the body, standing there upright and elevated, the blow of death may prostrate it for ever, so that nothing shall remain from the corpse-veiled mourning-mantled universe, but the eternally sowing, never-harvesting solitary spirit of the world? One eternity looking despairingly

* Richter's Life; Appendix, p. 220.

† 2 Sam. ch. xiv, v. 14.

on the other, and in the whole spiritual universe no end, no aim? . . .

“Beloved Carlston! into this harmony of the spheres that is not over, but ever around us, will you bring your shrieking discord? See how gently and touchingly the day departs, and how purely and holily the night comes! Oh, can you not believe that even thus our spirits shall arise from the dust, as you once saw the full moon rise from the crater of Vesuvius? . . .

“Carlston looked at the mountains and said, I can bear no annihilation but my own. My heart is of your opinion, my head will follow.”*

What consolation remains, for one who has lost a beloved object, but the hope of re-union in another world. Take away that expectation, and life would be better if love had never been its companion for any portion of its pilgrimage.

Dr. Baillie, in a treatise on “Inscribed Monuments of the Græco-Roman Era, in certain Ancient Sites of Asia Minor,”† speaks of an inscription on a monument at Aphrodisias, where the death of one Metrodorus is recorded in a few words, which, literally translated from the Greek, signify—“Metrodorus hath exchanged.” “This appears to me,” says Dr. Baillie, “an idiom of singular beauty in its language.” This idea of *exchanging*, namely, the present for another state, is justly commended by Dr. Baillie:—“How superior to the host of other expressions by which death is denoted! It carries the thought beyond the point where these for the most part leave it, the present world, its employments and its distinctions; it expresses death, by life; mortality, by the existence which supersedes it and reverses its doom.” But Dr. Baillie may not be aware that this mode of expressing death is of common occurrence in the works of the fathers of the Christian church—in the lives of eminent Christian men, written by Jerome, Athanasius, and other ecclesiastical writers of early times, such as Theodoret, Rufinus, Palladius, and Sozomen. We read there of men “exchanging this life for immortality,” “exchanging earth for heaven,” “exchanging this earthly pilgrimage for the glory of God’s kingdom.”

* Richter’s Life; Appendix, p. 219, *et seq.*

† Transac. R. I. A. vol. xxi. part 1, page 52.

Tertullian, in his Apology, sets forth the great doctrine of Christianity—the resurrection of the dead—in terms of transcendent power, wherein the might and majesty of truth are fully manifested.

Passing from the absurdities of the transmigration of souls from body to body, he comes to the Christian's belief in restoration from the grave at the day of judgment:—

“ I think it of more consequence to establish this doctrine of the resurrection; and we propose it as more agreeable to reason, and the dignity of human nature, to believe, that man will be re-made man, and every person after death himself again; so that the soul shall be habited with the same qualities it was invested with in its former union, though the man may receive some alteration in his figure. For certainly the reason of a resurrection is only in order to judgment; and therefore it is necessary that the bodies which have been instrumental to the actions, should be the same bodies which are summoned from the grave to judgment, *that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or whether it be evil.*

“ The graves then shall restore the bodies at the day of judgment, because it is not conceivable perhaps how a mere soul should be passable without a union with matter, I mean the flesh; but especially because the divine justice will have souls suffer in the body they have sinned. But perhaps you will ask how the particles of a body dissolved to dust, can be made to rally and re-unite after such a dissolution? Reflect upon yourself, O man, and in yourself you will find an answer. Consider what you was before you had existence, you were nothing at all; for if you had been a man, you might have remembered something of it: as therefore you may be said to be nothing before you were in being, to just such a nothing will you return again when you cease to be. Why then cannot you be recalled from this second nothing, as you think it, by the same almighty word which called you from your first? Where now is the wonderful difference in these two cases? You who were not, are made to be, and when you shall not be again, God shall make you what

you were. Be pleased now, if you can, to solve me the mode of your creation, and then demand the manner of your resurrection. And yet, methinks, you may easily conceive the possibility of restoring you to a former being, since you were with the same ease made something out of nothing. Is the power of that God to be disputed who raised this universe from nothing, from nothing as it were but the death of privation or pure void, and animated it with that spirit which is the universal life? And he has impressed upon this world, for your conviction, many testimonies of the human resurrection. For the light which daily departs, rises again with its primitive splendour; and darkness succeeds by equal turns; the stars which leave the world revive; the seasons, when they have finished their course, renew it again; the fruits are consumed and bloom afresh; and that which we sow is not quickened except it die, and by that dissolution rises more fruitful. Thus you see how all things are renewed by corruption, and re-formed by dying. And you, O man! did you but understand the nobility of that title, and which you might have understood even from Apollo's oracle, how could you imagine that man, the lord of all these dying and reviving things, should himself die for ever? In what place soever therefore the cord of life is broken, whatsoever element operates in destroying, in abolishing, in annihilating it, shall deliver up the pledge of life, and return it whole; for sure there is nothing so full of the divine word as his whole creation.

“ But then, say you, here will be nothing but dying and rising in endless succession. If the Sovereign of the world had ordered it thus, you must have taken your destined turns, whether you would or no; but now he has established a resurrection once for all, as he has taught by his *word*; that *word* or *reason* which composed the universe of various elements, and made it a consistent harmonious system by a due temperament of opposite principles, of vacuum and matter, animate and inanimate, comprehensible and incomprehensible, light and darkness, life and death. The same *word* who thus made and preserved the world has likewise so pointed and distinguished time, that the first period from the creation shall run out the deter-

mined stage of years, yet the succeeding space, on which all our thoughts are fixed, is endless duration : but between these two there is an *isthmus*, or middle term of time; and when this period is over, and the beauty of this new world likewise had its season, which is but a goodly curtain between us and eternity, then all human kind shall be restored to life, to answer for their several works, whether they be good or evil, and then consigned over to a state of boundless perpetuity ; and then death and resurrection shall be no more, but we shall be the same we now are, and the same for ever : the worshippers of God shall be clothed with a substance proper for everlasting duration, and fixed in a perpetual union with God.”*

There are some passages in the preceding observations, admirable as they are in their general bearing, that partake not a little of the gnarled oak-knot character of Tertullian’s peculiarly hard, rough, intractable and unmanageable phraseology ; a stumbling-block in the way of more erudite, but less religious men, such as Sir Thomas Brown. Brown had treated of this subject in his “*Religio Medici*” in a manner which was not satisfactory to many Christians. Sir Kenelm Digby, among others, imagined there were many erroneous opinions on this subject put forth in it. He found leisure in his dungeon to examine and refute them ; and the following observations of his will serve as an able exposition of those doctrines which Tertullian left somewhat embarrassed in his *apology*.

“ But to come to the Resurrection. Methinks it is but a gross conception to think that every atom of the present individual matter of a body, every grain of ashes of a burned cadaver, scattered by the wind throughout the world, and after numerous variations, changed peradventure into the body of another man, should, at the sounding of the last trumpet, be raked together again from all the corners of the earth, and be made up anew into the same body it was before of the first man. Yet, if we will be Christians and rely upon God’s promises, we must believe that we shall rise again with the same body that walked about, did eat, drink, and live, here on earth ; and that we shall see

* Tertullian’s *Apology for the Christian Religion*, translated by W. Reeves, M.A., pp. 347—351. Second edition. London, 1716.

our Saviour and Redeemer with the same, the very same eyes, wherewith we now look upon the fading glories of this contemptible world.

“ How shall these seeming contrarieties be reconciled? If the latter be true, why should not the former be admitted? To explicate this riddle the better, give me leave to ask if you now see the cannons, the ensigns, the arms, and other martial preparations at Oxford, with the same eyes wherewith, many years ago, you looked upon Porphyry’s and Aristotle’s learned lenses there? I doubt not but you will answer me, assuredly with the very same. Is that noble and graceful person of yours, that begetteth both delight and reverence in every one that looketh upon it—is that body of yours that now is grown to such comely and full dimensions as nature can give her, none more advantageous, the same person, the same body, which your virtuous and excellent mother bore nine months in her chaste and honoured womb, and that your nurse gave suck unto? Most certainly it is the same. And yet if you consider it well, it cannot be doubted, but that sublunary matter, being in a perpetual flux, and in bodies which have internal principles of heat and motion, much continually transpiring out to make room for the supply of new aliment; at the length, in process of time all is so changed, as that ship at Athens may as well be called the same ship that was there two hundred years before, and whereof (by reason of the continual reparations) not one foot of the timber is remaining in her that builded her at first; as this body now can be called the same it was forty years ago unless some higher consideration keep up the identity of it. Now what that is, let us examine, and whether or no, it will reach to our difficulty of the resurrection. Let us consider then, how that which giveth the numerical individuation to a body is the substantial form. As long as that remaineth the same, though the matter be in a continual flux and motion, yet the thing is still the same. There is not one drop of the same water in the Thames that run down by Whitehall yesternight; yet no man will deny but that it is the same river that was in Queen Elizabeth’s time, as long as it is supplied from the same common stock, the sea. Though this example reacheth not home, it illustrateth the thing.

If, then, the form remain absolutely the same after separation from the matter, that it was in the matter (which can happen only to forms, that subsist by themselves as human souls), it followeth then, that whensoever it is united to matter again (all matter coming out of the same common magazine), it maketh again the same man, with the same man, with the same eyes, and all the same limbs, that were formerly. Nay, he is composed of the same individual matter, for it hath the same distinguisher and individuator, to wit, the same form or soul. Matter considered singly by itself, hath no distinction: all matter is in itself the same; we must fancy it as we do the indigested chaos; it is an uniformly wide ocean. Particularize a few drops of the sea by filling a glassful of them, then that glassful is distinguished from all the rest of the watery bulk: but return back these few drops from whence they were taken, and the glassful that even now had an individuation by itself, loseth that, and groweth one and the same with the other main stock: yet, if you fill your glass again, wheresoever you take it up, so it be of the same uniform bulk of water you had before, it is the same glassful of water that you had. But, as I said before, this example fitteth entirely no more than the other did. . . .

“This point thus passed over, I may refer to what our author saith of a magazine of subsistent forms, residing first in the chaos, and hereafter (when the world shall have been destroyed by fire) in the general heap of ashes: out of which God’s voice did and shall draw them out, and clothe them with matter. This language were handsome for a poet or a rhetorician to speak; but in a philosopher that should ratiocinate strictly and rigorously, I cannot admit it. For certainly there are no subsistent forms of corporeal things (excepting the soul of man, which, besides being an informing form, hath another particular consideration belonging to it, too long to speak of here). But whensoever that compound is destroyed, the form perisheth with the whole.”*

* Observations by Sir Kenelm Digby on the “Religio Medici” of Sir Thomas Brown. Brown’s Works, vol. ii. p. 140—142. Pickering’s Edition, London, 1835.

In the works of Chrysostom and Minutius Felix, we find some remarkable passages respecting the resurrection and reunion of disembodied spirits in another world :—

“ Believe, man” (says St. Chrysostom), “ that thou canst rise from the dead, because before thou hadst life thou wert nothing. Wherefore then shouldst thou doubt that thou shalt rise again. Every thing in thee and around thee daily thus revives. The sun sets and rises ; day is buried and re-appears ; months, days, years, seasons, fruits, seeds, when they fade are dead, when they return they revive from death, and thus that resurrection may be thine ; be taught by those changes, that as often as you sleep and wake, so often do you die and rise again.”*

Minutius Felix to the same effect :—“ But what is there so senseless, so brutish, that it should seem repugnant to man that God, who was able in the beginning to create, had afterwards the power to re-form him : nothing after death, and before he had a being, nothing. Could he then be born out of nothing, and from nothing be restored ? But the difficulty is greater to believe that that which had no being should have a beginning, than that which had an origin (when once dead) should return again to life.. Thou perish ! and believe in God—if something passes away which our weak vision cannot follow. Every material substance falls into dust, or is dissolved in the earth, or reduced to ashes, or attenuated in vapour ; so is it with human bodies. But to God is reserved the preservation of all the elements. Nor, like you, do we fear any injury to our sepulchres, but the ancient and better custom of burying the dead in the earth we practise—‘ sed veterem et meliorem consuetudinem humandi frequentamus.’ Behold then, what consolation even nature itself supplies towards our hope of a future resurrection. The sun sinks and rises, the stars pass away and re-appear, flowers fade and bud again, trees stript of their foliage put forth their leaves, after the fall seeds undergo corruption to revive : and thus with man’s body, as with the trees in winter, the vitality is hidden in the semblance of avidity. Why do we long for the

* Chrysostom, Ser. 59 ; in Symbol. Apos. p. 249.

spring to reanimate and restore them, and not expect a season of revival for our bodies."*

Who has travelled long on life's high road, and toiled and struggled many years in this busy battling world for gain, distinction, fame, or honour, and has not longed for that season of revival for his wearied spirit?

"Who has observed these planets roll,
And gazed on this majestic scene,
But sighed to escape the world's control,
Spurning its pleasures poor and mean,
To burst the bonds that bind the soul,
And pass the gulf that yawns between?"

FROM FR. LUIS DE LEON'S NOCHE SERENA.

* Minutius Felix, p. 326.

CHAPTER III.

THE EARLY DEAD.

"Hath youth no talisman to ward the blow?
 Ask if a flower upon the billows cast
 May brave the strife, or flute note hush the blast?"

MRS. HEMANS.

"Dilectus Diis in juventute moritur."

THEOGN.

"Solon amisso filio flebat et cum dixisset quidam, nihil eum proficere flebendo—propter hoc ipsum flere se dixit."

DEMOS. EX EPIST.

THE white plumed hearse is never seen without emotion by young or old, by rich or poor. All eyes are turned to it with a touching expression of tender interest, and of sympathy with those who follow it, even in the thoroughfares of crowded cities, where distracting cares write most legibly on human features traces of a strife that has deadened sensibility.

The remains of the young, and especially of adolescent youth in the flower of its age, when the fruit of all the anxious solicitude of parental love was about to come forth, and had promised a rich harvest to recompense a mother's tears, to repay long days and nights of watchful care, and to realize a father's hopes and pride—are followed to the grave by mourners, whose sadness of heart surpasses all other sorrow, even the affliction of those whose lamentation is for the loss of friends and relatives who have been the beloved companions of lengthened years, the partners of the joys and sorrows of a long career.

In the course of nature, infirmities of mind and body accrue with age, and augment with its advances. Faculties and functions become impaired, and the shadows of death are projected across the paths of life that have been walked in for many years.

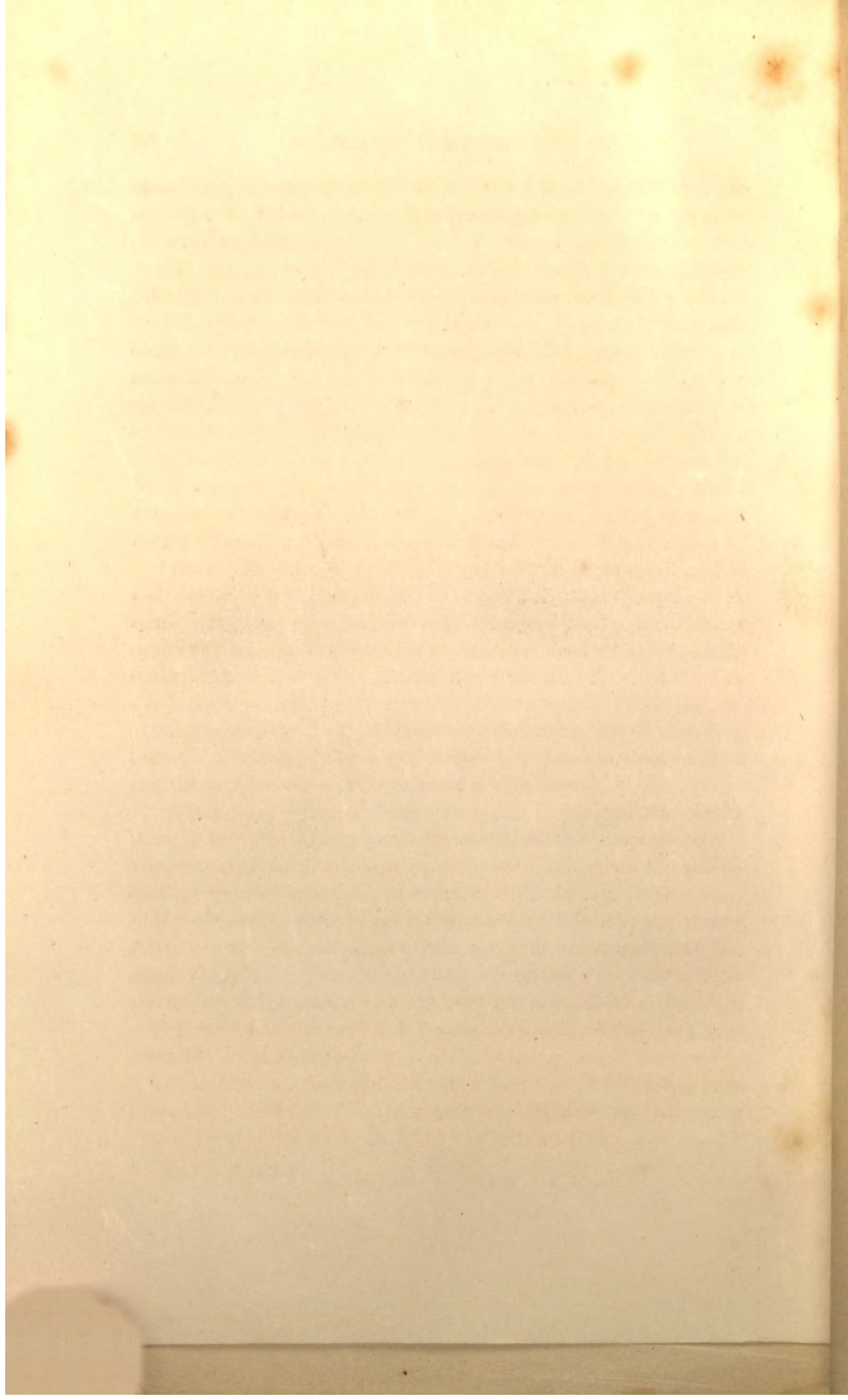


W. Forde Madder, del.

"Dilectus Dūsin Juventute moritur."

THEOG.

"THE EARLY GRAVE."



But in the career of youth, abruptly brought to a premature conclusion, there is no preparatory decay of sufficient duration to familiarize us with our fears, and to deprive the calamity in which they terminate of some portion of the severity of the shock, which that fatal issue has given to our hopes and our affections.

“The setting of a great hope is like the setting of the sun; the brightness of our life is gone.” *

The white plumed hearse is never seen at the door of the house of mourning, that some passing stranger's thoughts are not turned from their ordinary current. Levity and dissipation change their lineaments at once, and a transient change comes over the spirit, that may last but for a few moments; but, even in that brief space, the mind is set at work on a subject that brings home to a man's bosom a sense of the frail tenure of existence, of the evils which environ it, and from which even youth itself, with all its buoyancy of spirit, joyousness of being, freshness of bloom, elasticity of form, and fulness of vitality, is not secure. The white plumed hearse brings back to memory many a loved being that has been borne to an early grave.

Happy is the parent who passes by it, who has no acquaintance with the sorrows of the father who follows that conveyance, or the mother whose spirit accompanies it to the long last home of a beloved child.

The best, the wisest, the most learned of mankind, have been stricken down by the death of the young, in whom their affections were wrapt up, and have risen again, worthier perhaps of the felicity they counted on for those beloved beings; but these are not the mourners who “sorrow without hope,” who cannot “teach their sorrows to be proud,” or turn their eyes from graves, where all the treasure of their lives is buried, when religion points to the place of re-union beyond the grave.

The salutary influences of the chastening hand of affliction were not lost on David, though his life, after the death of his son Absalom, was one of mourning and weariness of spirit. “How long wilt thou feed us on the bread of tears, and give us

* Longfellow.

for our drink tears of measure?"* "All thy billows have gone over me."† "Save me, O Lord, for the waters are come in even unto my soul."‡

We read in the Holy Scriptures, in affecting terms, how the tidings of the death of this beloved son were received by David.

"The king, therefore, being much moved, went up to the high chamber over the gate. And as he went, he spake in this manner: My son Absalom—Absalom, my son! who would grant me that I might have died before thee—Absalom, my son—my son Absalom!" §

Again, when the death of the infant child by the wife of Urias was expected by him, we are told how "the ancients of the house came to make him rise from the ground, but he would not, neither did he eat bread with them.

"And it came to pass on the seventh day, that the child died: and the servants of David feared to tell him that the child was dead. For they said, behold when the child was yet alive we spoke to him, and he would not hearken to our voice: how much more will he afflict himself if we tell him that the child is dead?

"But when David saw his servants whispering, he understood that the child was dead, and he said to his servants—Is the child dead? They answered him: He is dead.

"Then David arose from the ground and washed and anointed himself, and when he had changed his apparel, he went into the House of the Lord and worshipped, and then he came into his own house, and he called for bread, and did eat."||

But the child of David, by the wife of Urias, was an infant; Absalom, the son of David, was a young man, grown up to man's estate; and we do not read when the latter died, that the father was able to reason thus—"But now that he is dead, why should I fast? Shall I be able to bring him back any more?"

When Absalom died, there was only one consolation for the bereaved father—the hope of being reunited with his son in another

* Psalm lxxx.

† Idem.

‡ Idem lxviii.

§ 2 Kings, ch. xix.

|| Idem, ch. xii. verses 17 to 21.

world. "I shall go to him rather, but he shall not return to me."*

The son and the successor of David found comfort for the death of the young in the remembrance of their virtues,—

"For honourable age is not that of long time, nor counted by the number of years: but wisdom is the grey hair to man, and a spotless life is old age.

"He pleased God and was beloved, and living among sinners he was taken away speedily.

"He was taken away lest wickedness should alter his understanding, or deceit beguile his soul."†

Pagan philosophers found motives for consolation in the goodness that was in the objects of their love, whom they had lost, and in the security which death afforded to that goodness from all that was perilous to it in this world.

Phalaris, in a consolatory letter to a father who had lost a son, a young man of great promise and of singular merits, bade the mourner consider that death had set a seal upon his son's character: had placed him out of reach of vice and infamy, and that while he lived, the bare possibility of his falling away from virtue, and losing the fame which he had acquired, was sufficient to make a thoughtful parent very solicitous, anxious, and apprehensive for his destiny.

Sorrow was never cheated more effectually by the vindication of its motives, or the chastisement of insult to its sacred character, than in Burke's celebrated Letter to a Noble Lord (in 1796), where he touches on the recent loss of an only son, most dearly loved by him, who had just entered on public life, and was hurried away in the prime of manhood. This letter was in reply to an ungenerous attack made on him by the Duke of Bedford, very shortly after the decease of that son,—the taking away of the prop of his old age,—the discomfiture of all his plans,—the defeat of all the hopes for which he had toiled and travailed through a long political career.

"Had it pleased God to have continued to me the hopes of

* 2 Kings, chap. xii. verse 23.

† Book of Wisdom, chap. iv. verses 7—11.

succession, I would have been, according to my mediocrity, and the mediocrity of the age I live in, a sort of founder of a family.

“ I should have left a son, who, in all points in which personal merit can be viewed, in science, in erudition, in taste, in honour, in humanity, in every liberal accomplishment, would not have shewn himself inferior to the Duke of Bedford, or to any of those he traces in his line. . . .

“ He would have supplied every deficiency and symmetrized every disproportion. It would not have been for that successor to resort to any stagnant wasting reservoir of merit in me or in my ancestry. He had in him a salient living spring of generous and manly action. . . . At this urgent moment, the loss of a finished man is not easily supplied. I am alone, and have none to meet my enemy in the gate. The storm has gone over me, and I lie like one of those old oaks which the late hurricane has scattered about me. I am stripped of all my honours—I am torn up by the roots, and lie prostrate on the earth. And prostrate there I most unfeignedly recognize the divine justice, and, in some degree, I submit to it.”

Southey, in his “ Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society,” gives a touching account of his emotions on revisiting in his old age a favourite haunt of his youth at Derwentwater, which recalled many a young companion, then dead and gone. “ But delightful as all about me was to eye, and ear, and feeling, it brought with it a natural reflection, that the scene which I now beheld was the same which it had been and would continue to be, while so many of those with whom I had formerly enjoyed it were passed away. Our day-dreams become retrospective as we advance in years ; and the heart feeds as naturally upon remembrance in age as upon hope in youth.

‘ Where are they gone, the old familiar faces ?’

“ I thought of her, whom I had so often seen plying her little skiff upon that glassy water, the lady of the lake. It was like a poet’s dream, or a vision of romance, to behold her—and like a vision or a dream she had departed !

‘ O, gentle Emma, o’er a lovelier form
Than thine earth never closed ; nor e’er did heaven
Receive a purer spirit from the world !’

"I thought of D., the most familiar of my friends during those years when we lived near enough to each other for familiar intercourse—my friend, and the friend of all who were dearest to me; a man, of whom all who knew him will concur with me in saying, that they never knew, nor could conceive of one more strictly dutiful, more actively benevolent, more truly kind, more thoroughly good; the pleasantest companion, the sincerest counsellor, the most considerate friend, the kindest host, the welcomest guest. After our separation, he had visited me here three summers; with him it was that I had first explored this land of lakes in all directions; and again and again should we have retraced our steps in the wildest recesses of these vales and mountains, and lived over the past again, if he had not, too early for all who loved him,

‘Began the travel of eternity.’

I called to mind my hopeful H—, too, so often the sweet companion of my morning walks to this very spot; in whom I had fondly thought my better part should have survived me, and

‘With whom it seemed my very life

Went half away!

But we shall meet—but we shall meet

Where parting tears shall never flow;

And when I think thereon, almost

I long to go!’

“Thy dead shall live, O Lord! together with my dead body shall they arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in dust! for Thy dew is as the dew of herbs; and the earth shall cast out her dead!”

“Surely, to the sincere believer death would be an object of desire instead of dread, were it not for those ties—those heart-strings—by which we are attached to life. Nor, indeed, do I believe that it is natural to fear death, however generally it may be thought so. From my own feelings I have little right to judge; for, although habitually mindful that the hour cometh, and even now may be, it has never appeared actually near enough to make me duly apprehend its effect upon myself. But from what I have observed, and what I have heard those persons say whose professions lead them to the dying, I am induced to infer

that the fear of death is not common, and that where it exists it proceeds rather from a diseased and enfeebled mind, than from any principle in our nature. Certain it is, that among the poor the approach of dissolution is usually regarded with a quiet and natural composure, which it is consolatory to contemplate, and which is as far removed from the dead palsy of unbelief as it is from the delirious raptures of fanaticism. Theirs is a true, unhesitating faith ; and they are willing to lay down the burden of a weary life, in the sure and certain hope of a blessed immortality. Who, indeed, is there that would not gladly make the exchange, if he lived only for himself, and were to leave none who stood in need of him—no eyes to weep at his departure, no hearts to ache for his loss ? The day of death, says the preacher, is better than the day of one's birth ; a sentence to which whoever has lived long, and may humbly hope that he has not lived ill, must heartily assent."—Vol. i. p. 242.

Jean Paul Richter, writing to his friend Voss, after the death of his only son, a youth of nineteen, eminently gifted, and distinguished at the University of Heidelberg for his proficiency in philology, says—"My being has suffered not merely a wound, but a complete cutting off of all joy. All former losses are unlike the last, and my longing after him grows daily more painful. I need no consolation on his account, but for the loss of his love I much need comfort ; yet I have the power to avoid constantly dwelling on him, though the sight of every book in Greek (which was a favourite study of his), and the hearing of that word philology, cuts me to the heart. Indeed, to hear or see any thing that was his is more than I can bear."*

The sentiment conveyed in the latter passage is one, we might rather expect to hear expressed by the great stoic philosopher Goethe, than the amiable, kind-hearted Jean Paul Richter. There is something too much of a policy, in keeping out of sight every memorial calculated to remind us of those who were the objects of our love and friendship, and have been taken away from us ; as if communion with their spirits was an aim and an attainment to be avoided, and it was a duty to our feelings to banish from

* Richter's Life, p. 161 ; London, 1845.

our minds those loved beings on whom our eyes may look no more. It is not thus that Wieland solaced his mind, when those he loved had ceased to live. He gathered round him all the memorials that were left of the intimate union that had subsisted between him and his departed friends. He says, in one of his works—"What I have once tenderly loved, never dies for me. I help myself with illusions. They are dead to my outward sense, and that is certainly painful."

Shakspear, like Wieland, helped his mourners with all the illusions he could create, to keep up an ideal presence of the loved dead that never died for the bereaved friends.

When Constance, mourning for the death of her son Arthur, addresses Cardinal Pandulph in these words—

"I have heard you say
That we shall see and know our friends in heaven :
If that be true, I shall see my boy again"—

the lordly Cardinal rebukes her sorrow :

"You hold too heinous a respect for grief."

Constance answers—

"He talks to me, that never had a son."

And when she is reproached with being

"As fond of grief as of her son,"

she replies :—

"Grief fills the room up of my absent son,
Lies in his bed, walks up and down with me :
Puts on his pretty looks : repeats his words,
Remembers me of all his gracious parts,
Stuffs out his vacant garments with his form :
Then have I reason to be fond of grief.
Fare you well : had you such a loss as I,
I could give better comfort than you do." *

This was the "Widow's Comfort," "the Sorrow's Cure" of Constance. Those like her, who have grievous cause "To wail the dimming of their shining star," would little profit by the attempt to keep away the dead, on whom in life they doated, by banishing from their thoughts "the pretty looks," "the gracious parts," "the room," "the bed," "the vacant garments," and "the form" of a departed child.

* King John, act 3, sc. iv.

CHAPTER IV.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS INDICATIVE OF THE MODES OF THOUGHT,
THE STATE OF MANNERS AND DEGREE OF CIVILIZATION
EXISTING IN DIFFERENT NATIONS.

"Ex omni preterea metallo sepulchra et loculos, partim legimus, partim ipsi vidimus ex auro videlicet argento, argento, orichalco ferro plumbo stanno, electro, magnete, plurimum vero ex marmore, eoque diversi generis. Item ex coctilibus fictilibusque vasis, tegulis, plinthis ex argilla, cretave, sed ex ligno, ligneis arcellis, vitreis etiam vasculis et crystallinis aliisque ejus operis."—LYLIUS GREGORIUS GYRALDUS: De Sepultura ac Vario Sepeliendi Ritu, lib. 3, p. 323.

SCHLEGEL, in his "History of Literature," treats funeral customs as testimonies of the modes of thinking, and the degrees of civilization of a people. A nation without traditions, tombs, and poetry, we are sure to find plunged in barbarism. The noblest of ancient monuments are those which are embalmed in verse. Of these, Schlegel truly and eloquently observes: "Such national recollections, the noblest inheritance which a people can possess, bestow an advantage which no other riches can supply; for when a people are exalted in their feelings, and ennobled in their own estimation, by the consciousness that they have been illustrious in ages that are gone by; that these recollections have come down to them from a heroic ancestry; in a word, that they have a national poetry of their own; we are willing to acknowledge that their pride is reasonable, and they are raised in our eyes by the same circumstance which gives them elevation in their own. . . .

"The prevailing modes of treating the dead among different nations are not only worthy of great consideration, as testimonies of their modes of thinking and degrees of civilization; they are in general, over and above all this, very intimately connected

with their secret impressions and feelings of religion. It may be worth our while to pause over them for a moment.

“The mode of incrimation which was most followed by the Greeks is one of very high antiquity. It is one which is very expressive of feeling, and one which has something very pleasing in it, at least for the imagination. The spirit of life ascends to heaven freely and purely among the flames, the earthly part remains behind in the ashes, and furnishes to the survivors a memorial of the departed. The most singular, and perhaps the most elevating of all usages, was adopted by the followers of Zoroaster, and is still preserved in Thibet. From a mistaken idea, that the pure elements of earth or fire would be contaminated by being made the instruments of dissolution, the corpse is laid upon a platform erected for the purpose and enclosed with massy walls, and there abandoned as a prey to the wolves and vultures. Interment, the mode adopted by those who profess our religion, if it be attended with proper care and attention, is, after all, perhaps the most agreeable to nature. We restore to the earth what was originally derived from it, and entrust to her motherly bosom the earthly body, as a seed sown for futurity. When we know that the body itself is actually lying there, we have a more easy, as well as a more impressive, conviction of the repose of the soul, than when we are obliged to entomb our feelings in a cenotaph, or see the body of our friend reduced at once to the simple nature of the elements. The remarkable embalming of the Egyptian mummies is, in my apprehension, irreconcilable with a belief in the Indian doctrine of transmigration. That usage seems rather to set forth an indistinct feeling, that this apparently dead matter is still important to the man; some mistaken and imperfect presentiment that the bond between the soul and matter is not altogether dissolved, and shall yet one day be restored; that even this matter shall have its portion in immortality, and be again animated and awakened. Others have explained this Egyptian usage as if it proceeded from a material way of thinking, as if those who disbelieve in the immortality of the soul would be the most anxious to guard against the total dissolution of the body.”*

* History of Literature, by Frederic Schlegel, p. 129.

Lylius Gregorius Gyraldus, in his admirable work on Sepulture and the various rites of burial, expatiates on the multiplicity of funeral customs, and his commentator Faes contends they were commensurate with the diversified superstitions and religious rites of the nations of the earth. The temples of ancient Greece and Rome, he shews, came into being out of the tombs. Gyraldus says, they had one origin—"non aliunde templorum et sacram ædium origo deducta est."*

Clemens Alexandrinus says, "Superstition led to the institution of fanes, which were first the sepulchres of men magnificently built, and were called by the name of temples. For at Larissa, in the temple of Pallas, was the sepulchre of Acrisius."

In various other temples, and in citadels also, he notices the existence of tombs. Prudentius, to the same effect;

"Et tot templa Deum, Romæ quot in urbe sepulchra
Heroum numerare licet, quos fabula manes
Nobilitat, noster populus, veneratus adorat."

But as temples had their origin in tombs, so idols had theirs in the simulacres of deceased men. Diophrantes Lacedæmonius, in his "*Libras Antiquitatum*" (cited by Gyraldus), cap. i., says, "when the head of a family died in Egypt, they constructed for his remains the simulacre of a house, '*simulacrum domi*,' to which place, in time of trouble and calamity, his friends were wont to resort to flee from impending wrath, and there to seek the protection of their deceased lord and master, whose simulacre they were wont to ornament with flowers and coronal garlands, and to do honour to, with perfumes, &c."

It seems, to a person entering on an inquiry of this sort, one of the most extraordinary things that can be thought of, that there should be such a diversity in the mode of the disposal of the dead among different nations. But when we consider the matter more attentively, it will not appear more wonderful that there should be a diversity of taste in the mode of preparing lasting habitations for the dead, than in that of constructing temporary places of abode for the living. The very names given in ancient times to places of burial is an evidence of the fact; we find a sepulchre designated by the name of "*domus marmorea*," "*domus æterna*," "*domus Plutonica*," "*domus mor-*

* Gyraldus, *De Sepultura et vario Ritu Sepeliendi*, cap. i. p. 1.

tuorum," "the house of rest," "the house appointed for all the living," and, in our own country, "the long last home."

No people seem to have attached more importance to the rites of burial than the Jews. No calamities predicted by the prophets are ushered in with more solemnity of language than those menaced insults and injuries to the remains of the dead which are so frequently met with in the denunciations of Jeremias, Ezekiel, and Isaias.

"Therefore, thus saith the Lord concerning Joakim the son of Josias, King of Judah. . . .

"He shall be buried with the burial of an ass,* rotten and cast forth without the gates of Jerusalem." Jer. ch. xxii. vers. 18, 19.

"Enter not into the house of feasting, neither go thou to mourn nor to comfort them, because I have taken away my peace from this people. . . .

"Both the great and the small shall die in this land; they shall not be buried nor lamented, nor make themselves bald for them.

"And they shall not break bread among them to him that mourneth to comfort him for the dead." Jer. ch. xvii. vers. 5—7.

The Persians were no less remarkable, we are told by Herodotus, for the care they shewed for the dead, after the battle of Platea, than the Greeks :—

"The next day after the battle, Mardonius was not found among the dead; though by what person his body was taken away, I never could learn with certainty. But I have heard that many men, of different nations, were concerned in giving him burial, and I know that divers had presents from Artontas, the son of Mardonius, on that account. Yet who, among them all, was the man that carried off and took care of the body, I could never discover; whatever report has been spread abroad concerning Dionysiophanes the Ephesian, as if he had buried Mardonius. And thus that question remains undetermined. But the Grecians, after they had parted the booty in the fields

* The "Sepultura Asini" of which we meet so much mention in old Latin works of schoolmen and polemical literati, cost me no small pains to discover the meaning and origin of. It was only accident at length which made me acquainted with both in the article "Sepulture," in the Dictionnaire de la Bible. See also Maccabe's "Bertha."

of Plataea, buried their dead separately. The Lacedemonians made three graves; in one of which they interred Posidonius, Amompharetus, Phylocion, and Callicrates, who were of the priesthood: in another they put the rest of the Spartans; and in the third, the Helots. The Tegeans buried all their dead together in one grave. The Athenians did the same; and so did the Megareans and Phliasians to those of their forces who were killed by the enemy's cavalry. All these sepulchres were filled with the bodies of men; but the rest, which are seen about Plataea, were erected, as I am informed, by those, who being ashamed of their absence from the battle, threw up those mounds by common consent, to deceive posterity. Among these, there is one, bearing the name of the Æginetes; which, I have heard, was erected at their request ten years after this war, by Cleades, the son of Autodicus, a Plataean, obliged to them by the ties of hospitality."*

The violation of sepulchres committed by Cambyses is considered by Herodotus a clear proof of his insanity. "Many more actions of this nature he did whilst he stayed at Memphis, not only against the Persians, but also against his confederates. He opened many ancient sepulchres to view the bodies of the dead; and entering into the temple of Vulcan, derided the image of the god: which indeed resembles those Phœnician figures that are placed on the prow of their ships, and called Pataecians, not exceeding the stature of a pigmy. He likewise went into the temple of the Cabirian gods, (which no man except the priest may presume to enter) and after he had ridiculed the form of their images, ordered them to be thrown into the fire, because they were like that of Vulcan, from whom they are said to be descended. All these things convince me that Cambyses was outrageously mad; else he would never have attempted to make a mockery of national religions and customs. For if all men were left at liberty to introduce from other places such rites and usages as they should best approve, they would yet choose to retain their own; every man being strongly inclined to prefer the manners of his country before those of any other.† . . .

* Herodotus, Cal. 84, 85.

† Herodotus, Thalia, iii. 37, 38.

“From Memphis Cambyses went to the city of Sais, in order to execute a design he had projected; and to that end, going into the palace of Amasis, he presently commanded his body to be taken out of the sepulchre: which being done, he gave farther orders to whip him, to pull off his hair, to prick him with pointed instruments, and to abuse the corpse with all manner of indignity. But after they had tired themselves with this employment, and saw all their efforts rendered ineffectual by the solidity of the embalming composition, Cambyses commanded the body to be burnt; which was an action of impiety; because the Persians believe fire to be a god; and to burn a dead body is not permitted in either nation. For the Persians say it is a violation of religion to feed a god with the dead body of a man: and the Egyptians hold that fire is a savage animal, which devours all that comes within his reach, and after he has glutted his voracious appetite, expires with the things he has consumed: neither do they ever give the bodies of dead men to wild beasts; but choose rather to embalm than to bury them in the earth, lest they should be eaten by worms.”*

It is not with individuals who strike out of the beaten paths of life and walk in their own ways to some great destiny, as it is with nations whose tastes and opinions are determined by custom and authority. The former think of death and sepulture differently altogether from the latter. Seneca, in his 92nd Epistle, says—“*Neminem de supremo officio rogo, nulli reliquias meas commendo, neque insepultus esset, rerum natura prospexit. Quem sævitia projecerit, dies condet.*” Diserte Mæcenat ait:

“*Nec tumulum curo, sepelit natura relictos.*”

Saladin, we are told by Sandys, manifested in a singular manner his contempt for the mummary of state funerals: “When dying he forbad all funeral pomp, save only a shirt to be carried about on the point of a spear, with this proclamation:

‘Great Saladine, the conqueror of the East,
Of all the state and glory he possest,
(O frail and transitory good!) no more
Hath borne away but that poor shirt he wore.’”†

Mahomet, we are told by an Arab historian, reproved his at-

* Herodotus, *Thalia*, iii.

† Sandys’ *Travels*, lib. ii. p. 84.

tendants for being solicitous about his funeral. The last words he is said to have uttered were these. "Naked we came into the world and naked shall we leave it; nothing whatsoever shall we carry away with us."

O'Meara, in his account of "Napoleon in Exile," says, when speaking of funeral rites, Napoleon said, "he would wish that his body might be burned. It is the best mode, said he, as then the corpse does not produce any inconvenience; and as to the resurrection, that would be accomplished by a miracle; and it is as easy to the Being who has it in his power to perform such a miracle as bringing the remains of the bodies together, to form also again the ashes of the dead."

On the death of Sir Robert Peel, Lord John Russell, in the House of Commons, expressed "his willingness to support a proposal for conferring the same honours on the remains of Sir Robert Peel that had been awarded to those of Grattan and Pitt."

Whereupon, Mr. Goulburn, one of the executors of Sir Robert, said, "he would read a declaration which his late lamented friend had signed on the 8th of March, 1844.

"I desire that I may be buried in the vault, in the parish church of Drayton Manor, in which my father and mother were buried, and that my funeral may be without any ostentation or parade of any kind."

It is no less worthy of observation how the influence of memory and imagination are manifested in the dying moments of many people who have been remarkable for mental qualifications of a high order.

Even in the wanderings of mind which usually precede dissolution, the ruling passion that has governed their lives is found to be strong in death. They are found at such moments dreaming of their pursuits, when they were strong and masterly, potent to command, convince, compel, or accomplish whatever they set their minds on effecting. The powers of memory and imagination die out more resistingly than the body and the senses. They struggle to the last; and when the eye grows dim, the ear dull of hearing, the hand cold, and the tongue sluggish,

thick of utterance and slow of speech, there is no babbling of meaningless words about things that memory and imagination have nothing to do with. A great light of intelligence is going out; it flares up occasionally, fitfully perhaps, but never fails to make the darkness visible that is around it, till every sense has ceased to be perceptive, and every vital organ has given over the performance of its functions.

"The first symptom of approaching death, with some, is the strong presentiment that they are about to die. Ozanam, the mathematician, while in apparent health, rejected pupils, from the feeling that he was on the eve of resting from his labours, and he expired soon after of an apoplectic stroke. Flechier, the divine, had a dream which shadowed out his impending dissolution, and, believing it to be the merciful warning of Heaven, he sent for a sculptor and ordered his tomb. 'Begin your work forthwith,' he said at parting; 'there is no time to lose;' and unless the artist had obeyed the admonition, death would have proved the quicker workman of the two. Mozart wrote his Requiem under the conviction that the monument he was raising to his genius, would by the power of association prove a universal monument to his own remains. When life was flitting fast, he called for the score, and, musing over it, said, 'Did I not tell you truly that it was for myself I composed this death chant?' Another great artist, in a different department, convinced that his hand was about to lose its cunning, chose a subject emblematical of the coming event. His friends inquired the nature of his next design, and Hogarth replied, 'The end of all things.' 'In that case,' rejoined one of the number, 'there will be an end of the painter.' What was uttered in jest he answered in earnest, with a solemn look and a heavy sigh: 'There will,' he said, 'and therefore the sooner my work is done the better.' He commenced next day, laboured upon it with unintermitting diligence, and when he had given it the last touch, seized his palette, broke it in pieces, and said, 'I have finished.' The print was published in March under the title of 'Finis,' and in October 'the curious eyes which saw the manners in the face' were closed in dust. It may be

added, that 'the last touch' here alluded to was the insertion in the picture of a painter's palette broken.

"Circumstances which at another time would excite no attention, are accepted for an omen when health is failing. The order for the Requiem with Mozart, the dream with Flechier, turned the current of their thoughts to the grave. The death of a contemporary, which raises no fears in the young and vigorous, is often regarded by the old and feeble as a summons to themselves. Foote, prior to his departure for the Continent, stood contemplating the portrait of a brother-actor, and exclaimed, his eyes full of tears, 'Poor Weston!' In the same dejected tone he added, after a pause, 'Soon others shall say, Poor Foote!'—and, to the surprise of his friends, a few days proved the justice of the prognostication. The expectation of the event has a share in producing it, for a slight shock completes the destruction of prostrate energies. Many an idle belief in superstitious times lent a stimulus to disease, and pushed into the grave those who happened to be trembling on its brink. Kings and princes took the shows of the skies for their particular share. Louise of Savoy, the mother of Francis I., when sick of a fever, saw, or fancied she saw, a comet—'Ha!' she exclaimed, 'there is an omen which appears not for the people of low degree: God sends it for us great. Shut the window; it announces my death; I must prepare.' Her physicians assured her she was not in a dying state. 'Unless,' she replied, 'I had seen the sign of my death I should have said the same, for I do not myself feel that I am sinking. She sank, however, from that time, and died in three days. Confidence in the physician is proverbially said to be half the cure, because it keeps us hope, and lends to the body the support of the mind; but when despair co-operates with the distemper, they react upon one another, and a curable complaint is easily converted into a mortal disease. The case of Wolsey was more singular. The morning before he died he asked Cavendish the hour, and was answered past eight. 'Eight of the clock!' replied Wolsey, 'that cannot be—eight of the clock, eight of the clock—nay, nay, it cannot be eight of the clock, for by eight of the clock shall you lose your master.' The day

he miscalculated—the hour came true. On the following morning, as the clock struck eight, his troubled spirit passed from life.

“Dr. Armstrong died delivering medical precepts; Napoleon fought some battle o’er again, and the last words he muttered were *tête d’armée*; Lord Tenterden, who passed straight from the judgment-seat to his death-bed, fancied himself still presiding at trial, and expired with, *Gentlemen of the jury, you will now consider your verdict*; Dr. Adam, the author of the ‘Roman Antiquities,’ imagined himself in school, distributing praise and censure among his pupils; *but it grows dark*, he said; *the boys may dismiss*;—and instantly died. The physician, soldier, judge, schoolmaster, each had their thoughts on their several professions, and believed themselves engaged in the business of life when life itself was issuing out through their lips. Whether such words are always an evidence of internal consciousness may admit of a doubt. The mind is capable of pursuing a beaten track without attending to its own operations, and the least impulse will set it going when every other power has fled. De Lagny was asked the square of twelve when he was unable to recognise his friends about his bed, and mechanically answered, *one hundred and forty-four*. Repetitions of poetry are frequent in this condition, and there is usually a want of coherence and intonation which appears to indicate a want of intelligence, and leaves the conviction expressed by Dr. Symonds, that the understanding is passive. But upon many occasions it is perfectly obvious that the language of the lips is suggested by the mental dream. The idea of Dr. Adam, that it was growing dark, evidently arose from the fading away of the vision, as the thick darkness of death clouded his mind and his perceptions.

“Miss Linley died singing—‘I know that my Redeemer liveth!’ Some of our readers may remember Hood’s ‘Death-Bed of the Dominie’—one of the most characteristic and cleverest of his effusions.

“One of the most remarkable sentences in Franklin’s autobiography is his expression of regret, on his recovery from a most dangerous illness, that he must one day undergo the same disagreeable sensation over again.” *

* The Quarterly Review.

CHAPTER V.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS AND MODES OF SEPULTURE OF THE JEWS.

"I am a stranger and sojourner among you; give me the right of a burying place among you, that I may bury my dead."—*Genesis*, chap. 23.

THE modes of treating the dead, and the rites of sepulture that prevail in different nations, are deserving of more attention than they meet with at the hands of travellers in general. The analogies that exist, or may have existed, between those of different civilized countries, if traced with care, would afford information of the highest value: those, for example, of the natives of Africa and Australia with those of the Indians of Mexico and Peru; the funeral customs of the people of China with those of the Malays and South Sea Islands; and, finally, the funeral ceremonies and customs of those nations considered in relation with the same usages in the two ancient nations of Egypt and Judea, which have influenced so materially the modes, customs, and opinions of all the people of the earth.

Travellers speak of the rites of burial and treatment of the dead in Australia as customs peculiar to the people of that great continent. And yet we find most singular analogies and striking coincidences between them and those of nations most remote from the former.

The Jews had notions, respecting the honours of sepulture, and of their duties to the dead, of a very different kind from those of the people they lived amongst at an early period of their history, or were the neighbours of in later times.

Of Sara's death and burial in the field bought of Ephron, it may not be out of place, in this chapter, to give the details in full, so simply and affectingly recorded in the Holy Scriptures.

"And she died in the city of Arbee, which is Hebron, in the land of Canaan: and Abraham came to mourn and weep for her.

“And after he arose up from the funeral obsequies, he spoke to the children of Heth, saying :

“I am a stranger and sojourner among you : give me the right of a burying place with you, that I may bury my dead.

“The children of Heth answered, saying : My lord, hear us, thou art a prince of God among us : bury thy dead in our principal sepulchres : and no man shall have power to hinder thee from burying thy dead in his sepulchre.

“Abraham rose up, and bowed down to the people of the land, to wit, the children of Heth :

“And said to them : If it please your soul that I should bury my dead, hear me, and intercede for me to Ephron the son of Sear.

“That he may give me the double cave, which he hath in the field : for as much money as it is worth he shall give it me before you, for a possession of a burying place.

“Now Ephron dwelt in the midst of the children of Heth. And Ephron made answer to Abraham in the hearing of all that went in at the gate of the city, saying :

“Let it not be so, my lord, but do thou rather hearken to what I say : The field I deliver to thee, and the cave that is therein, in the presence of the children of my people, bury thy dead.

“Abraham bowed down before the people of the land,

“And he spoke to Ephron in the presence of the people : I beseech thee to hear me : I will give money for the field : take it, and so I will bury my dead in it.

“And Ephron answered :

“My lord, hear me. The ground which thou desiredst is worth four hundred sicles of silver : this is the price between me and thee : but what is this ? bury thy dead.

“And when Abraham had heard this, he weighed out the money that Ephron had asked, in the hearing of the children of Heth, four hundred sicles of silver of common current money.

“And the field that before was Ephron's, wherein was the double cave, looking towards Mambre, both it and the cave, and all the trees thereof, in all its limits round about,

“ Was made sure to Abraham for a possession, in the sight of the children of Heth, and of all that went in at the gate of his city.

“ And so Abraham buried Sara his wife in a double cave or field, that looked towards Mambre ; this is Hebron, in the land of Canaan. And the field was made sure to Abraham, and the cave that was in it, for a possession to bury in, by the children of Heth.”*

Such was the importance of the duty of burying the dead among the Jews, that even culprits put to death were not debarred from the rites of burial. Muret observes : “ Moses left a law, in the one-and-twentieth chapter of Deuteronomy, expressly forbidding their remaining unburied till the next day, and enjoining the taking of them down from thence, and burying them before sun-set ; which law has been ever since so exactly observed, that had they omitted once to do it, they should have apprehended that the ruin and devastation of their whole country would have ensued. And Josephus, in his Book of Antiquities, explaining Moses’s meaning, extends the force of this law to enemies themselves ; saying, that that divine legislator did thereby condemn all public exposing of the dead, to a ghastly and noisome putrefaction, as an excess of cruelty ; that the death they had suffered was a sufficient punishment for the crimes they had committed ; that therefore it was a piece of high injustice to inflict a more severe penalty upon them than they had deserved, and, consequently, that they were not to be deprived of burial, which nature and humanity had taught us never to deny to any, though the worst of our foes, or greatest malefactors. To which the same historian adds, that even the very instruments wherewith they had been put to death were interred together with their bodies ; that is to say, the gallows, if they were hanged ; the stones, if stoned ; or the sword, if beheaded. And Joshua, who was the successor of Moses in the government of the Jews, was very exact in the observing of this law ; for he never caused any one to be put to death, either of the Israelites, or their adversaries, but that he gave them burial the very same day.

* Book of Genesis, chap. 23.

"And besides all this, they granted malefactors, yea, even such as killed themselves, the favour of being buried in the graves of their ancestors. Thus we are told, 'in the seventeenth chapter of the Second Book of Samuel, that the unhappy Ahitophel, when he saw that his counsel was not followed, went home to his house, where he hanged himself, and died ; and that notwithstanding, he was buried in the sepulchre of his fathers.

"And as concerning persons that were executed, we read, that David not being able to deny the Gibeonites seven men of Saul's family, because he had broken the covenant, that had been formerly made upon oath, between Joshua and them ; those poor wretches being hanged on so many gallows, were, by the order of the same king, taken down from thence, and carried to the grave of Cis, the father of that family, in the tribe of Benjamin."*

The Hebrews were wont to speak of death as "a journey"—"a departure"—"a rest after the toils of life"—"a falling asleep in the Lord"—"being gathered to one's fathers."

They seemed desirous of mitigating the terrors of death, yet, by the law of Moses, to touch a dead body conveyed a legal pollution for seven days, and priests were forbidden to assist at funerals but those of very near relatives. Lev. xix.

When a Jew died his nearest of kin closed his eyes, and gave the kiss of peace and parting to the corpse. Jacob was promised, when he set out on his journey to Egypt, that Joseph should "put his hands upon his eyes ;" and when Jacob died, "Joseph fell upon his face and kissed him."

The corpse, unless buried immediately, was laid out in an upper room ; when Tabitha died, they "washed her body and laid it in an upper chamber."

This rite of washing the body was common also to both Greeks and Romans.

The bodies of people of distinction were embalmed, and this process was evidently derived from the Egyptians, and the fashion of their tombs, as I judge from those remains of them which I visited at Jerusalem, without the walls, to the north-east of the city.

* Muret, Cer. Fun. pp. 185—7.

Jacob was thus embalmed. His remains lay in nitre thirty days, and during forty days they were prepared with gums and spices. Herodotus (lib ii. ch. 86, tom. ii. pp. 131, Ox. 1809) and Diodorus Siculus (lib i. ch. 91, ed. Bipout) describe the same Egyptian process, with nitre and spices, among the several modes of embalming treated by them.

In later times we find the Egyptian process more fully described as in use among the Jews. Nicodemus brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about one hundred pounds weight, for the performance of a customary funeral rite.

After the use of the spices and drugs for exsiccation and antiseptic purposes, "they then swathed the corpse in linen rollers or bandages, closely enfolding and wrapping it in that bed of aromatic drugs with which they had surrounded it." Thus we find that Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus "took the body of Jesus and wrapt it in linen clothes with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury."*

This we know to have been the manner of the Egyptians also. Again, when Lazarus was brought to life,—“the dead came forth, bound hand and foot in grave-clothes.” John xi. 44.

The body of our Lord was thus swathed; Peter found the cloth that had been folded round the head, “not lying with the linen clothes, but wrapped up in a place by itself,” lying at some distance from the rollers in which his body had been swathed, and folded up exactly in the state it was when first wrapped round the head. John xx. 7.

The Jews, besides embalming the bodies of the great, made great burnings for their kings, in which they consumed large quantities of odoriferous woods, gums, and spices. In these fires they were wont to burn the bowels of the dead, the clothes and armour, and other things of the deceased. “At Asa they made a great burning for him.” 2 Chron. xvi. 14.

The Greeks and Romans burned their dead on funeral piles, and consumed, like the Jews, odoriferous woods, gums, and spices on such occasions. The Jews, on the other hand, very rarely, and only for particular reasons, burnt the dead bodies.

* Horne's Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures, vol. iii. p. 520.

The people of Jabesh Gilead "took the bodies of Saul and his sons, and came to Jabesh Gilead and burnt them there" (1 Samuel xxxi. 12); but it is to be inferred the bodies were decomposed and could not be embalmed. Amos speaks of burning dead bodies (vi. 10); but the context shows this was done in time of pestilence.

The Jews attached great importance to the disposal of the dead in a decent and becoming manner. To be deprived of this advantage was held a great dishonour. To be menaced with this punishment was to be accounted one of the wicked and the reprobate.

Jeremiah prophesied of Jehoiakim that he should be buried with the burial of an ass, that is, "cast out in the day to the heat, and in the night to the frost."

The denial of the rites of sepulture for the Jews is lamented by the royal psalmist. "The dead bodies of thy servants have they given to be meat unto the fowls of heaven: the flesh of thy saints unto the beasts of the earth." Psalm lxxix. 2.

But the rites of sepulture among the Jews, not only varied at different times, but according to the different ranks in life of the deceased.

Before the time of Moses, the dead were buried a few days after the decease. Genesis xxiii. 19; xxv. 19.

After the Babylonish captivity, the custom was to bury the dead the same day, and this prevailed in the time of the Apostles.

The poor were borne to the grave lying on an open bier, as the Arabs are to this day. The son of the widow of Nain was thus carried to the grave without the city. People of rank and station were carried on costly biers, and Herod's body was borne to the grave (according to Josephus) on a golden bier.

But that caves and caverns served as catacombs likewise for dead bodies, we gather from various passages in the Scriptures. Abraham, for one instance, interred Sarah in the cave of Machpelah.

The funeral obsequies were attended by the friends of the deceased, both men and women, "who made loud lamentations

for the dead, and some of whom were hired for the occasion." David and a great multitude of Jews "mourned before Abner." Solomon speaks of mourners going about the streets (Eccles. xii. 5) to wail for the departed, as it is inferred.

From Jeremiah (ix. 17) it appears that women were chiefly employed for this purpose; and St. Jerome, commenting on this passage, says that the practice was continued in Judea down to his days. The use of musical instruments at funerals by these hired mourners is alluded to by Jeremiah (xlviii. 36) and by Amos, as a well-known custom. In our Saviour's time it existed in Palestine; the burial of the daughter of Jairus was attended by a company of mourners with players on the flute. When our Saviour entered the house of the governor, "he saw the minstrels and the people wailing greatly."

The practice prevailed among the Greeks and Romans. The flute accompanied the wailings of these mourners. Their ulaleu! their eleleu! like the loo! loo! loo! of the Turks in Palestine elsewhere.

The Hebrews celebrated the obsequies of their illustrious dead also with funereal chants. Thus David sung the death of Saul, and.... "Lugubri carmine Jeremias Josiam deflevit."

Amos speaks of some of the hired mourning women as "skilful in lamentation." v. 16.*

I have witnessed a vast number of Arab funerals, and never one, however destitute the deceased might be of friends and relatives, without hearing the thrilling notes of the keening women, sometimes of one or two charitable souls, sometimes of a whole company of female criers, of those who

"Let out their persons by the hour,

To mimic sorrow when the heart's not sad;"

who kindly lent their gratuitous services on such occasions even for strangers, "taking up a wailing," as in the time of Jeremiah, for a part of the road to the place of burial.

Funerals of the great among the Jews were attended not only

* These details are principally from Horne's Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures.

by friends and relatives, but by people of high station; as that of Jacob, when the principal Egyptians attended his funeral to do honour to his memory. All Judah did honour in a similar way to the memory of Hezekiah.

Eulogistic orations or recitations were frequently pronounced (we are told by Horne) over the grave of distinguished people, as that of Abner. There was a chronicle of lamentations of this kind, which we find referred to in 2 Chron. xxxv. 25. "Behold, they are written in the Lamentations."

The custom of bottling tears shed for departed friends was not peculiar to the Greeks and Romans, and placing the lachrymatories in the tombs, as memorials of their grief. If these were to be estimated by the ordinary size of the phials for tears found in sepulchres, a very small notion would be formed of their sorrow. From Psalm lvi. 8, it would seem the custom was in ancient times in use among the Jews.

Funeral feasts commonly succeeded Jewish burials. The people came to David to eat meat with him after Abner's funeral. Jeremiah (xvi. 7) speaks of the libation on such occasion as "the cup of consolation which they drunk for their father or their mother." The place where this banquet took place is called in the next verse "the house of feasting." Hosea (ix. 4) speaks of "the bread of mourners."

The Jews usually expressed their sorrow for the dead by rending their garments and sprinkling dust on their heads. I have seen this done by Abyssinians on the occasion of the death, in Egypt, of the late Mr. Salt, the Abyssinian traveller and celebrated antiquary. Putting on sackcloth (2 Sam. xiv. 2), covering the face and head, and wearing mourning apparel, were customs also observed. The practice of going up to the flat roofs of their houses and upper chambers to bewail the dead is mentioned in Isaiah (xv. 3, and xxii. 1) and Kings (2 xiv.). David "went up to the high chamber over the gate, and as he went he spake in this manner: My son Absalom, Absalom! my son! who would grant me that I might die before thee—Absalom, my son—My son Absalom!"

"The days of mourning" for the dead were regularly ap-

pointed. The Israelites wept for Moses thirty days. In later times the days of mourning were confined to seven days.

It was likewise customary, in the time of our Saviour, to visit the graves of departed friends, and to weep there.

The Syrian and Arab women still observe the same custom, and this, like many other Oriental funeral practices, prevails in Ireland.

But there is one mourning custom of the Jews, which I have reserved the notice of for the last of those cursory observations of the Jewish funeral rites, in order to direct particular attention to it—namely, the practice of mourners of making incisions in their flesh, of lacerating the face, or maiming the person in some way so as to draw blood, which seems to be overlooked by those who consider analogous practices in Australia as barbarities peculiar to the savage people of that country.

Some intelligent travellers and explorers, however, Captain Grey, Captain Stokes, and Sir Thomas Mitchell, have not passed over unnoticed those analogies.

In Leviticus (xxi. 5), where priests are forbidden to assist at the burial of the dead except of their nearest of kin, it is enjoined—"Neither shall they shave their head nor their beard, nor make incisions in their flesh." In the first book of Kings xviii. 28, "And they cried aloud, and cut themselves after their manner with knives and lancets till the blood gushed out upon them." In Deuteronomy xiv. 1, "Ye are the children of the Lord your God, ye shall not cut yourselves, nor make any baldness between your eyes for the dead."

The female aborigines of Australia cut and scratch their faces with their nails in mourning for the dead, as we shall see more at large in the detailed account of their funeral customs. They tear the skin between the eyes with their finger nails on those occasions. But this custom is not confined to savages of our own times. The Servian Christians of Montenegro practise it, we are told by Colonel Vialla de Sommieres in his Travels.

Europeans in Australia look on this custom as one of the *peculiar* barbarities of the aborigines. The Latin Christians in Servia regard this practice of the Montenegrin Schismatic

Greeks as one distinct in its character from the funeral customs of any other people.

Thus we find funeral customs analogous to some of those of the Jews, at the antipodes. They are to be found too in Ethiopia. The women of Abyssinia, like those of Montenegro, wail for the dead, make lamentations at their funerals, and lacerate their faces and bosoms, as we find the women of the Hebrews did of old.

Strauss, in his admirable work descriptive of Judaism in Palestine in the century which preceded the advent of our Saviour, entitled "Helon's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem," gives an account of the ancient funeral customs of the Jews, the most graphic and erudite that probably exists. It will be borne in mind that Strauss' "pilgrimage," though written in the form of a work of fiction, professes to give a full and faithful account of Judaism as it existed at the period above referred to; and as it is the result of the researches of an Oriental scholar, deservedly celebrated for his learning and his labours in this field of literature, may be regarded as an important addition to our stock of knowledge on this subject.

ACCOUNT OF ELISAMA'S DEATH AND BURIAL.

"After a solemn pause, each reading in the countenance of the rest the confirmation of Helon's fears, all uttered at the same moment a piercing shriek of grief. The men rent their upper garments, beat their breasts, threw their turbans on the ground, strewed dust and ashes on their head, put on sackcloth, covered their chins, and went barefoot. Helon was hurried away, lest, being a priest, he should contract pollution from the dead body. The eyes of the corpse were closed, and it was carried into the Alijah by the nearest relatives. As it had been the custom in Judea, since the captivity, to bury very soon, the night was passed in making preparations. The body was wrapped in a large sheet, the head bound with a napkin; and then the whole, from head to foot, swathed with a broad bandage, and each foot, each hand, each finger separately. At midnight came the Levites with their musical instruments; the female mourners

began their office by lifting up their voices and lamenting, strewing ashes on their heads and singing a dirge. On the following morning, the house was filled with neighbours and friends, expressing their sympathy. Sulamith ran about weeping and wringing her hands above her head. The men sat in another apartment upon the ground, and mourned in silence. Sulamith was conducted to the apartment of the women, where she placed herself on a carpet in the middle, and the rest of the females of the family sat round her. The hired mourners formed a wide circle at a little distance. Each of the women held a handkerchief in her hand by two of the corners. The mourners, who knew a variety of funeral songs, began one which expressed the virtues and calamities of the deceased. Sulamith gave them a sign and they ceased; and all the females of the family began to weep along with her. They arose, twisted their handkerchiefs together, and ran shrieking round the room, while Sulamith, sitting motionless in the middle, wrung her hands and tore her beautiful dark hair. When she ceased, the mourners resumed their song till she again gave them a signal, and the relations renewed their lamentations. This lasted till towards evening, when the inhabitants assembled at the door, and the corpse was carried to the grave. Those who carried the bier proceeded with such hasty steps, that they seemed rather to run than to walk—an usage which was said to bear this meaning:—that death is the most terrible punishment of sin. Every one who met the procession joined the mourners, and bore part in the cries of the women.

“ Before the gate of the city, in a garden planted with trees, stood the sepulchre of Elisama’s host, hewn out of the rock; and in this the corpse was deposited; for burning was deemed dishonourable by the Jews, and regarded with abhorrence. The bearers threw aloes, myrrh, and other fragrant substances, upon the body, so as to cover it, and the sepulchre was closed with stone, which was annually whitened with lime. The friends and relatives having remained standing awhile before the closed sepulchre, bowed themselves thrice to the earth and prayed; then taking up a sod, threw it behind them, and said, ‘ Remem-

ber, O man, that dust thou art, and to dust thou shalt return.' The procession returned with a repetition of the funeral lamentations.

"On reaching home they washed their hands, and the neighbours brought them the bread of mourning. A beautiful and humane custom in Israel! No victuals were prepared in the house which death had visited, but the neighbours and friends came with delicate viands, and invited the mourners to partake of them, to recruit their strength and spirits.

"This was called *the bread of mourning*, and the cup which was handed round, *the cup of consolation*. The mourning lasted seven days, during which it was held indecorous to wash the garments, to bathe or anoint the body, or to wear the sandals or the turban. Every day Sulamith went with the women of the family to lament, at the tomb of the deceased, his true affection and calamitous fate. When the days of mourning were ended, suitable presents were made to the friendly host, and Helon, Sulamith, and Selumiel, returned from the Peraca over the Jordan to Jericho. The bones of Elisama were to repose in the precincts of Ramoth Gilead till the death of the high priest, when they should be transferred to the valley of Jehoshaphat, to rest there till the joyful morning of the resurrection."*

JEWISH MOURNING CUSTOMS.

The notes of the English Editor of Strauss's work afford some curious information on the subject.†

"That it was usual in mourning to cover the lower part of the face, appears from Ezek. xxiv. 16, where the prophet is forbidden to adopt the customary marks of grief. 'Forbear to cry, make no mourning for the dead, *bind the tire of thy head upon thee*, and put thy shoes upon thy feet, and cover not thy lips, and eat not the bread of men.' It appears from Addison's account of the Jews in Barbary (Harmer, iii. 382), that they still muffle the lower part of the face in mourning. Probably the object

* Helon's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem, translated from the German of Frederick Strauss, vol. 2, book iv. chap. 3, p. 261—265. London: 1824.

† Idem, vol. ii. p. 266.

was the same as that of the muffling the lower part of the Leper's face (Lev. xiii. 45), to give an indistinct and lugubrious sound to the voice. Geier de luctu Hebræorum, 259. The same passage of Ezekiel shews, that it was customary to lay aside the turban (Harmer iii. 386. Baruch vi. 31), and go barefoot in mourning (Judith x. 4). 'Habebis calceamenta in pedibus quæ lugentes solent abjicere : unde et David, Absalon, filium fugiens et penitens super nece Uriæ, nudis pedibus incedit.' Hieronym. in Ezekiel. loc. cit. 2 Sam. xv. 30. The laying aside the sandals was a mark of humiliation, as well as sorrow ; hence, in times of public calamity, the Romans practised a solemn supplication, called *nudi-pedalia*. 'Cum stupet cœlum et aret annus nuni-pedalia denunciantur, magistratus purpuras deponunt.' Tert. de Jej. 16. Geier, p. 306. The rending of garments, beating the breasts, strewing ashes on the head, and putting on sackcloth, need no illustration.

"The Alijah was probably the upper chamber in which the body of Tabitha (Acts ix. 27) was laid. Of the hasty interment of the Jews in later times, the history of Ananias and Sapphira is a sufficient proof. Such is the present practice of the East.

"It is plain, from the New Testament, that the custom of employing hired mourners prevailed among the Jews in our Saviour's time (Matt. iv. 23. Mark v. 38) ; and probably the 'Mourning women' (Jer. ix. 17) are to be understood of hired mourners, such as the mourners called *præficæ*. It is mentioned, (Amos viii. 3) as a characteristic of a great mortality, that the dead should be *cast forth in silence*. Males seem also to have been employed as mourners. Amos v. 16."*

With respect to the several funeral customs mentioned by Strauss, the Editor observes (page 262)—

"That the arms and legs were swathed separately, and not fastened to the body or together, is rendered probable by John xi. 44, where Lazarus, when raised to life, is represented as *coming forth* from the sepulchre, before the grave-clothes are taken off. The sheet is the *σίνδων*, in which, according to Matt. xxvii. 59,

* Helon's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Note 1. vol. ii. p. 304.

Joseph of Arimathea, wrapt the body of our Saviour, on the evening of the Crucifixion, when there was no time for the minute bandaging with the *κειριαί*, mentioned in the history of Lazarus. But whether both were combined, as mentioned in the text, may be doubted. . . .

The Jews differed, however, in this from the Egyptians, that they only *wrapt* the body in spices, and did not fill the cavities with them. The burnings mentioned in Scripture, in connection with royal funerals, appear to have been burnings of spices (2 Chron. xvi. 14); in other cases a mark of a great mortality, as (Amos vi. 10) requiring an expeditious kind of sepulture. Josephus (cont. Apion. ii. 26) is referred to as mentioning the custom of all who met a funeral joining in the lamentation *Πᾶσι δε τοῖς παριοῦσι θαπτομένου τινὸς καὶ συνελθεῖν καὶ συναποδύρασθαι ἐποίησε νομιμον*. The common reading, however, is *περιοῦσι*, 'survivors of the family,' which suits the connection better. Of the Hebrew sepulchres a large account is given in Nicolaus de Sepulchris Hebræorum, Lugd. Bat. 1606. The custom of throwing a sod is introduced from the practice of the modern Jews. Buxtorf Synagoga, c. xxxv. p. 502. The annual whitening of the sepulchres was, according to the Rabbins, a charge of the magistracy, and performed in the month Adar (Nicho, p. 237), *i. e.* a short time before the Passover; a circumstance of which Harmer (iii. 449) does not appear to have been aware. It is remarkable that the Mahometans whiten their sepulchres before their great solemnity of Ramadan.

"Page 265. *The bread of mourning and the cup of consolation*. This custom is alluded to in Ezek. xxiv. 17. Jer. xvi. 5, 7, 8. 'Neither shall men break bread among them on account of a mourner, to comfort him over a deceased friend; nor shall men make them drink of the cup of consolation because of one's father, or because of one's mother.' Blayney's Translation, and the margin of the Common Bible. The origin of this custom undoubtedly was, that the friends of the mourner who came to comfort him (and that they often came in great numbers we may learn from John xi. 19), kindly concluding, that a person so far swallowed up of grief as even to forget his bread, could hardly

attend to so many guests, each sent in his proportion of meat and drink, in hopes to prevail on the mourner, by their example and persuasion, to partake of such refreshment as might tend to recruit both his bodily strength and his spirits. Blayney. *Geier de luct.* Heb. p. 166.

“Page 265. *The mourning lasted seven days.* The shortest term of mourning seems to have been seven days (Gen. i. 10. Jos. Ant. xvii. 8); many extended it to forty. Numb. xxxiv. 8. Bell. Jud. iii. 8. ‘At Aleppo,’ says Russell, ‘the near relations visit the sepulchre on the third, the seventh, and the fortieth day after the interment. The women likewise visit the graves on their ordinary garden days. They set out early in the morning, attended by a small train of females, carrying flowers and aromatic herbs to bestrew the tomb. The moment they arrive at the place they give loose afresh to their sorrow in loud screams, interrupted at intervals by the chief mourner, who, in a lower tone of voice, recalls the endearing circumstances of past times, or in a tender apostrophe to the deceased, appeals to the pains she incessantly employed to render his life happy: she describes the forlorn condition of his family now he is gone, and mingles fond reproach with professions of unalterable affection.” ii. 311.*

VISITING GRAVES IN THE VALLEY OF JEHOSEPHAT.

“When the ceremonies (says Strauss) of bathing, cutting off the hair, and others, in which purification consisted, were over, the pilgrim went forth to the valley of Jehoshaphat, to his father’s tomb. It was by his own dying request that he had been interred there; for Iddo would fain have given him a place in the sepulchre of his own family. From the words of the prophet Joel, ‘I will gather all nations, and will bring them down to the valley of Jehoshaphat, and will plead with them there for my people,’ it had been a prevalent opinion, that this would be the scene of the general resurrection and of the judgment of Jehovah, and therefore many of the Jews wished to be buried there. It took its name from the King Jehoshaphat, who was said to have been interred in that place.”†

* Note to Helon’s Pilgrimage to Jerusalem, vol. ii. p. 385.

† Idem, vol. i. p. 241.

At Gadara, in Palestine, the hypogæa, or sepulchral caves, are inhabited, as in the time of our Saviour. The ancients never placed one body upon another, as we do. Hence the number of cells.

The earliest monument mentioned in the Scriptures, is that spoken of in Gen. xxxv. 20, when Jacob erected a pillar upon the grave of Rachel.

The monument existing between Bethlehem and Jerusalem, and called Rachel's tomb, is an ancient Turkish structure, but Horne thinks the site "may be perhaps the true place of her interment."

In later times, inscriptions were placed on tomb-stones, denoting the name and quality of the deceased person.

It was customary among Pagans to throw pieces of gold and silver and other precious things into the sepulchres of those who were buried, but this custom was not adopted by the Jews, further than by depositing the swords and military trophies of their great heroes in their tombs, as we find the practice referred to by Ezekiel (xxxii. 27), a custom which prevailed in all the nations of antiquity.

The prophet, foretelling the fall of the people of Meshech and Tubal, says, "They are gone down to hell (the grave) with their weapons of war, and they have laid their swords under their heads." *

The sword and shield of Achilles were thus buried with his remains, and there the remnants of some brazen implements or weapons were discovered, not many years before I visited the plains of Troy, on which that celebrated mound is situated, which is believed to be the tomb of Achilles.

In the ancient places of burial in Ireland, of a date prior to the historic period, bronze weapons, and ornaments of other metals are of frequent occurrence.

The sepulchral monuments of old, of many Eastern nations, consisted of mounds of earth or piles of stone heaped up over the grave. We have numerous examples in our own country of

* These expressions are supposed, by some commentators, to allude distinctly to the Scythian rites of sepulture.

this mode of doing honour to the dead. The most ancient sepulchral Celtic tumuli known to exist, consist of stones piled over a central chamber, forming a mount of a conical shape, varying from twenty to sixty feet in height, where the remains of some great warrior or hero were deposited.

The existing ancient tombs outside the walls of Jerusalem, those called the tombs of the judges about two miles from the city, and those of the kings about half a mile distant from it, answer to the representations of places of sepulture for the great, found in the Psalms xlviii. 2, 3, and Isaiah xiv. 18 and lvii. 2, of graves or caves, into which the entrance is by a descent, containing separate chambers or cells, where each dead body lay in its own home or house.

“Thou hast hewn thee out a sepulchre here as he that heweth him out a sepulchre on high, and that graveth an habitation for himself in a rock.” Isaiah xii. 16.

“All the kings of the nations, even all of them, lie in glory : every one in his own house.” Isaiah xiv. 18.

“They said unto me, son of man, dig now in the wall ; and when I had digged in the wall, behold a door. And he said unto me—go in and behold the wicked abominations that they do here. So I went in and saw : and behold every form of creeping things and abominable beasts, and all the idols of the house of Israel, pourtrayed upon the wall round about.” Ezekiel viii. 8—10.

It is impossible not to recognize here the influence of Egyptian usages on the Hebrew people. The tombs of the Egyptian kings at Thebes, with all their idols and images and hieroglyphic inscriptions, prove, as Horne observes, that—“The Israelites were but copyists, the master sketches were to be seen in all the ancient temples and tombs of Egypt.”*

The Jews had family sepulchres in their gardens or other grounds contiguous to their houses. This custom prevailed among the Romans and other nations of antiquity. Joseph of Arimathæa had hewn out of the rock “in his garden a new sepulchre, wherein was no man yet laid.” John xix. 41. From

* Horne's Introduction to the Holy Scriptures, vol. 3, p. 528.

Jeremiah xxvi. 23, we may collect, that the Jews of the lowest class were buried in a public cemetery, having no distinct sepulchre to themselves.

Monsieur Muret, a French writer of much erudition,* published a remarkable work on Funeral Rites, Ancient and Modern, throughout the world, in 1675, in 12mo. entitled "*Ceremonies Funebres de toutes les Nations*"—which was translated into English, and published in London, 1695. Muret observes of Jewish funeral customs, that—two distinct periods are to be regarded in examining the ceremonies of this people. The customs of one period are very different from the other. The first dates from the time of the patriarchs and Moses, the other from that of the nativity of our Saviour, or a century or two preceding it. Of the ancient Jewish sepulchres, Muret says: "We find several instances among the Jews, of tombs that do not in the least come short of the most sumptuous mausoleums of other nations: such, amongst others, was the tomb of Helen, Queen of the Adiabeniens, who left her own country to embrace the law of Moses. This princess did cause this monument to be built for her near Jerusalem, as we learn from Josephus and St. Jerome, who saw the remains of it. And Pausanias, who hath described the same, saith, that it consisted of three pyramids, made with so much art and contrivance, that they were accounted so many wonders. Besides, he tells us of another curiosity about this sepulchre, which is no less admirable, and would (it's like) be disbelieved, and pass for a fable, had it been recorded by an author of less credit and reputation. This monument, saith he, which was made all of marble, had a door of the same stone, that did once a year, at a certain day and hour open itself, by means of some secret art or hidden spring, and shut again of itself a little while after, though at any other time it might have been sooner broke all to pieces, than opened by any industry or strength whatsoever.

"Josephus and St. Hierom do also speak of the tomb of the Maccabees, which they relate was erected by Simon the high

* Pierre Muret was born at Cannes, in 1630: he became a distinguished member of the order of Predicadores, and died, in old age, in Marseilles.

priest, in the city of Modin, the birth-place of that illustrious family. It was made of white marble, well polished, having a stately piazza around it; at the entrance of which were seven great pyramids placed on the top of as many pillars, all of one piece. And yet this structure, which indeed was very magnificent, was nothing in comparison of the carved work wherewith it was embellished and adorned, wherein were represented their victories by sea and land, with several trophies, and a thousand other marks of their grandeur, with the greatest art imaginable.

“In the third place, I shall speak of that of Daniel,* who caused it to be built himself at Ecbatana in Media, at the time when he was the favourite of the king of Persia. He ordered it to be made in the fashion of a tower, which was wrought with such extreme curiosity and art, that the world never yet saw its fellow, its contrivance being altogether stupendous and inimitable. Josephus, whom I now quoted, and who himself saw it several ages after, says, that in his days it seemed to be yet stark new, and looked then as if it had been but just finished; adding, that a Jewish priest had an allowance given him to keep these both day and night, that no body might spoil or damnify that admirable building, with whose beauty and extraordinary curiosity the kings of that nation were so much taken, that they since made use of it for their royal place of burial.

“Nor is that which Solomon caused to be built at Jerusalem, for his father David and himself, to be omitted here; who being a most wise prince, as the great and matchless things he achieved in his life-time do abundantly testify, it is easy to guess that this monument of his was a surpassing, curious, and admirable master-piece of art; and wherein neither skill nor riches were wanting, that might render it altogether wonderful and extraordinary. There was nothing in or about it but what was wonderful and surprising, nature and workmanship having bestowed their utmost skill and greatest treasure upon it. But that which I find most remarkable in it, is the place wherein he commanded the two coffins for his father and himself to be placed; because the same could never by any industry be found out; the inner part of the vault or cave being made in the fashion of a laby-

* Hegesip.

rinth. And history informs us, that Herod being on a time obstinately resolved to find out this secret place, commanded some of his men to break down certain stones, whose removal he thought might likely discover the concealed royal tombs, but was soon affrighted from attempting further by the fire that issued forth in great flashes from it, and consumed two of his men upon the spot; so that besides a rigorous edict he published, whereby he strictly enjoined, that for time to come none should dare to attempt a like research, he caused a very mean sepulchre to be made hard by it for himself, by way of reparation of the wrong he had offered to it.

“Neither shall I speak here of the great treasures found in those sepulchres; for none can be ignorant of the vast riches of all kinds that were laid up therein, who considers, that those places being looked upon as sacred and inviolable among the Jews, every one of them carried thither the most rare and precious things they had, thinking them more safe there, without guards, than in their own houses or coffers. They were most commonly lords, and persons of great estates, who did so; as finding it too cumbersome for them to keep their treasures at home, by reason of their great riches: as likewise widows and orphans, who were not capable of looking after and managing what was their own.

“But besides those riches which were kept there for the use of the living, much was also enclosed in honour of the dead. Hence it was that the high priest Hyrcanus, seeing himself besieged within the city of Jerusalem by Antiochus, surnamed Pious, took out of David’s sepulchre, nine hundred years after his death, three thousand talents, whereof he gave a part to the prince to make him retire with his army; and with the other he raised soldiers, in order to put himself in a condition of preventing the like disaster for time to come. Out of which sepulchre, Herod, a good while after, took a great number of vessels of gold, jewels, and other precious ornaments. From whence we may easily conclude, that his son Solomon had spared nothing to honour his father’s memory. In like manner, we read in the fourteenth chapter of the Second Book of the Kings, that the Chaldeans did, in their invasion of Judea, open all the princes’ sepulchres, for the

sake of the treasures they enclosed. And Sozomene tells us, that the prophet Zachariah's tomb being opened in his days, a young prince of the royal blood was found lying at his feet, with a crown of gold upon his head, and arrayed in a most rich robe, and other princely habiliments."*

Bernard Picart's celebrated work, entitled "*Ceremonies et Coutumes Religieuses de tous les peuples du Monde*,"† embraces the subject of Funeral Customs, but less in detail than that of religious rites and ceremonies connected with divine worship.

In his account of the funeral customs of the Jews, much valuable information is given from Buxtorf's learned work "*La Synagogue de Juifs*," the first work that made Christians accurately acquainted with the customs and ceremonies of the modern Jews: and especially from a treatise of a Venetian Rabbi celebrated for his erudition, Leon of Modena, descriptive of the rites and ceremonies of the Jews, which was published in Paris in 1637, which Picart has inserted the whole of in his great work.

Muret's account of the Jewish funeral customs is in all material circumstances conformable to Rabbi De Leon's. Amongst the things, however, in the work of the latter omitted by Muret, may be mentioned the following:—

The modern Jewish cemetery is called *Beth Hachaim*, or House of the Living. For those who have left this life are held to be in the enjoyment of another existence more worthy of being designated a place of living than this miserable world.‡

The Jews, for the space of eleven months, pray for the repose of the souls of the dead. "They believe in the existence of a paradise named Gan-heden, where the blessed rejoice in the perpetual vision of the Almighty; and of a place of punishment named Ghehinnam, where the souls of the wicked are tormented by fire and other punishments," some for ever without hope of release, and others only for a certain time: and to this temporary punishment they give the name of purgatory, in contradistinc-

* Muret. Cer. Fun. pp. 188, *et seq.*

† Ed. 1793. Amsterdam: 8 tom. folio.

‡ Picart, Cer. et Cout. tome i. p. 69.

tion to that of hell, not on account of difference of place, but of time."

"They hold, however, that every Jew, who is exempt from the crime of heresy, and has not contravened the doctrines of his religion in some other matters indicated by the Rabbins, is not left in purgatory beyond a year, and the greatest number of the Jewish dead are in this category. For they believe there are few who for their sins dwell for ever in hell."*

In the second edition of the work of Rabbi de Leon, a paragraph has been omitted, which appears in the first to the following effect—"There are Jews who believe, as Pythagoras did, that souls pass from one body into another, which (passage) they call *Ghilgul*; and they endeavour to support their opinion on several passages in the Holy Scriptures, chiefly in the books of Ecclesiastes and Job. But this opinion is not general; but whether held or not, the entertainment of it does not involve the penalty of heresy."†

The Père Simon, cited by Picart, makes mention of a custom prevailing amongst the Jews at the occurrence of a death; the mourners who are in attendance rend their garments, but so as to occasion no material injury to them—making only a small tear, about an eighth of an auln to the left, except when the mourning is for a father, or mother, or a child, when all the robes are torn on the right side.‡

Buxtorf makes mention also of the custom of anointing the head of the deceased with a mixture of yolk of egg and wine, some performing this ceremony in the house, others in the cemetery. The Père Simon observes, in conclusion:—"Muret a donné dans son traité des ceremonies funebres de toutes les nations un detail assez passable de celles qui concernent les Juifs."§

Some of the ancient funeral customs of the Jews have survived their national greatness, and the pomp and circumstance of their religious observances; but, generally speaking, their

* Picart, Cer. et Cout. tome i. p. 70.

† Idem, p. 152.

‡ Idem.

§ Idem, p. 153.

interments, in most of the countries I have been, are conducted in a hurried, heedless, and *un-solemn* manner.

In Levi's Account of the Rites and Ceremonies of the modern Jews, we read, p. 163 : that when any of the sick among that people have departed, the corpse is taken and laid on the ground, and a pillow put under its head ; and the hands and feet are laid out even, and the body is covered over with a black cloth, *and a light is set at its head.*

Bourne cites Gregory, c. 26, as observing, that it was customary among the ancient Jews, as they returned from the grave, to pluck up the grass two or three times, and then throw it behind them, saying these words of the Psalmist, "They shall flourish out of the city, like grass upon the earth ;" which they did to show that the body, though dead, should spring up again as the grass.*

FUNERALS OF THE MODERN JEWS.

The following account is taken from Muret's work.

"We shall first of all speak of their preparation for death, when they are sick. Next of their death itself, with their funerals : and last of all of their foolish opinion concerning the souls and bodies after death.

"First then, as soon as a Jew is given over by the physicians, and they conclude he will die, the Rabbi, who has been called to take care of his soul, comes to him in company with ten other persons at the least, and in the first place asks him, whether he believes the coming of the Messiah ; whereto the sick having answered in the affirmative, he sits down by his bed's head, and the standers-by ranking themselves round about him, he bids the patient to make his confession with a loud voice. The form whereof is as follows :—

* Levi, describing the rites and ceremonies of the Jews as they exist at present, says, p. 169 :—"The corpse is carried forward to the grave and interred by some of the society ; and as they go forth from the burying ground, they pluck some grass and say, 'They shall spring forth from the city, as the grass of the earth ;' meaning at the day of the resurrection." Vide Brande's Popular Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 266.

“ ‘ I confess and acknowledge before thee, O Lord my God, the God of my Fathers, the strong and mighty God of every Spirit, that quickens and gives life to flesh, that both my life and death are in thy hands ; therefore, I pray thee to restore me to health, to remember me, and hear my prayers, as thou didst those of King Hezekiah, when he was sick. But if this be the time of thy last visitation upon me, and that I must die, I beseech thee mercifully to receive me into that Paradise, which thou hast prepared for the just. Shew me the straight way to go to eternal life, and satisfy me with thy blessed presence. Praised be thou for ever, O Lord God, who hearest the prayers of thy servants.’* ”

“ This confession is accompanied with a public declaration of his sins ; though it be not so particular, but that he may keep to himself some things he thinks not fit to publish to all that are present.

“ When this is done, he offers public satisfaction for all the injuries by him done, or scandals occasioned, either by his debaucheries, violence, or any private grudge or enmity, begging pardon of all those whom he has offended, and protesting that he likewise heartily pardons them who have done, or intended him any wrong.

“ Some, after they have given this satisfaction, desire the public prayers of the synagogue, and send as much money as they think fit to be distributed to the poor. There are others, who, besides these public prayers, have their name changed, as a mark of their entire and absolute conversion ; so that when they are prayed for, their former name is not mentioned, but that which they have assumed during their death-bed penance. For example, the synagogue applying themselves to God on behalf of the sick, speak thus :—‘ O Lord, we beseech thee, to have mercy on such a one ; he hath changed the name he went by, when he offended against thy laws, and is now called N.N. Do not therefore look upon him as an object of thy wrath ; for if thou hadst resolved to punish him as such, now thou must not, since he, by this other name he has assumed, is become

* Buxtorf. Synag. Judaic, ch. 35.

another man. Whereupon we do hope, that thou wilt hereafter consider him as a new creature, and as a babe that is but newly born.*

“In short, if the sick person be in his father’s house, he craves his blessing; and if he himself is a father of a family, he calls his children and domestics unto him, to bless them also.

“Then from that time forwards they dare never leave him alone; because they persuade themselves, that the angel of death which is in his chamber, might offer violence to him, were there none present to prevent it. For (as they tell us) that spirit, with a naked sword in his hand, looks so frightful and terrible, that the sick is thereby much discomposed. At this sword hang three drops, all of them very fatal to the decumbent. The first that falls on him gives him his death; the second changes his colour, making him pale, wan and ghastly, and the last rots and turns him to corruption; so that he becomes noisome and corrupt.

“Upon his giving up of the ghost, all that are present do, by rending their clothes, and crying as loud as ever they can, express the greatest sorrow imaginable; and immediately after, they fling all the water they have then in the house out of the windows; as being of opinion, that this malignant angel has washed his sword in it, wherewithal he killed him; and all the neighbourhood under a like apprehension do the same. Neither is there need of any other notice to make known to the rest of the town or city that there is somebody dead in that part of it; for this abundance of water poured forth on a sudden in the streets, makes near as much noise,† as the ringing of our bells.

“Now to prepare the corpse in order to its burial, they fetch fresh water, the cleanest they can get, which they boil with camomile, dried roses, and such like odoriferous and sweet-scented herbs and flowers, wherein they wash it very carefully; thereby to intimate that death has not only purged him from all his filthiness, but made him of a good and pleasant savour with God.

“This done, they apparel him in a white tunic, to signify the innocence wherewith he now presents himself before the

* Buxtorf. Synag. Judaic, ch. 35.

† Elias Grammat.

tribunal of the sovereign Judge. . . . Then they put a veil over his face, thereby to signify, that since he has passed into the other world, he is no more concerned to regard any thing in this. They likewise cover his head with his *talled*, or short cloak of ceremony, that hath been subservient to him in this life, on every holy day, to say his prayers in the synagogue. Out of this cloak they pull several threads, wherewith they tie his right thumb, bending and bowing it so, as it may in some sort express the name of God in the Hebrew tongue; they making no question, but that with this mark he is secure from all the assaults of the devil, who whilst he shall thus hold his hand can never drag him into hell, where this Holy Name is not owned or acknowledged; and therefore it is, that to tie this knot they make use only of those threads which are taken from that sacred cloak; because they don't believe there can be any other strong enough for that purpose. Last of all, they lay him in a coffin, with two clean sheets, whereof the one is put under, and the other over him; making his head to rest upon a stone, or on a bag filled with earth; to intimate by this hard pillow the steadiness of that rest he shall enjoy in the other life, and by the cleanness of the sheets he lies on, and is covered withal, the light and purity of that blessed life.

“ When the body is thus ordered, they carry it to the grave, seeming in a confused and disorderly manner, by reason that every one of the company will bear it by turns. Which they discharge with a great deal of devotion, in a prospect of those great advantages God has prepared for the party deceased. And being arrived at the place of burial, whilst they nail the coffin on the side of the grave, the whole company go seven several times, as it were, in procession round about it; thereby to signify, that as God created the world in six days, and rested on the seventh from all his works, so the pilgrimage of this transitory life endures but for a very little time, after which men rest from all the pains and labours they have undergone, to all eternity, which is represented by the number seven.

“ Which number they also observe, with regard to the dead, in three other ceremonies. First, in placing a lighted wax

taper by his grave, or in the chamber in which he died ; where they let it burn for the space of six whole days, and put it out on the seventh. Secondly, in their great mourning, which lasts seven days. And last of all, in the restlessness they express at their first coming into their house, after their return from attending the funeral, by starting on a sudden from their place seven several times, as if they did not find themselves at ease in the six former removes they had made. Their mourning shews that he ought not to have done anything else, but weep and lament all the while he lived here ; and the lighted taper imports that his temporal life is extinguished at his arrival in eternity. For, as I have above observed, the six days represent the duration of time, which is but a reiterating or continuance of the first week of the world. And the seventh signifies the Sabbath day, which is the emblem of rest and eternal bliss.*

“ But now let us return from this so curious digression, and speak of the manner of their burials. When the coffin is nailed they let it down into the grave, everyone throwing in the earth by handfuls, till it be quite filled up, and nothing left behind of what they had digged out to make the hole ; upon which account it is that they beat it down and tread upon it, as hard as ever they can, so as every bit of earth may go in ; for they fancy that if but one handful of the mould should remain, it were a sign that the ground would not harbour the corpse, no more than it could the bodies of those reprobates, Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, whom it having swallowed into its entrails, let them fall down to hell, not being able to endure them.

“ Whilst the body is burying, the Rabbi,† who has muttered several prayers, does last of all speak to the whole company to this purpose :—‘ We verily believe that the foundation of the world is laid upon three things ; viz. on the law of Moses, the service of God, and piety towards the dead. Blessed therefore, be he who rewards those that are careful to discharge this duty.’ Then all the people turning their backs to the grave, pluck up some grass at three several times, and throw it over their heads,

* Elias Grammat. in Thesbit.

† Buxtorf. Synag. Judaic, ch. 35.

rehearsing these words of the Psalmist, 'They of the city shall flourish like grass of the earth.'* That is to say, that the dead, by passing from this mortal to eternal life, shall rise again to glory; as the grass grows and flourishes again, after it is mown and cut down.

"Moreover, it is to be observed, that as soon as the dead is carried out of the house, there are some in a readiness presently to take the bed to pieces on which he died, who hastily fold or double the quilt, roll up the coverings or bed-clothes, leaving them confusedly on the mat, and run to the windows to fling an earthen pot after the coffin; thereby to intimate that every thing is altered and broken now as to him, and that he has no more claim to any of the goods which he formerly was possessed of.

"When the relations are returned from attending the funeral, they have no sooner recovered home, but they begin their great or close mourning, which lasteth seven days, in the solemnizing whereof they proceed in this order:—First of all,† they wash their hands, put off their shoes and stockings, and sit down on the ground, where they pass their time in continual tears and lamentations, without doing any manner of work whatsoever; no, not so much as dressing meat for themselves, their friends all that while taking care to send them from their houses whatever they stand in need of, ready prepared, according to their custom; on the first day of their mourning, therefore, they serve them with nothing else but hard eggs, with a little bread and water, thereby to intimate they are very sensible that their affliction is hard and heavy, and by eating of the same with them, how great a share they take in it. But on the following days, they feast them well, eat with and comfort them; and on the Sabbath day, the same friends come to accompany them to the synagogue; from whence they conduct them back to their own houses, as soon as divine service is ended.

"Their second sort of mourning, which they call mean or indifferent, lasts thirty days, during which they are not permitted to wash, perfume, or shave themselves, or so much as cut their

* Psalm lxxii. 16.

† Buxtorf. Synag. Judaic, ch. 35.

nails. Neither do they all that time eat with their families, but the men invite some of their friends, and privately take their repasts with them; as the women also do by themselves (that is, without the men) with some of their she-neighbours, who come on purpose to keep them company, and work with them; for it is not lawful for a husband to converse with his wife, nor for a wife to do the like with her husband, until the time of this mourning be over.

“As for the last sort of mourning, it concerns only children, who are not dressed in black, as with us, but are obliged for a whole year to wear the same clothes which they had on when their father died; not being permitted to shift themselves, though they be never so ragged and torn. They also celebrate a fast every year on the same day; and for the space of eleven months rehearse the prayer Kaddisch, for the deliverance of their parents’ souls out of Hades; for they believe that none but impious persons abide there a whole year; but that the good do never remain in that place above eleven months, provided their children repeat this prayer for them every day; which prayer they do not continue to rehearse beyond the time forementioned, because every one of them has a good opinion of his parents’ virtue, there being no child that thinketh his father to have been a wicked and ungodly man.

“This prayer is grounded upon a fabulous story of Rabbi Akiba, who says, that being one day a walking in a remote and solitary place, he met with a man who was laden with so great a burthen of wood, that no labouring beast could ever have carried more; and that upon his demanding whether he was a living man or a ghost, he answered him that he was the spirit of one dead, and was forced every day to cut down such a load of wood to feed the fire wherewith he was tormented in purgatory. Whereupon he further asked him his name, and that of his family, which as soon he had learnt, he repaired to the deceased’s children, and taught them this prayer, withal assuring them, that their father would in a little time be delivered from his sufferings, in case they would rehearse it constantly every day; which they having begun to do, the dead appeared to

them the next night, to return them thanks for the same, and let them know that he was already entered into the pleasant garden of the terrestrial paradise. And thereupon these good tidings, together with a form of this prayer, were sent to every synagogue in the world, insomuch as there is not one now but makes use of it. When the deceased has no children, the whole synagogue assembled in a body, by rehearsing this prayer, do supply that want. But if he has any, he dies with abundance of joy and satisfaction, because they suppose the said prayer more efficacious in the mouths of their children than in any others.

“And what makes them so strict in the observing of so many petty ceremonies, is because their Rabbis tell them,* that the soul not being able to enter into paradise as soon as it is separated from the body, haunts sometimes its own house, sometimes cemeteries or church-yards, and sometimes the synagogue itself, to observe and take notice whether in all these places they punctually pay their duties to their deceased friend or relation ; not doubting but that if they should neglect any the least circumstance therein they would be severely punished for it. For they do esteem them so essential and absolutely necessary for the rest of the departed soul, that they are persuaded it would never be by the angels carried up into the bed of God, there to repose to all eternity, if but one single punctilio should be omitted in this service ; but that, on the contrary, it would be fain to wander up and down in a region where it must meet with troops of devils, that would most cruelly afflict and torment it.

“They also believe that when the soul is upon the point either of entering paradise, or going down into hell, seeing itself obliged for ever to part and shake hands with its dear companion the body, re-enters it again for the last time, and makes it to stand upon his feet ; whereupon the angel of death, with a chain in his hands (whereof one half is iron, and the other fire), gives him three several strokes ; with the first of which he puts all his bones out of joint, making them fall confusedly to the ground ; with the second he breaks and shatters them ; and with

* Rab. Akib. in Talm.

the last he turns them all to dust, after which the good angels draw near, who having taken up all these broken pieces, lay them anew in the grave.

“ Lastly, they are persuaded that those who are not interred in some place or other of the Holy Land shall never rise again, and that all the favour God will be able to do them shall amount to no more than this: that he will open some small chinks, through which they may (though imperfectly) behold the abode of the blessed; except they have by great merits, as continual alms and other good works, rendered themselves worthy of it. And concerning these they say that God, who is most just, and never leaves goodness and virtue unrewarded, shall provide for them hollow places in the earth, through which their bodies shall roll continually, until they come to the Mount of Olives, which at the time of the resurrection shall be cleft and divided into two parts, in order to its giving them a free passage; and that being arrived in this blessed land, they shall rise again as well as others who were buried there. . . .

“ They hold it as an article of their faith, that there are four things which God grants to none but Israelites, viz., prophecy, the law, the land of promise, and the resurrection. . . . To which they add, that there will be three sorts of people which shall rise again at the last day. The first shall be those that are absolutely good; the second of them who are stark nought; and the third of such as are both good and bad. That the good shall be enrolled among the number of the blessed ones, the wicked reduced to nothing, and those that are partly good and partly bad, after having remained for the space of a whole year in the fire, where their bodies shall be consumed and their souls purified, they shall all at the last be received into heaven.

“ Nevertheless, I find that their opinion is not general, who think the wicked shall be annihilated; for there are some of them that believe the pains and torments of the damned will be eternal, and that they shall never enjoy any the least rest but on Saturdays, when (as they say) those miserable souls have leave to go out of the flames and refresh themselves. Whence it is that they take so much care of having water ready in all their

vessels on that day, to the end the damned may not be at the trouble of looking out for some, when they come to cool their burning and scorching heat."*

It is necessary to bear in mind that the preceding account was written upwards of a century and a half ago; that it is descriptive of customs and opinions that prevailed amongst the common people in general of the Hebrew persuasion, on the Continent more particularly; and that it would be unfair and unjust to consider it applicable to the present state of things, and of credence in this country, in France and Germany, as far as regards the intelligent and enlightened of the Jewish communities in these countries.

* Muret's Cer. Fun. p. 199, *et seq.*

CHAPTER VI.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS. TOMBS OF
MEMPHIS AND THEBES.

“Memphis and Thebes, and whatsoe’er of strange
Sculptured on alabaster obelisk,
Or jasper tomb, or mutilated sphynx,
Dark Ethiopia on her desert hills
Conceals.—
Among the ruined temples there
Stupendous columns and wild images
Of more than man, where marble demons watch
The zodiac’s broken mystery, and dead men
Hang their mute thoughts on the mute walls around,
He lingered,—poring on memorials
Of the world’s youth.”—SHELLEY.

“Embalming—making a flesh statue; eternalizing a corpse; perpetuating the perishable with more pains than we take to save that which is immortal.”—E. COOK.

EGYPT is said to be the cradle of Pagan superstitions, the birth-place of the gods of Greece and Rome, the country where the doctrines of Pythagoras and Plato had a beginning, and the motives for building pyramids and embalming the dead bodies of men and beasts had an end. Babel, however, according to Sir William Drummond, is the first city known in history; and here the first tomb noted for the grandeur and elevation of its structure which history has transmitted an account of existed, and the ruins of this monument are supposed to exist to this day, in the debris of the celebrated mound known by the name of the Birn Nemroud.

“Strabo says, that the sepulchre of Belus was a pyramid of one stadium in height, whose base was a square of like dimensions, and that it was ruined by Xerxes. That it was exceeding lofty may be conceived by the mode of expression of those who

describe it; and if it be admitted that the whole fabric was a stadium in height, as Strabo says, and as appears probable, even this measure, which is about 500 feet, must be allowed to be a vast height for so bulky a structure raised by the hands of man; for it is about twenty feet higher than the great pyramid of Memphis, and would exceed the loftiest pile in Great Britain (Salisbury steeple) by 100 feet. But as the base of the great pyramid is about 700 feet square, or nearly half as large again as that of the tower of Belus, the solid contents of the pyramid must have been greater. The tower, from its having a narrower base, would appear much more than twenty feet higher than the pyramid. Hence it may be inferred, that the uppermost stories consisted more of masonry than earth; but the lower, chiefly of earth, which was retained in its place by a vast wall of sun-dried bricks, the outer part or facing of which was composed of such as had undergone the operation of fire. Strabo says, that the sides of the tower were of burnt bricks. Near the summit is a niche, called by the natives *serdaub*, a word signifying a cellar, or vaulted cellar. Captain Mignan found, by excavation, an earthen sarcophagus, and various urns of the same material; so that, like the pyramids, it was a mausoleum.

“That there was on the summit an observatory, where the Chaldeans attentively observed the rising and setting of the sun, is noted by Diodorus.”*

The Egyptians then were not the earliest constructors of tombs and pyramids on a vast scale. The Phœnicians were the people who rose to power after the Assyrians, and by the Cyclopes of Canaanitish origin the earliest authenticated fabrics in stone were erected. The fortresses of Tyrins and Mycenæ are the two most remarkable specimens of the gigantic Cyclopean architecture.†

* Arts and Manners of the Greeks and Romans, vol. i. p. 9.

† The lintel of the door-way of the Cyclopean monument called the Treasury of Atreus, Mr. Dodwell says, must have weighed about 133 tons. The true criterion of Cyclopean masonry is the structure consisting of huge masses of rock without mortar, the interstices being filled with large stones.

A portion of the Canaanites, expelled by Joshua from their country, established themselves in Egypt, as well as in Argolis and Crete.

The primeval style of Phœnician architecture in the course of time must have undergone great changes and improvements; and as we read of Soliman sending to Phœnicia for his builders, it is not improbable but that Semiramis availed herself also of the services of the Phœnician architects in Egypt.

Herodotus and Strabo affirm, that the Egyptians and Phœnicians were the first who erected temples, and modern writers consider those of Egypt the originals of the cavern temples of India.

The written annals of the Cingalese, it must be also observed, are of a more ancient date than any records of civilization left in stone in Egypt; but the monuments of Egyptian art have a higher interest for us than all the wars of Rama, or incarnations of Buddha, preserved in books.

The sepulchral monuments of Egypt exhibit the highest efforts of ancient heathen art, of which any evidence remains, to make the pomp and circumstance of hero worship triumph for a time over the terrors of death, and the destroying influence of earth and air.

The Egyptians thought—to use the language of Sir Thomas Brown,—that “Man is a noble animal,—splendid in ashes, and pompous in the grave.”

Of Egyptian architecture nothing indeed may be said to remain but tombs and temples. Time and rapacity—war and fanaticism—the ravages of Persians, Macedonians, Romans, Arabs, Turks, and the depredations of travellers—have triumphed over other monuments of Egyptian power; but those of regal and sacerdotal pride and superstition have survived and resisted all efforts for destruction, in the pyramids of Ghizeh, the temples and the tombs of Gournah and Carnac.*

* Four-and-twenty years ago, when the author visited Thebes, a Scotch gentleman of fortune and ancient family, of the name of Hay, eminent as an artist and antiquarian, had his dwelling in a tomb at Gournah, and had then been residing there a considerable time, with a regular establishment. This gentleman, of all the Europeans I ever knew

The Grecian fable of the judgment of Minos and Rhadamanthus had its origin in the funeral procession of the Egyptians. The judges accompanied the corpse in a boat across the lake Mæris, and, on the other side of it, decided on the just right of the remains to honourable interment. The pilot who steered the boat was called Charon in the Egyptian tongue, and at Thebes it was customary, in evidence of this great inquest, to accompany the corpse across the Nile with a small figure of a boat, which, in the funeral processions painted on the tombs, is invariably seen carried after the body.*

The motive for excavating palaces for the dead, on such a scale as the Theban sepulchres of the kings at Medinet abou, is to be referred to the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, which the Egyptians are said to have derived from the Hindoos, or rather which the Hindoos shared with them.

The Hindoos burned their dead, while the Egyptians embalmed theirs, and held in horror the destruction of the body of a human being by fire. It is doubtful if the process of embalming would have served the purpose, for any very lengthened period, in any other climate but that of Upper Egypt, where great heat is combined with great dryness of the atmosphere, and rain is almost unknown. †

In Lower Egypt, where the climate is damp, the dews are heavy, and rains not infrequent, mummies, brought from Thebes, go to pieces in a very short time on exposure to external air. ‡

in the East, was the most beloved by the natives. The unfortunate Troglodytes of Thebes, the Copts and Arabs of the neighbouring villages, looked on him as their lord and master, and in all their troubles he was "their friend and father." It may be permitted to an old traveller, when his thoughts are carried back to far-away places that had a wonderful interest for him in his young days, to recall those acquaintances with feelings of affectionate regard who are associated with them, in most agreeable companionship, whom, in all probability, he may never meet again.

* A small model of one of these boats, of solid silver, which has been discovered in Thebes, with the figures and the corpse represented, I saw in the possession of Mr. Salt.

† When I was in Thebes, in 1826, rain had not fallen for twenty years.

‡ In Alexandria, where the air is excessively moist, I observed several mummies,—which I kept in a magazine that was damp,—become quite

The staple commodity of the Troglodytes of Thebes consists of mummies. Dead men's bodies, embalmed and boxed in painted cases, produce more than bales of cotton or bags of rice to the Egyptian fellahs. They can cheat antiquaries, moreover, with greater ease than they could deceive or defraud a collector of produce for the Pacha.

There are few tombs that have not been ravaged, and the consequence is, that few coffins are found intact, and those which appear to be so, are frequently outside cases of the first class, in point of richness of decoration, which have been rifled in ancient times, and have had mummies of the second or third order placed in them by the modern merchants in the flesh and bone of Egyptian antiquity.

"It was an opinion of the ancient Egyptians, that after a lapse of many thousand years their souls would come to re-inhabit their bodies, if the latter were preserved entire. Hence proceeded the mummies, and the situation of the sepulchres, in places not subject to inundation. The tombs at Thebes consist of chambers and passages excavated in the side of a mountain, and covered with sculptures and paintings of such resplendent tints, that they almost defied imitation in this country. Good taste in the combination of colours seems to be natural to the inhabitants of the East, even at the present day; and artists who have examined critically the paintings in the tombs of the kings, and elsewhere, which remain in perfect preservation, have been surprised at the knowledge of effect which the ancient colourists possessed. It is not produced, they say, by the purity or bright-

flaccid, and some parts of them melt away in the course of a few days, though they had resisted corruption in a dry atmosphere some thousands of years. "Psammenitus," says Herodotus, "the son of Amasis, lay encamped with his army at the Pelusian mouth of the Nile, in expectation of Cambyses; for Amasis died before his invasion, after he had reigned forty and four years. His body was embalmed, and buried in the sepulchre which he had built for himself in the temple. During the reign of Psammenitus a great prodigy was seen in Egypt. Showers of rain fell at Thebes: which, the Thebans say, had never happened before, nor since, even to this day. For no rain ever falls in the upper regions of Egypt; but at that time they had rain, as the Thebans affirm." Her. Thalia, iii. p. 157.

ness of any particular tint ; but, as in the works of the Venetian school, by that perfect arrangement which will not allow any part, however unimportant it may appear, to be altered without injuring the effect of the whole composition. They knew no other colours than red, blue dark and light, yellow, green, or black. With the red and green they produced a very splendid effect, particularly by candle-light. They had no knowledge of elevating their figures by shading, or very little or none of perspective ; all that was done being in profile : varnish was either incorporated with the colours, or laid over them. In drawing and sculpture, the first process was to make the walls as smooth as possible, and fill up flaws with cement. An inferior artist drew the first lines in red ; another connected them in black. The figures then received a coat of whitewash ; and the white, says Belzoni, was of so beautiful a colour, that the best and whitest paper, when compared with it, has a yellow tinge. They commonly represented the human flesh red ; but when they had occasion to depict a fair lady, often yellow. The garments being generally white, the other colours were most applied to the ornaments.” *

The Libyan mountain, on the north-west side of Thebes, contains the tombs. The multitudinous excavations perforate the face of the mountain in all directions. In the Theban tombs, indeed, abound paintings and sculpture of great beauty ; magnificent pillars, cut out of the living rock, support the roof ; multitudes of idols in wood and terra cotta ; alabaster and earthen vessels ; cases, admirably painted ; mummies of all sorts, some with gilding on the ghastly features, others on the toes and fingers, with swathings and bandagings of extraordinary skill and nicety ; ornaments of various kinds, that had escaped the rapacity of marauders and antiquarians ; and shallow vessels with cakes of bread baked some three thousand years ago ; grains of wheat that, at the lapse of that time, have germinated in England, nay, even in Australia ; † fruits and seeds, and con-

* Arts and Antiquities of the Greeks, vol. i. p. 37.

† On the property of Capt. Mears, in the York district, in Western Australia.

diments (petrified by time) for the *use* of the dead on their journey with Charon across the gloomy lake.

Jugglers are represented on the paintings on the walls, some apparently in the act of swallowing fire, some playing strange pranks with sticks and balls, while other performers appear dancing on ropes, standing on their heads,—and four-footed ones with long ears, and crosses very distinctly depicted on their backs, donkeys of a most lively humour rearing on their hind legs, and looking exceedingly awkward and ridiculous in their playfulness. Women are represented dancing, attired suitably for the occasion, and performing evolutions perfectly similar to those of the modern Almè, various sorts of musical instruments are pourtrayed; and as to freshness and vividness in the painting, nothing can exceed the colouring,—and yet, in the representation of all these objects, only six primitive colours were employed.

In one of the tombs of the kings, at the entrance, there are two large figures, casts of which were taken by Mr. Hay while I was there. There is something of divine in the serenity, dignity, and tranquillity displayed, not only in every feature, but every member of the body, in those exquisitely beautiful Egyptian figures, such as I have never seen expressed in Greek or Roman sculpture. The composure of the features is remarkably striking; the eyes are elongated like those of the great sphinx in Lower Egypt, the eye-lids half closed, the lips everted, not protuberant; the tout ensemble of the profile is, in a great degree, that of the modern Nubian. Gorgets, formed of a tablet in the form of an Egyptian temple, Belzoni supposes to be distinctive of the Egyptian kings; and painted chambers and sarcophagi to denote persons of rank. Vases, generally of baked clay, painted, with covers representing the heads of some divinity, either of human form, or of a monkey, fox, cat, or some other animal, are sometimes found, and contain the embalmed entrails of the mummies. Pottery occurs in great quantities; and, in some, a variety of vessels, as if the deceased chose to have all his household utensils buried with him.

The tomb of Sesostris, as the most splendid of the sepulchres of the kings is called, is a fitting home for the remains of a re-

nowned warrior. Sesostris, according to Larcher, flourished 1356 years before our era, say 3206 years ago.

Some tombs are literally crammed with mummies placed in horizontal layers, as they had been deposited there, in all probability, some thousands of years ago.

In such mansions of the dead upwards of three hundred modern Troglodytes, most poor, but not "most learned Thebans," were living when I was in Thebes. And I have elsewhere observed on the strange circumstance of the absence of all fear of, or repugnance to the dead, in the children of the dwellers in those tombs. The gloom of the sepulchre had no terrors for them—those cadaverous mummies no loathsome looks for them. They sat on broken coffins and pulled about the remains listlessly; poked their fingers here and there, and hummed some monotonous tune for want of thought.

The spectacle exhibited in those tombs in our days differs not a little from that of the presentation of the images of the dead at the banquets of the old Egyptians, which is thus described by Herodotus: "At their principal feasts, when they begin to taste the wine after supper, a person appointed to that end carries about in a coffin the image of a dead man carved in wood, and representing the original in colour and shape. These images, which are always of one, and sometimes of two cubits in length, are carried round all the company, and these words pronounced to every one distinctly; 'Look upon this: then drink and rejoice; for thou shalt be as this is.' These, and all other usages derived from their ancestors, they observe." *

THE ACCOUNT OF DIODORUS SICULUS OF THE TOMBS OF THE
KINGS AT THEBES.

"There, they say, are the wonderful sepulchres of the ancient kings, which, for state and grandeur, far exceed all that posterity can attain unto at this day. The Egyptian priests say that in their sacred registers there are entered seven-and-forty of these sepulchres; but in the reign of Ptolemy Lagus, there remained only seventeen, many of which were ruined and destroyed when

* Herodotus, Euterpe, ii. p. 112.

I myself came into those parts, which was in the hundred and eightieth Olympiad. And these things are not only reported by the Egyptian priests out of their sacred records, but many of the Grecians who travelled to Thebes in the time of Ptolemy Lagus, and writ histories of Egypt (among whom was Hecateus), agree with what we have related. Of the first sepulchres (wherein they say the women of Jupiter were buried) that of King Osymandyas was ten furlongs in circuit, at the entrance of which, they say, was a portico of various coloured marble, in length two hundred feet, and in height five-and-forty cubits; thence going forward, you come into a four square stone gallery, every square being four hundred feet, supported, instead of pillars, with beasts, each of one entire stone, sixteen cubits high, carved after the antique manner. The roof was entirely of stone, each stone eight cubits broad, with an azure sky, bespangled with stars. Passing out of this perystilion, you enter into another portico much like the former, but more curiously carved, and with more variety. At the entrance stand three statues, each of one entire stone, the workmanship of Memnon of Sienitas. One of these, made in a sitting posture, is the greatest in all Egypt, the measure of his foot exceeding seven cubits; the other two much less than the former, reaching but to his knees, the one standing on the right, and the other on the left, being his daughter and mother. This piece is not only commendable for its greatness, but admirable for its sculpture and workmanship, and the excellency of the stone; in so great a work there is not to be discerned the least flaw, or any other blemish. Upon it there is this inscription—‘I am Osymandyas, king of kings; if any would know how great I am, and where I lie, let him excel me in any of my works.’ . . .

“Next hereunto (the theatre of music at the second gate) was the sacred library, whereon was inscribed these words, viz. *The cure of the mind*. Adjoining to this were the images of all the gods of Egypt, to every one of whom the king was making offerings peculiarly belonging to each of them, that Osiris and all his associates who were placed at his feet might understand his piety towards the gods, and his righteousness towards men.

Next to the library was a stately room, wherein were twenty beds to eat upon, richly adorned ; in this house were the images of Jupiter and Juno, together with the kings ; and here it is supposed the king's body lies interred : round the room are many apartments, wherein are to be seen, in curious painting, all the beasts that are accounted sacred in Egypt. Thence are ascents to the top of the whole monument of the sepulchre, which being mounted, appears a border of gold round the tomb of three hundred and sixty-five cubits in compass, and a cubit thick ; within the division of every cubit were the several days of the year engraven, with the natural rising and setting of the stars and their significations, according to the observations of the Egyptian astrologers. This border, they say, was carried away by Cambyses and the Persians, when he conquered Egypt. In this manner they describe the sepulchre of King Osymandyas, which seems far to exceed all others, both for magnificence and curiosity of workmanship.* So much for the accounts of travellers of old.

The valley of the Tombs of the Kings is thus described by Lord Lindsay :—

“ The valley is desolation itself, long and winding, shut in by lofty rocks—not a trace of vegetation ;—fit scene for the funeral processions of mighty Pharaohs—fit, indeed, for the last home of the extinct dynasties of a vanished nation ! They are temples rather than tombs, broad passages and gorgeous chambers opening one into another, till you find yourself in the lofty hall of the sarcophagus terminating each. Some of them run three or four hundred feet into the heart of the mountain, a gradual slope figuring the descent into Amenti, the Egyptian Hades, or world unseen. The most beautiful are those of the Pharaohs who reigned from Rameses the First, grandfather of Sesostris, to Rameses the Fifth, in whose reign Troy was taken B.C. 1184, inclusive. A regular series of portraits of the Pharaohs might be taken from these tombs ; the likenesses are always exactly preserved. The spoilers have been at work in Belzoni's tomb. But in spite of all this sacrilege, wonderful indeed, and brilliant is this tomb : the great hall, where the sarcophagus once stood,

* Booth's Diodorus, book i. p. 26. *et seq.* London Edition.

is rich beyond conception in hieroglyphics, sculptures, and general ornament ; but the unfinished chamber beyond it, where you see the simple and beautiful outlines drawn for the sculptor to work upon, and corrected by the master's hand, is, to a lover of the arts, by far the most interesting of the series. The whole is so fresh, and the drawing so beautiful, that you almost expect the return of the artist, and feel it would be a shame to go without complimenting him on his performance. He was embalmed three thousand years ago—for this was the tomb of Osirei, the father of Sesostris.

“ In Bruce's tomb—poor, calumniated Bruce ! (I felt more pleasure in visiting it for his sake, than for the real owner's, Rameses the Third) —we saw the paintings of harps, copied and published by him, from which it has sometimes been called the ‘ Harper's tomb,’ but shall not be so by me : the harps are of the most elegant construction, and one of the performers seem to be damping the strings, just like a modern performer. They are respectively of eleven strings, and thirteen, or fourteen, I could not ascertain which. I have counted the harp-strings in almost every tomb ; there seems to have been no fixed number. I have seen also the fine stringed lyre, like that Apollo played on among the muses ; the guitar, exactly like the modern instrument, and held in the same manner, a sort of mandoline, the double flute, &c. They kept time by clapping hands. Herodotus mentions this, and our Arab Egyptian sailors practise it when singing in the evening.

“ There are many other paintings in the side chambers of Bruce's tomb of great interest, as illustrative of the manners and domestic life of the Egyptians ; in one you have the whole process of sowing and reaping, in another the mysteries of Egyptian cookery ; a third, is a painted armoury ; in a fourth, you see every description of Egyptian furniture, to the full as elegant as that of Greece—arm-chairs like our own, and of the most inviting appearance—ottomans precisely like ours—steps for ascending to bed, at least, exactly resembling those used in England for that purpose—and sofas, with crescents for the leg and neck to rest upon—luxurious appendages, which Cowper had never heard of when he wrote the ‘ Task.’

“The tomb of Rameses the Fifth is peculiarly interesting, and Champollion has described as a guide to the rest, the subjects represented in it being found in most of the other tombs, but not so detailed. The roof of the passage leading to the principal chamber is most richly painted, red and black, in the style of the Etruscan vases. The ceiling of the chamber of the sarcophagus is quite beautiful, and delightfully mystical, describing the procession of the sun through the hours of the day and night, emblematical of the terrestrial luminary, Ph're the sun, or Pharaoh of Egypt. The symbolical paintings are enclosed by the double body of Nith, the goddess of the firmament, prolonged like the folds of a serpent round the ceiling and through the middle of it, separating the day from the night. In the east, Nith becomes the mother of the Sun, an infant, who is carefully placed in the bark, in which he descends the celestial river with a large cortège of deities.

“Serpents of the most extraordinary forms are seen in every direction—short, thick, and hooded, or long and tapering—the latter often carried in long mystical procession, human heads surmounting their own, or female heads growing, as it were, on their backs, between each bearer. Belzoni's tomb is rich in serpents ; I saw there a beautiful winged snake, with three heads and four human legs ; others had a head at each extremity, crowned with the corn-measure and mitre, the body curving downwards, supported by four human legs, two looking each way ; others with four or five legs respectively. On each side of the descent to the sepulchral chambers of Rameses the Fifth, is a most magnificent snake with vulture's wings.

“What a commentary are these tombs on that most sublime passage of Isaiah, in which Hades, the world unseen, personified, is represented as stirring up the mighty dead, all the kings of the nations, from the thrones on which ‘they lie in glory, each in his own sepulchre,’ to behold the corpse of Belshazzar, cast forth at the mouth of their long home, unburied, trodden under foot and dishonoured :—

“Art thou also become weak as we ? art thou made like unto us ?

“Is thy pride brought down to the grave, and the sound of thy viols? Is the worm spread under thee, and doth the earth-worm cover thee?

“How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning!—Art cut down to the earth, thou that subduedst the nations!

“Yet thou hast said in thine heart, I will ascend into heaven, above the stars of God I will exalt my throne; I will sit on the Mount of Congregation on the sides of the north; I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the Most High!

“But thou shalt be brought down to the grave, to the sides of the pit!

“They that see thee shall narrowly look upon thee and consider thee—Is this the man that did make the earth tremble, that did shake kingdoms?

“That made the world as a wilderness, and destroyed the cities thereof? that opened not the house of his prisoners?

“All the kings of the nations, all of them lie down in glory, each in his own sepulchre:

“But thou art cast out of the grave, like an abominable branch, and as the raiment of those that are slain, thrust through with a sword—that go down to the stones of the pit—as a carcass trodden under foot!

“In front of the tomb of Amenoph's brother, I saw a mummy that once possibly was his, and wore a crown, rifled of its cerements, black and bent double, peering like a creature of life over the brow of the hill, as it watched my motions; an Arab pushed it with his foot—it fell on its side, and the back broke,—and there it lay, ‘a carcass trodden under foot,’ soon to be redissolved into the elements that human art had so many ages defrauded of their prey. ‘Was this the man that made the earth tremble, that shook kingdoms?’ A Pharaoh probably—I could have fancied him Belshazzar; at all events, the miserable epitome at my feet had been a man three thousand years before me. Hamlet might have moralized there for hours, but we have a brighter hope.” *

* Lindsay's Letters on Egypt, Edom, and the Holy Land, vol. i. pp. 138—149.

“ Why should this worthless tegument endure,
 If its undying guest be lost for ever ?
 Oh ! let us keep the soul embalmed and pure
 In living virtue, that when both must sever,
 Although corruption may our frame consume,
 The immortal spirit in the skies may bloom ! ”

“ The mounds which indicate the site of Memphis are some ten miles distant from Cairo, on the south-west, and on the other side of the Nile. Memphis is the Moph of Hosea, and the Noph of Isaiah, and Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. These names are traced to those which it bore in the ancient hieroglyphics. *Mane Phthah*, the ‘ abode of Phthah,’ or Vulcan, who had there a vast and magnificent temple ; and Pa-Nuph, or Ei-Nuph, which, Plutarch says, ‘ some interpret the harbour of good, or the sepulchre of (the good god) Osiris.’ Its Coptic names are *Memphi*, *Mefi*, and the Arabic *Memf*. Memphis is, as we have said, generally supposed to have been the capital of the Pharaohs, and is spoken of as such by Strabo, the most painstaking of the ancient geographers, although this distinction is also claimed for Zoan, called by the Greeks Tanis, and the modern San, at some distance to the north of it on the Nile. The main argument in favour of Zoan is, that ‘ the field of Zoan ’ is expressly named by the psalmist (Ps. lxxviii. 12) as the spot where the miracles of Moses were performed. On the other hand, the fact that Pharaoh was relieved from the plague of locusts by a strong *west wind*, which carried them into the Red Sea, applies well to the site of Memphis, but not at all to that of Zoan. The latter was plainly a city of importance and of great antiquity, for Moses, speaking of Hebron, says, that it was built ‘ seven years before Zoan in Egypt.’ It may be that there were two capitals, Zoan being at times the more favourite residence of the court ; and the supposition is countenanced by a passage in Isaiah, contrasting the princes of Zoan and the princes of Noph. Is. xix. 13. Memphis suffered much from the invasion of the Persians under Cambyzes, and went finally to decay, when Alexandria rose to prosperity under the Ptolemies. Diodorus Siculus represents the circuit of Memphis as one hundred and

fifty stadia, or about seventeen English miles. In the time of Albufeda, A.D. 1342, the remains of this city were still extensive; they are now reduced to a few mounds and foundations, a colossal statue of Rameses the Great who is supposed to have been Sesostris, and some other sculptured remains."

Herodotus thus speaks of the various processes of embalming in use among the Egyptians:—

"In these countries the art of physic is distributed into several distinct parts, and every physician applies himself wholly to the cure of one disease only, no man ever pretending to more. By which means all places abound with physicians; some professing to cure the eyes, others the head, teeth, or parts about the belly, whilst others take upon them the care of internal distempers. Their manner of mourning for the dead, and their customs relating to funerals, are these:—When a man of any consideration dies, all the female sex of that family besmear their heads and faces with dirt; and, leaving the body at home, march, attended by all their relations of that sex, through the streets of the city, with naked breasts, and girdles tied about the waist, beating themselves as they go; while the men, on their part, forming another company, gird and beat themselves in like manner. When this office is performed, they go to those who are appointed to exercise the trade of embalming; and as soon as the dead body is brought, the embalmers, shewing several models made of wood and painted, ask them which sort they would have. One of these models is finished with the greatest care, and called by a name which I am not permitted to discover; the second is of an inferior sort and less value; and the third is the meanest of all. When those who are concerned have concluded an agreement, they return home, and the artists fall immediately to work in this manner. First they draw out the brains through the nostrils with a crooked instrument of iron, and infuse certain medicaments into the vacant space. Then they open the belly with an Ethiopian knife made of a sharpened stone, and take out the bowels; to which, after they are

cleansed and washed in palm wine, they add a sufficient quantity of odoriferous drugs. When this is done, and the belly filled with pounded myrrh, cassia, and other odours, frankincense excepted, they sew all up again, and lay the body in nitre for seventy days, which is the longest time allowed. At the expiration of this term they wash the whole body, and, binding fillets of silk round every part, cover it with gums, which the Egyptians commonly use instead of glue. All being thus finished, the relations of the dead receive the body, and place it in a frame of wood shaped in the figure of a man, which they set upright against the wall of the edifice reserved to that end. And this is the most costly way of preserving the dead. Those who, to avoid so great expense, will be contented with a more common preparation, are served in the following manner. They fill syringes with oil of cedar, which they inject by the common way, without cutting the belly or taking out the bowels; and after the body has been laid in nitre during so many days as I mentioned before, the oil of cedar is let out by the anus, and by a peculiar virtue brings away all vitals shrunk and putrified, the nitre having in all this time consumed the flesh, and left nothing remaining except the skin and the bones. When this is done, they deliver the body without any further operation. The third and last manner of preserving the dead, used only for the poorer sort, is performed by the injection of certain liquors to cleanse the bowels, and laying the body in nitre for seventy days; after which they deliver it to be carried away by the persons concerned. The wives of considerable persons, and all women who have been beautiful and dear to their relations, are not delivered to the embalmers presently after death, but kept at home three or four days before they are carried out, in order to prevent those artificers from abusing the bodies of such persons; one of them having been formerly accused of this crime by his companion. If any Egyptian, or even a stranger, be found killed by a crocodile, or drowned in the river, wherever the body comes ashore, the inhabitants are by law compelled to pay all the charges of embalming and placing it among

the consecrated monuments, adjusted in the most orderly manner." *

Pomp. Mela, lib. i. cap. 9, Mortuos inquit, "nec cremare nec fodere putant (Ægyptii), verùm arte medicatos inter penetralia collocant.... Corpora mortuorum medicabantur myrrhâ, aloe, cedro, melle, sale, cerâ, bitumine, et resinâ odoribus et unguentis delibutâ."

* Herodotus, Euterpe, ii. p. 113; Oxford, 1824.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PYRAMIDS OF EGYPT.

————— “The Eternal Pyramids.”—SHELLEY.

“Pyramides otiosas, inertia opera.”—JULES FRONTIN, *de Aquæduc*, l. 1.

“Regum pecuniæ otiosam et stultam ostentationem.”—PLINY.

“Barbara pyramidum silent miracula Memphis
Adsiduus jactet nec Babylona labor.”

MARTIAL, *lib. i. Epig. 1.*

THESE monuments, some of brick, others of stone, scattered over the country, amount to upwards of twenty. The three great pyramids of Ghizeh, “*apud Memphem urbem*,” are those which are regarded “*inter septem terræ orbis miracula*.” Bellonius speaks of these monuments as “the sepulchres of ancient kings.” Other authors consider them temples dedicated to Sabæan worship. Manetho ascribes their origin to Horus, Josephus to the Jews, some of the later writers to Cheops or Chemis, and Mons. Dacier, and Mr. John Greaves, Professor of Astronomy in Oxford, who visited the pyramids in 1638, maintain that they are not the work of one sovereign, but of many Egyptian kings; that Horus might have commenced and Chemis completed them; and they had been standing in their day (upwards of a century ago) 3322 years. Gregory of Nanzeanzene says the Egyptians called them “*Granaria Pharœonis*.” Cicero, in his work “*De Natura Deorum*,” says, that “One of the pyramids is stated to be built by three hundred and sixty thousand men in the space of twenty years, at so vast a charge, that in garlic, onions, and radishes, there were one thousand eight hundred talents spent.”*

* Herodotus makes the amount for garlic, radishes, and onions, “*Mille et sex centa talenta argenti*.”

In our money the amount of this strange estimate would be equivalent to three hundred and forty-seven thousand pounds. So much for the garlic, onions, and radishes; but when we come to estimate the charge for meat, drink, clothing, and accommodation for workmen and families, cost of materials, machinery, carts, tools, &c., ten times the above sum, namely, three millions four hundred and seventy thousand pounds, will not be too large an amount to set down for the total expenditure for a single pyramid.

Horace's mention of the pyramids indicates their antiquity—

“Exegi monumentum ære perennius,
Regali que situ pyramidum altius;
Quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens
Possit diruere, aut innumerabilis
Annorum series et fuga temporum.” *

The poets exalt their fame above the heavens and the gods—the kings of Egypt soar only in masonry a little way above the earth, and their pride is laughed at by the poets.

Ovid has his “Exegi opus” as well as Horace.

“Jamque opus exegi, quod non Jovis ira nec ignes
Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas.”

In 1826 I visited the great monuments of Ghizeh for the first time. A ride of ten miles brought me to the foot of the pyramids: the principal ones are three, at no great distance from one another. The largest is known to travellers by the name of Cheops, the second of Cephrenes, and the last and smallest passes for the burial place of Cheop's daughter, a lady, according to the father of history, who, in order to build a tomb, made a “painted sepulchre” of her person. But Diodorus Siculus (lib. i.) says, “De pyramidum auctoribus nil certi neque apud incolas neque Scriptores Constat.” These monuments are of an age whose antiquity was of an ancient date, in days of yore; their age, use, and origin, are to this day the same problems which they were in the time of Herodotus. Larcher's Chronology makes Cheops reign 1178 years before our era, and that of

* The sense has been sacrificed to the sound in the phrase “Regali situ pyramidum”—“Pyramidis regalis situs” would be more likely to convey the meaning of the poet.

Cephrenes 1128 years. The perpendicular height of the great pyramid is five hundred feet. Two hundred and eight steps are counted from top to bottom. The base of each side of the triangle is seven hundred and twenty-eight feet. This vast structure occupies an area equal to eleven acres. The foundation of the pyramids of Ghizeh is of solid rock. Excavations beneath the sites on which they stand, and adjoining them, at Saccara especially, probably furnished the materials for their construction.

Belzoni opened the second pyramid in 1817, after thirty days' excavation, at the small expense of one hundred and fifty pounds.

The perpendicular height is four hundred and fifty-six feet, the oblique height five hundred and sixty-eight feet, and the base six hundred and eighty-four feet.

Belzoni was not aware, till he entered the interior, that any one had been in it for the last two thousand years; but an Arab inscription on the walls attested the visit of two Arab chiefs one thousand years ago. The fact is stated, by an Arabian writer, of the pyramid having been opened nine hundred years ago by a caliph.

In the time of Aaron Hill (upwards of one hundred and twenty years ago) there was no entrance into the interior; and when Herodotus was in Egypt it was closed.

Aaron Hill asserts that he found a mummy in the sepulchral chamber of the large pyramid covered over with hieroglyphics; and that from one of the galleries he made his way under ground to the interior of the great sphinx. This, indeed, savours of the marvellous; yet in his details there is so much accurate observation, though blended with surprising adventures, that I do not altogether disbelieve his account of a communication under ground between one of the pyramids and the sphinx.

The first chamber of the large pyramid is approached by a descending gallery of one hundred and fifteen feet in length, and three feet and a half in breadth, then by an ascending gallery of one hundred and fifteen feet in length, and then by another gallery of equal length leading to two passages, one to the well which Caviglia has discovered leading to the entrance

of the pyramid; and the other, of considerable length, to the first chamber, which is twenty feet long, seventeen broad, and sixteen high; and in it was the sarcophagus which Niebuhr calls a stone coffer without a cover. The second chamber is approached by an ascending gallery extremely steep, above the former passage, of about one hundred and thirty feet in length. This chamber is thirty-four feet long, seventeen broad, and nineteen high; and Denon ascertained it did not attain the middle height of the pyramid.

Has such an immense pile of building as the pyramid called that of Cheops, which occupied, according to Diodorus, three hundred and sixty thousand men, and took twenty years to erect—the area of whose base measures four hundred and eighty thousand feet—been constructed for the sole purpose of making two small sepulchral chambers?

These, however, are the principal chambers, in point of size, that have been as yet discovered; and that they have been used for sepulchral purposes there can be no doubt.

What other chambers may exist, or for what purpose designed may be those vast galleries and passages that have been penetrated, can only be surmised. What we do know, however, would make it reasonable to imagine that purpose was not solely sepulchral, and that the use of the pyramids was intimately connected with the celebration of the mysteries of the Egyptian religion.

Diodorus Siculus (lib. i.) observes, “that none of the kings who built those pyramidal sepulchres were buried in them.” * Statius speaks of the “audacia pyramidum Saxa” as “tumuli,” and Lucan of them as “indigna mausolea,” where the ashes of kings are laid. The character of the ancient religion of Egypt, the peculiar structure of the pyramids, the ruins of adjacent temples, the proximity of the hollow-headed sphinx, those narrow oval apertures in the walls of the principal chambers, into which Caviglia thrust joined reeds eighty feet and upwards without finding any impediment, are considerations favourable to the

* “Nullus ex eis Regibus qui eas sibi Pyramides in sepulchra condidere in illis sepullus est.”—Dio. Sic. lib. i. fol. 40.

opinion that is entertained by many, that these monuments are not sepulchral solely.

It is to be feared it is vain to look for the solution of the mysteries of the Egyptian religion to the papyri that have been discovered. Hitherto the papyri which have been found have contained nothing relative to the religion or sciences of the Egyptians. Law processes, accounts, documents respecting funerals, and title-deeds, are generally the subjects of the papyri. My old acquaintance and companion, Captain Caviglia, was strongly of this opinion: his valuable discoveries in the great pyramid, of the passage of the well, and of the ruins of temples close to the pyramids, were published some years ago in the "Quarterly Review."

The traveller is well repaid for any fatigue he has undergone on reaching the summit of the great pyramid. He may console himself there with the reflection of Napoleon at their base—the genius of forty centuries is an observer of his exploit. He feels that he is standing on the summit of the most ancient monument in the world, and that thousands of people in England would think it a great privilege to be where he now is: to have the site of Memphis on one hand, that of Heliopolis on the other; beneath him the colossal ruins of the sacred sphinx; the lesser pyramids and the tombs of Saccara within view; before him the valley of the Nile, and the chain of the Mokattam, at its foot the mosques and minarets of Cairo, and the Arab villages in the vicinity which mark the site of the Egyptian Babylon; nay, even to have that awful stillness and utter immovability that prevail there to ponder on—to gaze on that Libyan desert, dreary and desolate—the great sand sea of Sahara, that has swept over the face of ancient civilization—and on that spot to call back for a moment the multitudes of living men that once moved there to and fro, now only traversed by the descendants of him whose hand was lifted against all men, and every man's hand against him.*

The 22nd of August, 1840, I again visited the pyramids of Ghizeh, at an interval of fifteen years from the period of my first visit.

* Madden's Travels in the East, vol. i. pp. 354, *et seq.*

On this last occasion I was accompanied by Mr. Andrew Doyle, subsequently Editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, Dr. Loewe, the celebrated Oriental linguist, and Mr. David Wire, late under-sheriff of London.

We arrived at the great pyramid about midnight, and took up our quarters for the night under shelter of the gloomy porch of this yawning sepulchre. Here we slept soundly till the dawn. In the rock close to the entrance I found several modern antique inscriptions deeply cut, which had escaped observation at my former visits. Two and more centuries have elapsed since some of the names thus inscribed here were cut, yet they are perfectly legible.—F. Coke, 1624.—H. Gougant, 1651.—Berthier, 1631.—G. Wanley, 1638.—M. Franck, 1739. In the passage leading to the great central chamber, at a considerable height from the floor, five small chambers have been recently discovered by Colonel Vyse; these are only accessible by means of a frail ladder formed of some pieces of stick, placed at regular distances, but very large intervals, in the angle of one side of the passage. At the imminent peril of life and limb, these chambers were visited by my adventurous friend Mr. Doyle. His curiosity was not repaid by the discovery of any ancient remains. Bare walls are all that are left; and if ever used for sepulchral purposes, the possibility of which it is difficult to conceive, they must have been wholly rifled in past ages. The labours of Colonel Vyse, vast and persevering as they have been, have not removed the veil of mystery in which the uses of the pyramids have hitherto remained involved. We must go back to the efforts made three and twenty centuries ago to try to penetrate the gloom of their antiquity, to form a just opinion of the value of all modern researches and speculations on this subject.

The following is the account given by Herodotus of the pyramids and their founders.

“The Egyptians hold that the sovereign power of the infernal regions is exercised by Ceres and Bacchus, and were the first of all mankind who affirmed the immortality of man’s soul; which, they say, upon the death of the body always enters into some other animal; and passing, by a continued rotation, through

the different kinds of aërial, terrestrial, and marine beings, returns again into a human body after the revolution of three thousand years. Yet this opinion divers Grecians have published for their own, in these and former times ; but I shall forbear to mention them, though I am not ignorant of their names. They told me, likewise, that to the reign of Rhampsinitus justice and good order were preserved in Egypt, and that the kingdom flourished in plenty ; but that Cheops, who succeeded him, was a most flagitious tyrant. For after he had shut up all the temples, and forbidden the public sacrifices, he oppressed the Egyptians with hard labour ; appointing some to receive the stones that were dug out of the quarries in the Arabian mountains, and to draw them down to the Nile, in order to be transported in vessels to the other side of that river ; and ordering others to convey them from thence towards the mountain called Libycus. About a hundred thousand men were employed in this labour, ten thousand every three months : and ten years were spent in the building of a bridge, which I think to be a work little less considerable than the pyramid. For that bridge is five stades in length, sixty feet broad, and in the highest part forty-eight feet in altitude ; all of polished stone, and carved with the figures of various animals. The pyramid, and the subterraneous vaults built within the hill, on which the pyramids stand, were the labour of twenty years. Into this place he conveyed the Nile by a trench, and formed a little island in the midst of the waters, designing to place his sepulchre on that ground. This pyramid is quadrilateral, every face containing eight plethrons in length, and the same measure in height. All the stones are thirty feet long, well squared, and jointed with the greatest exactness ; rising on the outside by a gradual ascent, which some call stairs, and others little altars, contrived in the following manner :—When they had laid the first range, they carried other stones up thither, by a short engine of wood, and from thence to the second by another : for these engines thus employed were equal in number to the several orders of stone : or perhaps the engine was but one, and being easily managed, might be removed as often as they placed a stone ; for I have heard the relation both ways.

The highest were first finished, and the rest in their proper order; but last of all, those that are lowest and nearest the ground. On this pyramid an inscription is seen, declaring, in Egyptian characters, how much was expended in radishes, onions, and garlic, for the workmen; which the interpreter, as I well remember, told me amounted to no less than the sum of sixteen hundred talents of silver. And if this be true, how much more may we think was expended in iron tools, in bread, and in clothes for the labourers, during the time they were building this monument; besides the great sums that must of necessity have been spent—while they were employed in transporting the stones, and digging the subterraneous vaults? In the end, Cheops, having exhausted his treasures, arrived to such a degree of infamy, that he prostituted his own daughter in a certain apartment, commanding her to get as much money as she could; but the sum they mentioned not. She obeyed the order of her father; and at the same time contriving to leave a monument of herself, asked every one that came, to give her a stone towards the edifice she designed. By which means she built that pyramid which stands in the midst of the three, within view of the great pyramid, and extends to the length of a plethron and a half on every side of the basis. Fifty years, as the Egyptians say, Cheops reigned, and when he was dead his brother Cephrenes succeeded to the kingdom; imitating him in other things, and particularly in building a pyramid; which yet is far inferior in dimensions to that of Cheops (for we ourselves measured them), having no subterraneous chambers, nor a channel, like the other, derived from the Nile, and forming a kind of island within, on which they say the body of Cheops lies deposited. The lower part of this fabric is built with Ethiopian marble of various colours, forty feet from the ground. But they are both of equal altitude, and stand on the same hill, which rises to the height of about a hundred feet. They informed me that Cephrenes reigned fifty-six years; and that the Egyptians having been thus oppressed with all manner of calamities during one hundred and sixty years, in all which time the temples were never opened, had conceived so great an aversion to the memory of the two kings, that no Egyptian will

mention their names ; but always attribute their pyramids to one Philiton, a shepherd, who kept his cattle in those parts. They said also, that after the death of Cephrenes, Mycerinus, the son of Cheops, became king ; and, disapproving the conduct of his father, opened the temples, and permitted the people, who were reduced to the last extremities, to apply themselves to their own affairs, and to sacrifice as in preceding times : that the Egyptians praise this king above all others ; particularly for administering justice with so much clemency, that when any man complained of a hard sentence, he used to make him amends by some present out of his own treasury : that while he was thus beneficent to his people, and careful of their welfare, the first misfortune that befel him was the death of his only daughter ; with which calamity being extremely afflicted, he resolved to bury her in an extraordinary manner ; and having caused the image of a cow to be made of wood richly gilded with gold, he put the body of his daughter into the machine. This cow was not interred in the ground ; but continued to my time, exposed to open view, in a magnificent chamber of the royal palace in the city of Sais, where they burn exquisite odours all the day, and illuminate the place by night with a lamp. In another room, contiguous to this, are seen the images of Mycerinus's concubines, as the priests of Sais affirm : and indeed about twenty statues of wood stand naked in that place ; but, touching the women they represent, I know no more than they are pleased to tell me. Yet some, giving a different account of this monument, and of these statues, say, that Mycerinus, falling in love with his daughter, used violent means to obtain her ; which she resenting, hanged herself, and was buried in this manner by her father ; that her mother cut off the hands of her maids, for assisting Mycerinus in the rape of his daughter ; and for that reason, say they, the statues are made, as the originals were mutilated for their offence. But these things, as I conjecture, are not said seriously ; especially in that particular relating to the images, the hands of which were seen by me scattered on the floor ; and I plainly perceived they had dropped off through length of time. The body of the cow is covered with

Phoenician trappings, except the head and neck, which are richly gilded; and a circle of gold, in imitation of the sun, is placed between the horns. This animal is represented kneeling, and equal in proportion to the largest living cow. The Egyptians annually carry her out of the apartment where she is placed; and having whipped a certain god, not to be named by me on this occasion, they bring her into the light, which they say is done because the daughter of Mycerinus desired her father, before she died, that he would permit her to see the sun once every year. Another calamity fell upon this king, after the death of his daughter. For a prophecy was brought to him from the city of Butus, importing that he had no more than six years to live, and should die in the seventh; which denunciation having heard with impatience, he sent a bitter complaint to the oracle, reproaching the God, that his father and uncle, who had shut up the temples, despised the gods, and destroyed vast numbers of men, had lived long, and he, notwithstanding his piety and religion, must die so soon. But the oracle, in answer, sent him another message, to acquaint him that his life was shortened, because he had not acted in conformity to the decrees of fate, which had determined that Egypt should be afflicted during one hundred and fifty years, and that this was well known to the two kings his predecessors, though not understood by him. Mycerinus, finding himself thus condemned by the gods, commanded a great number of lamps to be made and lighted every night, that he might incessantly pass the time in drinking and pleasure, roving frequently by night and by day about the plains and groves wherever he could hear of the most agreeable company, imagining by this artifice to convict the oracle of falsehood, and, by turning the nights into so many days, to live twelve years instead of six. This king likewise left a pyramid of a quadrangular form, but lower by twenty feet than that of his father, every side extending to the length of three plethrons, and built to the middle with Ethiopian stone. Some of the Grecians, without reason, attribute this monument to the courtesan of Rhodopis; but to me they seem ignorant who she was. For, as she could not have undertaken to build a pyramid,

which, if I may use the expression, would require such an infinite sum ; so she did not live in the same time, but under the reign of Amasis, very many years after the death of those kings who founded the pyramids. She was a native of Thrace, servant to Iadmon, the Samian of Hephæstropolis, and fellow-servant with Æsop, the inventor of the fables, who likewise belonged to Iadmon, as appears by this testimony chiefly. For when the Delphians had several times demanded, by public proclamation, who would take the penalty imposed by the oracle for the death of Æsop, no man appeared except Iadmon, the grandson of this Iadmon who was the master of Æsop. Xanthus the Samian transported Rhodopis to Egypt in order to get money ; but Charaxus of Mitylene, son to Scamandronymus, and brother to Sappho the poetess, purchased her liberty with a great sum. By this means, being delivered from servitude, Rhodopis continued at Egypt ; and as she became extremely beautiful, acquired great treasures for a person of her condition, though no way sufficient to defray the expense of such a pyramid. And whoever considers the tenth of her riches, which is to be seen in our days, will soon find they were not so great. For out of a desire to leave some memory of herself in Greece, she contrived such a monument as no person ever thought of before ; appropriating the tenth of all her wealth to purchase a great number of iron spits, strong enough to carry an ox, which she sent as an offering to the temple of Delphi, where they still remain behind the altar built by the Chians. From that time the courtesans of Naucratis have been fond of appearing beautiful ; partly because the person we mention became so famous that no Grecian was ignorant of the name of Rhodopis, and partly on account of Archidice, who lived after her, and was highly celebrated in Greece, though not to a degree equal with the former. As for Charaxus, who purchased the liberty of Rhodopis, he returned to Mitylene, and was not a little ridiculed by Sappho in an ode she composed against him. But I shall say no more concerning Rhodopis."

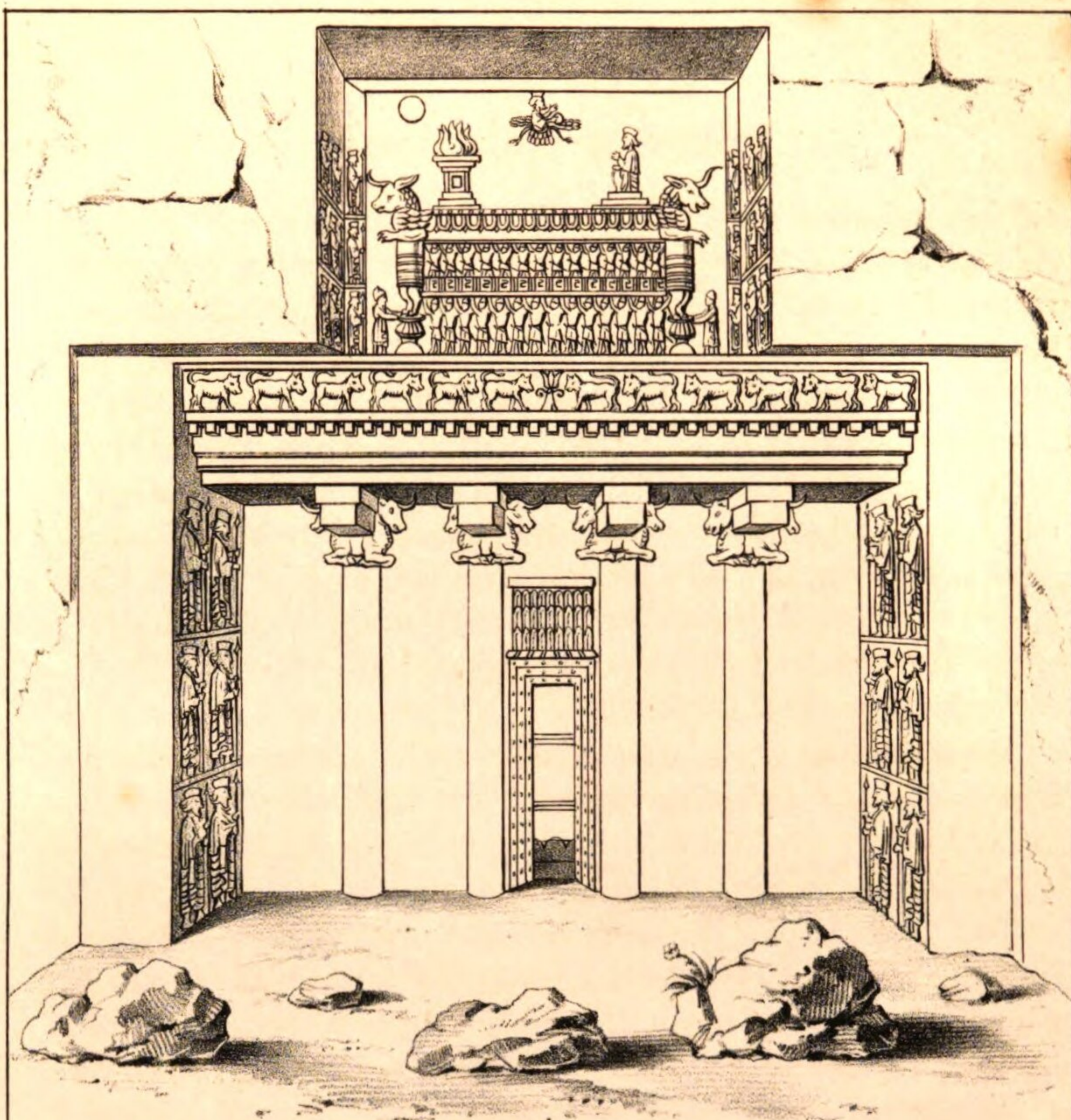
"After the time of Mycerinus, the priests said that Asychis was king of Egypt, and that he built the most beautiful and

magnificent portico of Vulcan's temple, which fronts to the rising sun ; for though the other porticoes are adorned with various figures of excellent sculpture, and many curious pieces of architecture, yet this is preferable to all, that Asychis, finding the riches of Egypt not to circulate, made a law to enable a man to borrow money upon the sepulchre of his father, with this addition, that the debtor should put the body into the possession of the creditor : and that, if he afterwards refused to repay the debt, he should neither be buried in the same place with his father, or in any other, nor have the liberty of burying any person descended from him ; that this king, desiring to outdo all his predecessors, erected a pyramid of brick for his monument, with this inscription—' Compare me not to the pyramids of stone, which I excel as much as Jupiter surpasses the other gods. For, striking the bottom of the lake with long poles, and then collecting the mire that stuck to them, men made bricks and formed me in that manner.'

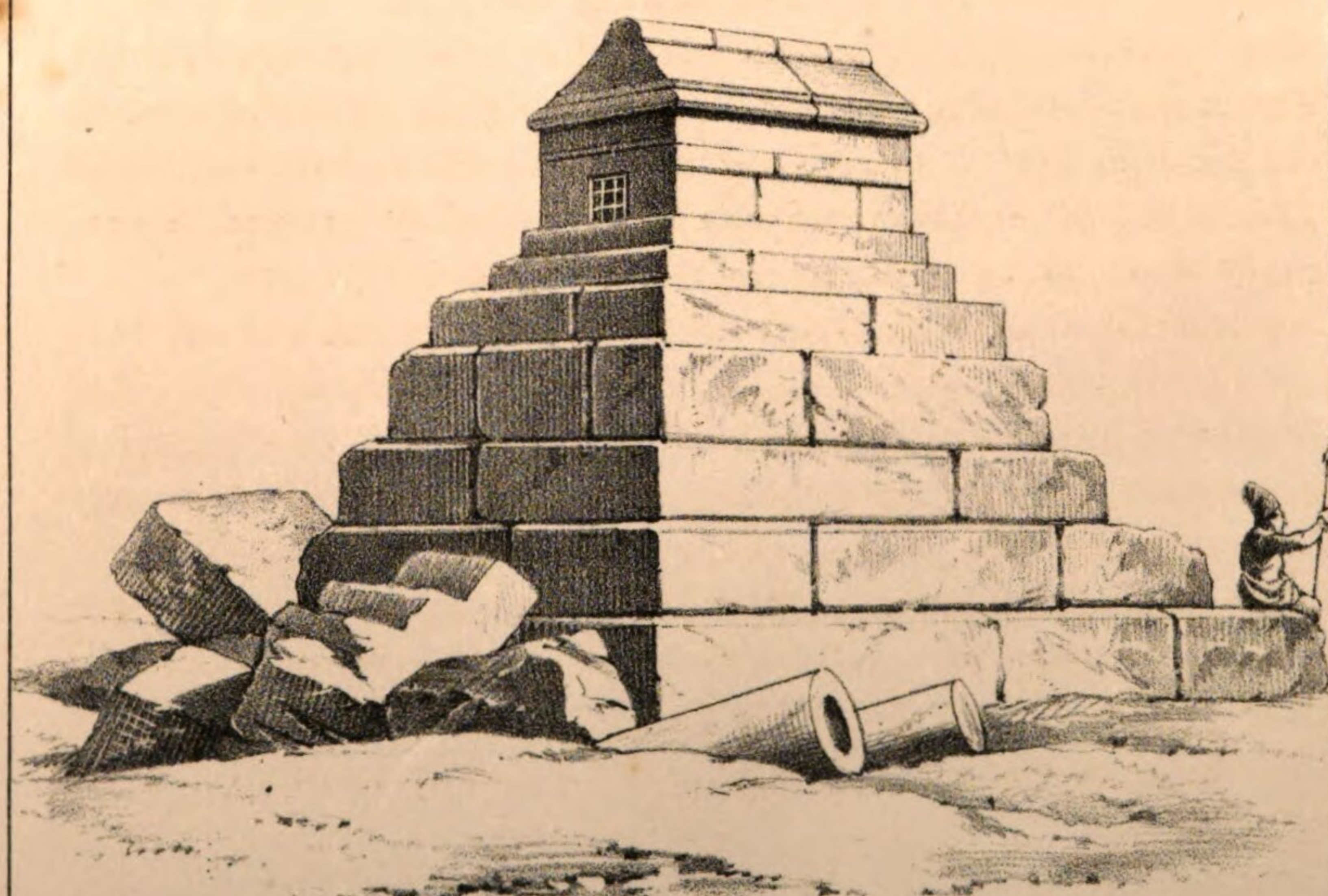
“ The pyramids are beyond expression magnificent, and singly comparable to many of the greatest structures in Greece considered together. And yet the labyrinth is more admirable than the pyramids. For this building contains twelve vaulted halls, with so many opposite doors, six opening to the north and six to the south, all encompassed by the same wall. Fifteen hundred chambers are comprehended within the upper part of this edifice, and an equal number under ground. I viewed every room of the upper part, and only report what I saw. But of the subterraneous part I can say nothing, except upon the credit of other men ; for the Egyptians who kept the place would by no means permit me to go in, because, said they, the sepulchres of the holy crocodiles, and of those kings that built the labyrinth, are there. I am therefore confined only to report the things I heard concerning the subterraneous buildings. But the upper part, which I carefully viewed, seems to surpass the art of men ; so many egressions by various passages and infinite returns afforded me a thousand occasions of wonder, as I passed from a spacious hall to a chamber, from thence to a private cabinet, then again into other passages out of the

cabinets, and out of the chambers into the more spacious rooms. All the roofs and walls within are incrustated with marble ; but the walls are farther adorned with figures of sculpture. The halls are surrounded with pillars of white stone finely polished. And at the angle where the labyrinth ends, a pyramid is erected forty fathoms in height, with figures of the largest animals in sculpture, and a subterraneous way leading into it. Nevertheless, though this labyrinth be such as I have described, yet the lake of Moëris, by which that monument stands, is more wonderful, containing the full measure of three thousand and six hundred stades, or sixty schœnes in circumference, which is equal to the length of all the sea-coast of Egypt. The figure of this lake is oblong, stretching to the north and south, and in the deepest parts has fifty fathoms of water. But the two pyramids built about the middle of the lake, which raise their heads fifty fathoms above the surface of the water, and conceal as many underneath, shew undeniably that this work was performed by the hands of men. On each of these a statue of marble is placed, seated in a throne, by which account the pyramids are one hundred fathoms in height, and one hundred fathoms make up just a stade of six plethrons. The fathom is a measure containing six feet or four cubits ; the foot comprehends four palms, and the cubit six.”*

* The History of Herodotus, translated from the Greek by Isaac Littlebury ; Euterpe ii. pp. 130, *et seq.* Oxford, 1824.



SEPULCRUM DARU HYSTASPIS.



MOSCHID MADER SULEIMAN.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SEPULTURE OF MIGHTY EMPIRES IN THE RUINS OF NINEVEH, BABYLON, AND PERSEPOLIS. THE FUNERAL RITES AND SEPULTURE OF ALEXANDER.

“I will punish the fruit of the stout heart of the king of Assyria, and the glory of his looks.”—ISAIAH, ch. x. ver. 12.

“Thou hast multiplied thy merchandises above the stars of heaven. The Bruchus hath spread himself and flown away.”—NAHUM, ch. iii. ver. 16.

“Babylon is fallen. She is fallen, and all the graven images of her gods he hath broken into the ground.”—ISAIAH, ch. xxi. ver. 9.

THIS chapter is devoted to the sepulchres of two dead nations of antiquity—the death and burial of the two greatest empires of the East—of Assyria and Babylonia. Little is left of the tombs and temples of Nineveh and Babylon. The great monuments that have been discovered there are remains of devastated palaces, vestiges of the abodes of its mighty kings, crumbling columns, and colossal statues in the dust, sculptured tablets scattered amongst the ruins, descriptive of battles, rites, and sacrifices of a sanguinary religion. These are the chief records left of Assyrian and Babylonian greatness, power, riches, kingly state, and sacerdotal pride and pomp.

Assyria is said to have derived its name from Asshur, its first planter after the flood. It extended over a vast territory, between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean. By the Samaritan chronology, which the authors of the Universal History embrace—“the whole interval,” they observe, “between the flood and the birth of Christ is 2997 years; the beginning of Cyrus’s reign is, by common consent, fixed at 559 or 560 years before Christ; if 350 years be added for the duration of the empire of the Medes, according to Ctesias, and 1300 more for the duration

of the Assyrian empire, according to the same historian and his followers, the first year of the reign of Ninus, the first pretended monarch, will coincide with the 2209th year before Christ, or 789 years after the flood: whereas, "according to our views," say the authors, "Ashur built Nineveh, and founded the Assyrian kingdom, about 431 years after the flood, or (at a period) 358 years earlier." *

The Medes and Babylonians destroyed Nineveh about the beginning of the reign of Jehoakim, when, with Tarac or Sardanapalus, the Assyrian kingdom perished.†

How long the empire had existed before that catastrophe we know not with any certainty. A period of many centuries was doubtlessly necessary for the birth, progress, and perfection of the arts which flourished in those countries, for the production of such monuments as those which have been described by Rich and Layard, or have been recently transported to England. Nineveh is said to have been almost forgotten before history began.

From the time of its last devastation to the years 1839 and 1840, its site has been either unheeded, unsought, or undiscovered.

Several travellers in the last century noticed the great mounds of earth opposite the modern city of Mosul. The first European, however, to engage in a serious examination of them was Mr. Rich, the President of the East India Company in Bagdad, in 1820, who had discovered the position of the principal buildings of ancient Babylon. He made excavations near Mosul, and discovered some fragments of monuments beneath those mounds, but had then no idea that they belonged to the ancient palaces of Nineveh.

In 1839, extensive researches were made in them by an enterprising, liberal, and enlightened French traveller Monsieur

* Universal History, folio edition, 1740, vol. i. p. 861.

† Eusebius makes the duration of the Assyrian monarchy 1240 years.

Tyncellus.....	1460	„
St. Augustin	1305	„
Castor	1280	„
Ctesias, Diodorus, and Trogus, about	1300	„

Botta, which left no doubt of the identity of the ruins at Nimroud with those of one angle of the great city of Nineveh.

In 1840, Mr. Layard, with great energy and success, followed up these researches, and soon outstripped his predecessor in the extent of his explorations and discoveries ; and Nineveh, after a lapse of twenty-five centuries, was revealed in the ruins of some of her ancient monuments.

In the vast mounds which cover Nineveh, records and monuments are there buried, it can scarcely be doubted, which, if disinterred, would add greatly to our acquaintance with the long-lost nation of Assyria. "Unfortunately, however," says Layard, of the Assyrian edifices recently discovered, "little but the sculptured slabs remain. All the painted records which once covered the walls, in addition to the bas-reliefs of alabaster, have perished. Nor have we, as in Egypt, labyrinths of tombs, on the sides of which, as well as on the walls and columns of the temples, are most faithfully portrayed the history, the arts, the manners, and the domestic life of the former occupiers of the land—so fully, indeed, that, from these monuments alone, we are able to obtain a complete insight into the manners and condition of the Egyptians from the remotest period to their final extinction. Hitherto, no tombs have been discovered in Assyria which can, with any degree of certainty, be assigned to the Assyrians themselves. It is not impossible that such tombs, even painted after the manner of the Egyptians, may exist in the bosom of some unexplored hill, their entrances so carefully concealed, that they have escaped the notice of the subsequent inhabitants of the country."*

In Assyria, as well as in Egypt, it is well worthy of observation, that "the arts do not appear to have advanced after the construction of the earliest edifices with which we are acquainted, but rather to have declined." The most ancient Assyrian sculptures discovered are the most correct and severe in form, and shew the highest degree of taste in the details. The epoch of the foundation of Nineveh, Layard says, may be ascribed to as early a period as two thousand years before

* Layard, vol. ii. p. 154.

Christ. At that time Egypt had attained a very high degree of perfection in the arts, and "there is no reason to doubt that at the same remote period the Assyrians also may have excelled in them."*

One of their most wonderful Assyrian undertakings was the passage under the Euphrates, ascribed to Semiramis, the first tunnel spoken of in history.

We are told by Diodorus (lib. ii.) that Semiramis, having diverted the waters of the Euphrates at Nineveh into a vast artificial lake, for the purpose of making a covered passage across the bottom of the river, perfected this great work, in order to have communication between her two opposite palaces. This vault, he says, was twenty bricks thick, twelve feet high, and fifteen feet broad; and when finished, in 260 days, the river was restored to its ancient course.†

The first ascertained date from which any historical notice of the capital of Assyria must commence, is the destruction of Nineveh by the combined armies of Persia and Babylon, under Cyaxares and Nabopolassar. The latter is called king of Babylon; but Layard says, "more probably he was governor of that city on behalf of the Assyrian monarch." There is no certain date of any earlier event. This destruction was an utter devastation of the great city; it was predicted by the Prophets, and spoken of as a special instance of the Divine vengeance, brought down on the pride of wealth and imperial greatness, as a warning to other rich and mighty nations, and especially to Egypt, to whose king and people Ezekiel (ch. xxxi.) was commanded to speak these words:—

"To whom art thou like in thy greatness? Behold the Assyrian was like a cedar in Libanus, with fair branches, and full of leaves, of a high stature, and his top was elevated among the thick boughs.

"The waters nourished them, the deep set them up on high, the streams thereof ran round the roots, and it sent forth rivulets to all the trees of the country. . . .

* Layard, vol. ii. p. 159.

† Universal History, vol. i. p. 879.

“And he was most beautiful for his greatness and for the spreading of his branches, for his root was very near great waters. . . .

“Therefore, thus saith the Lord God: Because he was exalted in height, and shot up his top green and thick, and his heart was lifted up in his height:

“I have delivered him into the hands of the mighty one of the nations; he shall deal with him: I have cast him out according to his wickedness. And strangers and the most cruel of the nations shall cut him down, and cast him away upon the mountains; and his boughs shall fall in every valley, and his branches shall be broken on every rock of the country; and all the people of the earth shall depart from his shadow and leave him.

“All the fowls of the air dwelt upon his ruins, and all the beasts of the field were among his branches. . . .

“Thus saith the Lord God: In the day when he went down to the grave, I brought in mourning; I covered him with the deep, and I withheld its rivers: Libanus grieved for him, and all the trees of the field trembled for him.

“I shook the nations with the sound of his fall, when I brought him down to the grave with them that descend into the pit”

The prediction was accomplished to the letter. Root and branch, Nineveh was utterly extirpated, cut down, cast out; the boughs scattered in every valley, broken in every rock of the country; all the people of the earth departed from the shadow of that mighty ruin; all the fowls of the air have dwelt upon it, and the beasts of the field for five and twenty centuries have roamed over the mounds of monumental fragments, which entomb the greatness and the glory of the once mighty Assyrian city.

When Xenophon passed over the remains of Nineveh, its very name had been forgotten; and he describes a part of its ruins as the remains of a deserted city, which had formerly been inhabited by the Medes.

Lucian speaks of Nineveh as so completely laid waste, that

even the vestiges of its ruin did not remain.* But these expressions are not to be received in their strict literal sense.

In the reign of the Emperor Claudius, Tacitus says, a Roman army crossed the Tigris, and "in passing the river they took the city Ninos, the ancient seat of the Assyrian empire, and also the fortress of Arabela, so renowned in story for the last battle fought there between Darius and Alexander, by which the monarchy of Persia was dissolved."†

The great monumental ruins found in Nineveh are of a period long prior to the Persian and Babylonian conquest.

"The date of that conquest by Cyaxares is well ascertained as 606 years before Christ." The concurrent evidence of Scripture and Herodotus on that point leaves little doubt of the date referred to. Clinton (in his *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. i. p. 209) decides that Nineveh was captured, and the Assyrian monarchy destroyed, certainly after the period of 609 years before Christ, and probably before that of 605 years.

Clinton, after carefully comparing the statements of the Greek writers with those contained in the Scriptures, thus fixes the dates of the other principal events in Assyrian history:—Ninus flourished B.C. 1912 years, Sardanapalus B.C. 876 years. "In history there appear records of two destructions of the Assyrian capital, and two monarchs, first Sardanapalus and then Taracus, having burnt themselves in their palaces rather than fall into the hands of their enemies."‡

Ninus probably displaced a more ancient dynasty, though he is called the founder of the city, to which there is better evidence of his having given his name. Eusebius names six kings as the predecessors of Ninus; and Moses of Chorene not only states that Ninus displaced a more ancient dynasty, but, like Nabonasser when he ascended the throne of Babylon, he destroyed the records and monuments of his predecessors. "Ninum superbea inflatum suæque gloriæ cupidissimus, &c. . . . Complures libros

* The Nineveh of Tacitus, Layard states, was a modern city, built near or on the ruins of the ancient.

† Tacitus An. lib. xii. p. 13.

‡ Layard, vol. ii. p. 218.

et historias antiquas rerum ubicunque egregie gestarum jussisse concremari.”*

The names of the kings on the monuments shew a lapse of some centuries between the foundations of the most ancient and most recent of these edifices. The earlier palaces discovered at Nimroud were already in ruins and buried before the foundation of the latter. The existence of two distinct dynasties is inferred from the different sculptures and cuneiform characters of inscription on the existing monuments, and the foundation, about 2000 years before Christ, of an Assyrian monarchy.

The language of the Assyrian inscriptions is a Semitic or Syro-Arabian dialect, and there are good grounds for believing that it is closely allied to the Chaldaic. “The language spoken by Abraham when he left Mesopotamia closely resembled the Hebrew, and his own name was Semitic; moreover a dialect of the same tongue is still spoken by the Chaldeans of Kurdistan, who, there is good reason to suppose, are the descendants of the ancient Assyrians.”† There is something peculiarly Semitic, Layard observes, in the genius and taste of the Assyrians, as displayed on their monuments. The Shemite race, whether Hebrew, Arab, or Syrian, is remarkable for brilliancy of imagination, quickness of conception, and repugnance to any restraint; for a fine perception of the beautiful in sound or form, whether embodied in words or works.

“The Arab of the desert and the town moulds the common clay jars for daily use, into forms cognate with those Greek and Roman vases which three thousand years ago were equalled in beauty by sacred vessels that are represented on the monuments in those Assyrian ruins which are now included in the wilderness.

“The wild man of the desert still speaks in the glowing and eloquent phraseology of his remotest ancestors. This Semitic race is distinguished from the Indo-European races, the Greek and Roman nations. They adapt beauty, they invent not its forms, they seek the causes of it, reduce it to rules by analysis

* Moses Chorenensis, lib. i. ch. 13, ap. ; Layard, vol. ii. p. 232.

† Layard, vol. ii. p. 237.

and reasoning, improve on what they borrow ; what seems to be natural in the one race appears to be the result of profound thought and speculation in the other.

“Then comes the Mongolian race, whether Scyth, Turk, or Tartar, without imagination or strong reasoning powers, ventures, bold, daring, steady on any ferocious purpose, a contemner of other tribes, and even of his fellows ; a foraging, fighting, conquering adventurer. Arrogant, domineering, and imperious, he exercises power, as a privilege of his race, to oppress and overrule every other. He belongs to an incursive horde of that swarm of predatory barbarians who emerged so often in ancient times from the deserts in central Asia, and overran the civilized portions of the globe, and fell back again on their old haunts, driven before the face of civilization, perhaps once more to pour down on other races, enervated by luxury and the vices of an *effete* society, as it has done before. If the Mongolian race were to be swept off the face of the earth, not a monument of any magnitude, nor a record in any language, that might redound to the honour or glory of any nation, would be left behind. They have attached their name to no literature, no laws, no art, no science. They have conquered only to devastate—they have depopulated every region they overran—they leave a wilderness behind them—traces of blood for tracks of glory. Monuments they make none, and those they find they help time to destroy.”

Dr. Pritchard has observed, that “the Syro-Arabian nations are among the races of men who display the most perfect physical organization.”

And it has been likewise remarked, that “the three great systems of Theism which have divided the civilized world came forth from nations of Semitic or Shemite origin, among whom arose the priests or prophets of all those nations who hold the unity of God.”

The antiquity and imperial greatness of Assyria Layard considers higher than those of Egypt. “Many ancient writers assert that Troy was an Assyrian dependency. Memnon appears at the siege of that city, with the 20,000 men and

200 chariots sent by the Assyrian king to the assistance of the Trojans. This king, according to Ctesias, Eusebius, and the commentators, was Teutames, whom Diodorus makes the 20th, Eusebius the 26th, and Ctesias the 25th in direct descent from Ninus.*

Plato (*De Legibus*, lib. iii.) speaks of Troy as being within the dominions of the king of Assyria.

Eusebius, quoting from the works of ancient authors, mentions its dependency upon that monarch.

Ctesias affirms that Ninus conquered, among other countries, Phrygia, Lydia, and the Troad.

Amongst the remains found at Nineveh, at the south-east corner of the great mound, Layard discovered an earthen sarcophagus, covered with a stone slab. "The sarcophagus was about five feet in length, and very narrow. The skeleton was well preserved, but fell to pieces almost immediately on exposure to the air; by its side were two jars in baked clay of a red colour, and a small alabaster bottle, all precisely resembling in shape similar vessels discovered in Egyptian tombs. There was no other clue to the date or origin of the sepulchre.

"The sarcophagus was too small to contain a man of ordinary size, when stretched at full length; and it was evident, from the position of the skeleton, that the body had been doubled up when forced in. A second earthen case was soon found, differing in form from the first. It resembled a dish-cover in shape, and was scarcely four feet long. In it were also vases of baked clay. Its lid was a slab taken from some building, like the lid of the sarcophagus first discovered. Although the skulls were entire when first exposed to view, they crumbled into dust as soon as touched, and I was unable to preserve either of them."

"To the tombs (continues Layard) in the earth covering the remains of the north-west, centre, and south-east edifices at Nimroud, I cannot at present assign any date; and, until the vases and other objects found in them are examined in England, I would hesitate to found an argument upon their pre-

* Layard, vol. ii. p. 227.

sence. They undoubtedly prove that, at a very early period, the ruins were completely buried, and the contents of the mounds unknown. The cartouches, ivory ornaments, and other objects found still lower in the ruins, are sufficient to mark the period of the destruction of the building. I will only allude to the resemblance between the vases, necklaces, and ornaments from the sepulchres of Nimroud, and those discovered in Egyptian tombs. The small crouching lion in lapis lazuli, a sitting figure of the same material, the beads, the forms of the vases, are all purely Egyptian. Had they been placed in the hands of any antiquary not acquainted with the circumstances of their discovery, he would not, I am convinced, have hesitated to assign to them an Egyptian origin. Two or three purely Assyrian cylinders were also discovered in the tombs. Who the people were that buried their dead above the Assyrian palaces, I cannot venture at present to decide. They were not Christians, nor did they profess the Magian doctrines as taught in the time of the Sassanian kings. The inhabitants of ancient Assyria, neither during the supremacy of the Parthian Arsacidæ, of the Romans, or of the Greeks, maintained that close connection with Egypt which would have led to such general use of Egyptian manufacture. Nor is the mode of burial Egyptian; it more nearly resembles that adopted by the early Persians. Cyrus and Darius were buried in sarcophagi, or troughs; Darius in one of Egyptian alabaster. That in which Darius was buried is mentioned by Theophrastus. The Assyrians, like the early Persians, may have buried their dead entire, and preserved the bodies in honey or wax.* According to Ælian, when Xerxes opened the tomb of Belus, he found the body in a coffin filled nearly to the brim with oil.”†

Layard winds up his accounts of the tombs of Nineveh with the following observations :—

“It only remains for me to say a few words on the mode of burial of the Assyrians. As I have already observed, no tombs

* Herod. lib. i. ch. 140. Arian de Bello Alex. Theoph. de Lapid. ch. xv.

† Layard, vol. ii. p. 220.

which can with certainty be attributed to that people have yet been discovered. We may conjecture, as the analogies between the two nations are in other respects so evident, that the Persians imitated the Assyrians in their funeral ceremonies. The body may have been enclosed in a coffin filled with honey, wax, or oil; and this may also be inferred from the anecdote related by Ælian as to the body of Belus. *

“Traditions have been preserved relating to the tombs of the two most celebrated Assyrian kings,—Ninus and Sardanapalus; but they are so confused and vague, that even the precise place of sepulture of those monarchs cannot be determined. According to some, the tomb of Ninus was at Babylon, where it will be remembered Ovid places the ‘Busta Nini;’ according to others, at Nineveh. Ctesias relates that, when her husband died, Semiramis buried his body in the palace, and raised over it a huge tumulus or pyramid of earth, which was visible from afar, and was still standing after the destruction of the city and the fall of the empire. From the ambiguous expression of the Greek author, it might be inferred that the palace itself was actually buried. . . .

“The same doubt exists as to the burial-place of Sardanapalus. Some have placed his tomb at Anchiale, in Cilicia, where it was said to have been seen by Alexander; others at Tarsus; others, again, at Nineveh. According to Amyntus, at the gate of the Assyrian capital was a high artificial terrace or tumulus, which was the tomb of the monarch, and bore an inscription to that effect in Chaldæan letters. During the siege of Nineveh, engines of war brought against the besieged were placed upon it. But if this were the tomb of the Sardanapalus of history, who burnt himself with his wealth and concubines, and after whose death the Assyrian dynasty and capital were destroyed, it may be asked how it could have been thus raised in the most

* Rich discovered a skeleton in a square wooden box or coffin amongst the ruins of Babylon. Under the head was a round pebble, on the outside of the coffin a brass bird, and in the inside an ornament of the same material, which had probably been suspended to some part of the corpse.

conspicuous part of the city? It is most probable that the high terrace, described by Amyntus, was the pyramid or mound of Nimroud, and the tomb of a much earlier monarch. The epitaph inscribed upon the tomb of Sardanapalus—‘Sardanapalus, the son of Anacyndaraxos, who built Anchiale and Tarsus in one day—‘Eat, drink, and love; the rest is nothing’—has been quoted for ages, and its authenticity is generally admitted. Yet some versions of the same inscription would give a more favourable view of the character of the monarch; although the sentiment, according to those who pretend to have seen the monument, was sufficiently illustrated by a statue, representing the king snapping his fingers in contempt, or in the attitude of a dancer. The manner of the death of Sardanapalus is no less doubtful than the site of the tomb. The Assyrian king upon the funeral pile, surrounded by his wives, his concubines, and his treasures of gold and silver, gazing from the flaming heap on the great city, once impregnable, and now to become the prey of the conquering Mede, has long been a favourite theme of the poet, the historian, and the moralist.”*

Major Rawlinson, at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, in February, 1850, gave an account of the nature of the inscriptions recently found at Nineveh of the highest interest:—

“The greater number of the inscriptions, he remarked, were generally supposed to have been found at Nineveh; but the correct modern name of the place was Nimrud. And though it was in all probability one of the group of cities to which Jonah was sent, yet it had no claim to be considered Nineveh itself—its ancient name, as denoted on the inscriptions, was Khaln, or Sala, and was probably the Culneh mentioned in the 10th chapter of Genesis. The real and principal Nineveh he conjectured to have stood on the site now occupied by that large mound, on the opposite side of the Tigris from Mosul, on the top of which was the pretended tomb of the prophet Jonah. The mound was held so sacred by the Turks that they would not allow Europeans to excavate it, but he did not believe Major Layard would leave the country without bringing away some of the inscrip-

* Layard, vol. ii. pp. 477—478.

tions it contained. There were two other towns in the neighbourhood, whose modern names were Khorsabar and Konyinjurk; and these two towns he believed were the two chief cities of the kingdom of Nineveh. The early history of that country was buried in the deepest obscurity. Even if they should be able to decipher all the inscriptions, still these would give little insight into the chronology of the period, unless they could lay hold of some event which touched upon the history of other countries. They had already obtained some valuable notices of the reigns of six monarchs in succession, but any one must see that that was but a short way towards a connected history of the nine centuries to which the Assyrian empire extended. Of the six monarchs he had mentioned, there was little to mark the era of their reigns; but, after being engaged in the examination of the question for many years, the conviction had been forced upon him that the date of the building of the north-west palace of Khala or Nimrud, on which palace the inscriptions relating to these monarchs had been found, was nearly coeval with the extinction of the 18th dynasty of Egypt, and the first establishment of the Jews in Palestine. The earliest cuneiform inscriptions which he had been able to decipher related to a king whose name he read as Sardanapalus, not the voluptuary with whose name they were so familiar, but a monarch much anterior, the builder of the north-west palace; but it did not, therefore, follow that he was the first king or the builder of the city, for several other names of monarchs are incidentally mentioned, and his own father and grandfather are always spoken of as kings. He might mention here that a great difficulty was thrown in the way of identifying a monarch referred to in different inscriptions, or in different parts of the same inscription, from the fact that the names were not marked by any definite phonetic sound, but rather by the sense, so that synonymes were employed to any extent. The inscription to which he had referred began, 'This is the palace of Sardanapalus, the humble worshipper of Assarach.' There could be no doubt that this Assarach was the Nisroch mentioned in Scripture, in whose temple Sennacherib was slain. He was most probably the deified father of the tribe,

the Assur of the Bible. That Assarach was styled in all the descriptions as the King, the Father, and the ruler of the gods, thus answering to the Greek god Chronos, or Saturn, in their Assyrio-Hellenic mythology. The inscription then went on to record the extent of the dominions of King Sardanapalus, from which it appeared that Phœnicia was not at that time subject to his sway ; but another inscription stated that, after passing the Great Desert, he received tribute from the kings of Tyre and Sidon and Accaia upon the sea-coast. There was another inscription giving an account of various wars, but in so mutilated a condition that it was impossible to make out a connected narrative. He therefore passed on to another narrative, giving an account of the reign of Tummum Bahr, the son of Sardanapalus. The inscription was complete, and it gave an account of an active and restless monarch, who, during a period of more than thirty years, carried on his wars and conquests on every side, quelling rebellions, plundering cities—leading princes into captivity, and slaughtering thousands in battle. These expeditions were invariably headed by the king himself, till towards the thirtieth year of his reign, when, sated with glory, and very probably worn out with action, he remained at home and sent his armies to rob, plunder, and slay, under the command of his lieutenant. . . . Many other inscriptions asserted the then reigning monarchs to be of the family of Sardanapalus. One curious fact, apparent from the latter inscription, was, that a strong Celtic element had been infused into the west of Asia, for the Cymri were referred to in almost every inscription.”

BABYLON.

Babel is the first kingdom mentioned in Scripture. Nimrod was the founder of it. It, however, seems to have suddenly risen and declined, while a new empire, that of Assyria, sprang up probably out of the elements of the former, and in progress of time far surpassed it. The ancient Babylon, in its turn, seems to have derived new energies and vitality from this nation of cognate race and extraction.

The Babylonians are allowed to have been the most ancient

nation of the world, though the ancient chronologies, which refer to the registries of their transactions for 150,000 years,* and others 473,000 years, reckoning down to Alexander, may not be much relied on.

The name of Chaldeans, or Chaldees, as distinguished from that of Babylonians, belonged to their learned and sacerdotal class. Astronomy, astrology, divination, sorcery, and magic, formed parts of the studies of their adepts and divines. The Sabeian worship of the stars had its origin in Chaldea, and probably from the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates all the idolatries of the ancient world came to have a being. The Chaldees are considered to have originated the worship of the stars, on account of their exalted notions of the infinite holiness, purity, and majesty, of the Supreme Governor of the universe, and their profound conviction of the vileness, meanness, and depravity, of men; and the impossibility of an immediate converse between such glory and goodness, and their own misery and evil dispositions. Hence God mediators were had recourse to; and as the sun, moon, and stars, were held to be the habitations of intelligences which animated those orbs, in the same manner as the soul of man animates his body—those glorious tabernacles were sought as mediators, and at length divine worship was directed to them. “Here (says Prideaux) began all the idolatry that has been practised in the world.”† Idolatry began, then, in Chaldea, in poetry without piety, rather than in pride; and it may be said to have ended, in Mexico, in superstition destitute of every thing poetical, a religion of blood, and of gods with blood-daubed mouths, and of altars eternally reeking with human gore.

Wonderful transition of worship, and mournful evidence of human weakness, proneness to evil and degradation continually tending to deeper darkness and depravity!

The primary god, in course of time, that came to be worshipped in Babylon, was Belus; and in Nineveh, the same deity

* Syncellus.

† Prideaux's *Connexion of the History of the Old and New Testament*, book 3, p. 177.

was "The Lord of all the heavens." The *Succoth Benoth* was the worship of the shrine of the principal goddess common to Babylon and Nineveh, corresponding to the Venus of the latter days, and the Phœnician Astartè.—This goddess was denominated Benoth; her place of worship, the tabernacle of Benoth. The same craft and fraud which produced Belus and Benoth, could not fail to engender gods, and to manufacture idols *ad libitum*; could not fail even to offer physical violence to the gates of heaven,—to elevate its pride beyond measure;—the tower of Babel was attempted, and the strength of the first people of Babylonia was shattered at Shinaar.

The country of Babylon, or Chaldea, is supposed to have comprised the territory in which Shinaar was situated. Any attempt to shew where the limits of the dominions of Babylon commenced, and those of Assyria terminated, would be in vain. They varied at different epochs; and as the preponderance or pre-eminence of Babylonian or Assyrian power prevailed, the immense regions bordering on Media and Armenia, the Persian Gulf, Elymais, and the country of the Arabes Scenitæ, were called Babylonian or Assyrian; and thus in the fragment of Berosus, respecting those limits, we "see Assyria and Babylon most remarkably confounded together, not only as the same empire, but as the same country. *

"The Babylonians, or Chaldees, are allowed to have had a regular body of genuine history from the origin of things, and, by the fragments of it, we understand it to have been agreeable to what we read in the Mosaical writings, which perhaps may have been taken from the Chaldeans, from whom the Jews were descended.

"But this Babylonian account has been long since destroyed, and absurd traditions and ridiculous tales have taken its place, which is the more to be regretted, as we are assured by Josephus it was a most valuable remain." †

Of Babylon Herodotus speaks as "the seat of the kingdom of Assyria, after the destruction of Ninus;" a city "more magnificently built than any other we know, beautified with temples,

* Universal History, vol. i. p. 905.

† Idem, p. 863.

tombs, and great public edifices, but by none more than two women: the first of these, named Semiramis, lived five generations before the other, and raised such banks to prevent the inundations of the river, which frequently overflowed all the plain of Babylon, as deserved admiration. But the other, whose name was Nitocris, having afterwards obtained the kingdom, and being much more provident, not only left monuments of herself, which I shall describe; but when she saw the power of the Medes grown formidable and strong, and that they had taken the city of Ninus, with divers others, she made all imaginable provision for the defence of her territories." * . . .

"The queen Nitocris laid this snare for succeeding time: she prepared a sepulchre for herself over the most frequented gate of the city, exposed to open view, with the following inscription: 'If any one of my successors, kings of Babylon, should find himself in want of money, let him open this sepulchre, and take as much as he shall think fit: but if he be not reduced to real want, he ought to forbear; otherwise he shall have cause to repent.' This monument continued untouched to the reign of Darius: who, judging it unreasonable that the gate should remain useless to the inhabitants (for no man would pass under a dead body), and an inviting treasure be rendered unserviceable, broke up the sepulchre, and, instead of money, found only the body and these words: 'Hadst thou not been insatiably covetous, and greedy of the most sordid gain, thou wouldest not have violated the sepulchre of the dead.' And this is the account they give of Nitocris, queen of Babylon." †

"The religion of Babylon was doubtless the same as that of Assyria, being derived from one origin, as the two nations were considered to have been by Ptolemy, who calls the kings of Babylon, in his astronomical canon, Assyrians." ‡ It may be inferred that their manners, customs, and funeral observances, were not very dissimilar.

Babylon is said, by some writers, to have been founded by Semiramis, by others, Belus or Pul, his alter ego, or his son,

* Herod. Clio, i. p. 71.

† Idem, p. 72.

‡ Universal History, vol. i. p. 562.

Nabonassar. The only thing certain is, Nebuchadnezzar made Babylon one of the wonders of the world.

It appears to have exceeded Nineveh in size, and the marvels of its great temple of Belus, its hanging gardens, and walls of 60 miles in extent, forming a square in which the city was enclosed. The measure of each side of this square, according to Herodotus, was equivalent to fifteen miles. It was built of sun-dried bricks, cemented together with bitumen. In the four sides there were 100 gates of solid brass, and 250 towers. The thickness of the walls was 87 feet. A branch of the Euphrates divided the city into two parts, and on each side stood a palace. The city was never inhabited to any thing near the extent of houses, nor was the habitable part at all equal to the extent of ground laid out in gardens and pasturages for cattle.

If Nebuchadnezzar had realized his designs, no city in the world would have approached Babylon; but even as he, "the great king," left it, its magnificence would seem to have been unparalleled. The wars of Nebuchadnezzar were on a grand scale—he was a great fighting king: he made no little wars. He was a warrior before all who had gone before him, or who came after him. He exceeded Hercules, we are told, in his labours. He had a mighty lust of territorial aggrandizement, and wherever he carried his armies they were successful; in the heart of Libya and, according to Eusebius, even in Iberia. He conquered Judea, Syria, Egypt, Tyre, Assyria, nearly all the realms of Mesopotamia. He was given to centralization; he removed the wealth, the trade, the inhabitants even, of some of the countries he conquered, to his own dominions. His capital was the seat of the greatest empire in the world, the centre of a great commerce communicating with the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean, commanding the Tigris and Euphrates; "a city of waters," as the prophet designates it.

After having consolidated his power; extended his sway over millions of people, and therefore having as many enemies as he had subjects; made his dominions as extensive as his ambition, and governed them so as to enrich the city of Babylon; having set up the fame of his prosperity and power on the highest pin-

nacle of earthly renown; drunk with excess of pride, prosperity, and riches,—the glorious king of Babylon, reposing in his palace, dreamt a dream, which perplexed him mightily, and when revealed to Daniel surprised him not a little—he “was astonished for one hour, and his thoughts troubled him.” And well might the great king be astounded when the prophet expounded the words to him—“Let his heart be changed from man’s, and let a beast’s heart be given to him;” and exhorted him to abstain from sin, and shew mercy to the poor. The great king, who had made great wars, acquired great territories, gained great victories, gotten great spoils, could not at all understand the impudence of such counsel. He indeed shew mercy to the poor! The priests, and princes, and merchants of Babylon, would have laughed at him if he had listened to such counsel, and remitted a single impost, or loosed a single claw, which held the industry of the people in his rapacious clutches, by which money might be brought to the treasury or the temples.

Twelve months elapsed, and the pride of the great king was as great as ever; he was contemplating the glory of his works, in the grandeur and magnificence of Babylon, when the voice from heaven came to him in his palace, and the words were spoken—“The kingdom is departed from thee,”—and strait he was driven from the haunts of men to dwell among the beasts of the field, his drizzled hair became like eagle’s feathers, and his nails like the claws of birds. So much for the proud monarch of Babylon! he was “a great king,” a powerful monarch, he made great wars, he did great wrongs, he cared not for his people—there was more appropriateness of punishment in the sentence pronounced on him in his dream, than Nemesis ever got credit for in her judgments—“Let his heart be changed, and let a beast’s heart be given to him.”

Another warning and another judgment were given to Babylon in vain. *Babylon was drunk with riches and prosperity*, and could not be awakened from the intoxication of her power and domination.

Belshazzar made a feast for 1000 of his lords, and, in the midst of his impious revelry, the fingers of a hand came out and

wrote upon the wall words that made the proud king tremble, and his knees to smite one against the other. That night was Belshazzar, the king of the Chaldeans, slain; and Darius the Median took the kingdom 538 years before Christ. A little later, and Babylon ceased to be.

The Babylonians were puffed up with pride and prosperity, full of confidence in the wealth, and power, and military strength of their empire—full of security in their vast walls, their gates of brass, and towers of great strength, when—"Behold the day of the Lord *did* come, a cruel day and full of indignation and of wrath and fury, to lay the land desolate, and to destroy the sinners thereof out of it. . . .

"Their infants shall be dashed in pieces before their eyes, their houses shall be pillaged, and their wives shall be ravished. . . .

"And that Babylon, glorious among kingdoms, the famous pride of the Chaldeans, shall be even as the Lord destroyed Sodom and Gomorrha. It shall no more be inhabited for ever, and it shall not be founded unto generation and generation; neither shall the Arabian pitch his tents there; nor shall shepherds rest there. But wild beasts shall rest there; and their houses shall be filled with serpents, and ostriches shall dwell there, and the hairy ones shall dance there: and owls shall answer one another there, in the houses thereof, and sirens in the temples of pleasure." * . . .

The parable was taken up against the king of Babylon, and now it might be truly said, "How is the oppressor come to nothing, the tribute hath ceased! . . .

"That struck the people in wrath with incurable wounds, that brought nations under in fury, that persecuted in a cruel manner. . . . Thy pride is brought down to hell, thy carcase has fallen down; under thee shall the moth be strewed, and worms shall be thy covering.

"How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, who didst rise in the morning! how art thou fallen to the earth, that didst wound the nations. . . . All the kings of the nations have slept in glory, every one in his own house. . . .

* Isaias, Vulg. chap. xiii.

“Thou shalt not keep company with them even in burial, for thou hast destroyed thy land, thou hast slain thy people; the seed of the wicked shall not remain for ever. . . . The Lord of Hosts hath sworn, saying; surely as I have thought, so shall it be: and as I have purposed, so shall it fall out: That I will destroy the Assyrian in my land, and upon my mountains tread him under foot: and his yoke shall be taken away from them, and his burden shall be taken off their shoulders.

“This is the counsel that I have purposed upon all the earth; and this is the hand that is stretched out upon all nations.” *

It was reserved for Alexander the Macedonian and his successors to complete the work of Darius the Median.

“This mighty city (of Babylon) declined very rapidly, under the successors of Alexander; and in the year 294 A.B. was almost exhausted of its inhabitants by Seleucus Nicator, who built in its neighbourhood the city of Selucia, or New Babylon. It suffered greatly from the neglect and violence of the Parthian princes, before the Christian era; and every succeeding writer bears testimony to its increasing desolation: Diodorus Siculus, B.C. 44; Strabo, B.C. 30; Pliny, A.D. 66; Pausanias, A.D. 156; Maximus Tyrius and Constantine the Great, as recorded by Eusebius, all concur in describing its ruined condition; and Jerome at length informs us, that, about the end of the fourth century, its walls were employed by the Persian princes as an enclosure for wild beasts, preserved there for the pleasure of the chase. It was visited, about the end of the twelfth century, by Benjamin of Tudela, in Navarre, who observed only a few ruins of Nebuchadnezzar’s palace remaining, but so full of serpents and other venomous reptiles, that it was dangerous to inspect them nearly. A similar account is given by other travellers; by Texeira, a Portuguese; by Ranwolf, a German traveller, in 1574; by Petrus Vallensis, in 1616; by Tavernier, and by Hanway; but so very slight are the vestiges now to be found of ancient Babylon, that it is difficult to ascertain exactly the spot on which it stood; so completely has been fulfilled the prediction of Isaiah.” †

* Isaias, chap. xiv.

† Brewster’s Encyclopedia.

CHAPTER IX.

ALEXANDER'S FUNERAL AND TOMB.

ALEXANDER died at Babylon. Diodorus Siculus relates, that Aridæus was charged with the funeral, and spent two years in making preparations for it :—"The coffin," says Diodorus, "was of beaten gold, so wrought by the hammer as to answer the proportions of the body; it was half filled with aromatic spices, which served as well to delight the senses as to preserve the body from putrefaction. Over the coffin was a cover of gold, so exactly fitted as to answer the higher part every way: over this was thrown a curious purple coat embroidered with gold, near to which were placed the arms of the deceased, that the whole might represent the acts of his life. Then was provided a triumphant arch of gold, set thick and studded over with precious stones, eight cubits in breadth, and twelve in length: under this roof was placed a throne of gold joined to the whole work, four feet square, on which was carved the heads of goat-harts, and to these were fastened golden rings of two hand's breadth in diameter; at which hung, for show and pomp, little coronets of various beautiful colours, which, like so many flowers, gave a pleasant prospect to the eye. Upon the top of the arch was a fringe of net-work, where hung large bells, to the end the sound of them might be heard at a great distance. On both sides the arch, at the corners, stood an image of victory in gold, bearing a trophy: a peristylum of gold supported the arch-work, the chapiters of whose pillars were of Ionian workmanship: within the peristylum, by a net-work of gold, of a finger's thickness in the workmanship, hung four tables, one by another, equal to the

dimensions of the wall, whereupon were portrayed all sorts of living creatures. . . .

“And thus Aridæus (who had spent two years in preparations) brought the king’s body from Babylon to Egypt. Ptolemy, in honour of the king, met the corpse, with his army, as far as Syria, where he received it, and accompanied it with great care and observance : for he had resolved not as yet to conduct it to the temple of Himmon, but to keep the body in the city which Alexander himself had built, the most famous almost of any city in the world. To this end he built a temple in honour of Alexander, in greatness and stateliness of structure, becoming the glory and majesty of that king ; and in this repository he laid the body, and honoured the exequies of the dead with sacrifices and magnificent shows agreeable to the state of a demi-god.”*

ALEXANDER’S TOMB.

Sandys, who visited Alexandria in 1611, was shewn a sepulchre in that city venerated as the tomb of Alexander. “Within a seraglio called Somia, belonging to the palaces, the Ptolemies had their sepultures, together with Alexander the Great.

‘Cum tibi sacrato Macedon servatur in antro,
Et regum cineres extructo monte quiescunt.’

LUCAN, l. 8.

‘Of Macedon, in sacred vaults possést,
And under high piles royal ashes rest.’

For Ptolemy, the son of Sadus, took his corpse from Perdiccas : who, bringing it from Babylon, and making for Egypt, with intention to have seized on that kingdom, upon his approach, was glad to betake himself into a desert island, where he fell (thrust through with javelins) by the hands of his soldiers : who brought the body unto Alexandria, and buried it in the place aforesaid ; then inclosed in a sepulchre of gold. But Cybiosactes the Cydrian, espousing the eldest daughter of Auletes, and in her right possést of the kingdom (she being elected queen), despoiled the body of that precious coverture : when forthwith, strangled by Cleopatra, he lived not to enjoy the fruits of his

* Booth’s Diodorus, book xviii. p. 586, *et seq.* London edition, 1700.

covetousness. After that it was covered with glass, and so remained until the time of the Saracens. There is yet here to be seen a little chapel; within, a tomb, much honoured and visited by the Mahometans, where they bestow their alms; supposing his body to lie in that place: himself reputed a great prophet, they being so informed by their Alcoran.” *

This is a very remarkable passage. One hundred and twenty years previously to Sandys’ visit, Leo Africanus “did homage at the tomb of Alexander, in Alexandria—namely, in 1491.”

The passage of Leo, literally translated by Dr. E. Clarke, is as follows:—

“Neither ought it to be omitted that, in the midst of the ruins of Alexandria, there still remains a small edifice, built like a chapel, worthy of notice on account of a remarkable tomb held in high honour by the Mahometans; in which sepulchre, they assert, is preserved the body of Alexander the Great, an eminent prophet and king, as they read in their Koran. An immense crowd of strangers comes thither, even from distant countries, for the sake of worshipping and doing homage to the tomb: on which they likewise frequently bestow considerable donations.” †

Marmol visited and described this supposed tomb of Alexander in 1526.

A Persian writer, in a work entitled *Lebtarikh*—the marrow of histories—in the 948th year of the Hegira, says—“Alexander’s body was carried, after death, to Alexandria in a golden coffin, which his mother caused to be changed for one made of *Egyptian marble*.”

Olympias, the mother of Alexander, died 316 years before Christ, and Alexander’s body was brought to Egypt in the year 321 before Christ.

Benjamin of Tudela, the Jewish Rabbi, whose Itinerary in the East long preceded Leo’s travels, says, in his account of Alexandria—“There, on the sea-shore, is seen a marble sepul-

* Sandys’ Travels, lib. ii. p. 87.

† Leo Africanus, tom. ii. p. 677, ap.; Dr. Clarke’s “Tomb of Alexander,” 4to. Camb. 1805, p. 97.

chre, on which are sculptured all sorts of birds and other animals, with an inscription by the ancients which no one can read. They have a conjecture, that some king, before the deluge, was there buried, the length of which sepulchre was fifteen spans, the breadth six." *

The Rabbi, however, can hardly be supposed to refer to the sarcophagus which tradition has handed down as that of Alexander.

In the Arabic Annals of Alexandria, by Said Ebn Babric, who was living in Alexandria in 933, the translation of the remains of Alexander to Alexandria is detailed, and the interment of them there, after the performance of the funeral solemnities, and the chanting over the body of many consolatory and moral dirges.

Strabo relates, that within the palace at Alexandria was an area or court called Soma, in which Alexander was entombed.†

Dio relates of Augustus, that "he saw both the *Soma* of Alexander and his body, and it is said, in handling the latter, that he had broken off the nose." ‡

Caracalla had likewise visited the monument of Alexander, and there took off his insignia and deposited them on the coffin.

The Emperor Severus visited this mystic monument of the deified Alexander, and shut up the plundered archives of the Egyptian temples in the tomb—"that the *Soma* in which he was buried might no more be seen, nor these books be read by any one." §

In the Egyptian Archives, it is stated by Manetho, were inscriptions on stone, sculptured by Thoth, before the deluge.

On the downfall of paganism a Christian church, bearing the name of St. Athanasius, was built over the spot where a temple had stood, and a portion of the ancient building still remained, in which was the sepulchre with this remarkable sarcophagus. The body contained in it was removed, and the sarcophagus was converted into a cistern.

In 640, the cities of Memphis, Babylon, and Cairo, fell into

* Itin. Ben. de Tudela, p. 124.

† Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 794.

‡ Dio, lib. 51, cap. xvi. p. 647.

§ Spartian, in vitâ Severi, cap. xvii.

the hands of the Saracens. All Egypt was soon after in their possession.

The ancient Peribolus which inclosed the monument, that had been left by the Christians, and the modern church of St. Athanasius, were converted into a mosque, and the reputed tomb of Alexander became a Saracen shrine of great repute.

Bruce, in 1769, states, he could find no trace of this tomb in Alexandria; but he remained not an entire day in that city, as the plague was then raging there. Irwin, however, in 1777, says he saw it, having ventured secretly into the mosque of St. Athanasius, and procured the key of the sepulchre by stealth.

He describes it as the remains of an ancient temple—"This is a square of very large diameter, which is surrounded by triple rows of granite pillars of the Corinthian order. These pillars are lofty, and support a roof which is still in a good state of preservation. The inside of the walls of this temple is inlaid with tables of marble of various colours, which, for their richness and novelty, cannot but engage the admiration of a stranger. In the area of the square is a stone cistern of very antique mould. It is inscribed on all sides with hieroglyphics, and, from a rail which inclosed it, appears to have served for some religious purpose."

About 1780, Sonini visited the tomb. He was informed it was not only dangerous, but impracticable to enter the mosque in which it was situated. Some money, however, gained him access. The outer building, which he calls "the temple," he says was built by a caliph.

"The tomb (he adds) which was the object of our researches, and which may be considered as one of the finest pieces of antiquity preserved in Egypt, had been converted by the Moham-medans into a sort of pool or reservoir, consecrated to contain water for their pious ablutions. It is very large, and would be an oblong square, were not one of its shorter sides rounded off in the shape of a bathing tub. In all probability it was formerly covered by a lid, but no traces of it at present are to be seen, and it is entirely open. It is all of one piece, and of a beautiful marble, spotted with green, yellow, red, and upon a fine black

ground ; but what renders it particularly interesting, is the prodigious quantity of small hieroglyphics with which it is covered, both within and without." *

Sonini observes, a Duke of Braganza was the first European who visited it. Brown, in 1792, in his "Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria," makes mention of this sarcophagus.

The attention of the French savans was largely directed to it in 1798. Denon thus describes the sarcophagus when first seen by him, and its position—"In the middle of the court of that mosque a small octagon temple incloses a cistern of Egyptian breccia, of incomparable beauty, both on account of its nature and of the innumerable hieroglyphic figures with which it is covered within and without. This monument, without doubt a sarcophagus of ancient Egypt, will be perhaps illustrated by volumes of dissertations."

"This precious monument" was "one of the chief spoils of Egypt," that was expected to enrich a French museum. But the fortune of war, and the vigilance of another savant of the nation whose arms were then triumphant in Egypt, caused this precious monument to be transported to England and deposited in the British Museum.

The learned Dr. Edward Clarke, who was then in Egypt, discovered that the sarcophagus had been secreted by the French, with a view to its removal at some future time ; and by his influence with the commander-in-chief it was secured.

The erudite doctor has laboured hard, in an extensive and elaborate treatise, in 4to., on the subject of this tomb and sarcophagus, to make this monument, found in the mosque formerly the church of St. Athanasius, the receptacle of the remains of Alexander.

It is surprising that the idea which occurred to Sonini, when he visited this monument, never occurred to Dr. Clarke : "When the language of the hieroglyphics shall be known, we shall learn the origin of the sarcophagus, and the history of the great men whose ashes it contained. Till then all conjecture must be vain."

* Sonini's Travels, p. 121.

Some knowledge has been gained of the hieroglyphics, and, lo, and behold! the sarcophagus of Alexander turns out to be "the sleeping-place" of one Neckther-hebi, an Egyptian monarch; and we read with great mortification (after the perusal of Dr. Clarke's highly interesting quarto volume) the following brief notice of a sarcophagus in the synopsis of the objects in the Egyptian galleries of the British Museum:—

"No. 10. The chest of the sarcophagus of the monarch Nechther-hebi, or Her-necht-hebi (Amyrtæus), of the 28th dynasty. The subject of the Sun, attended by various divinities, passing through the hours of the day, is represented on the exterior, while inside are various usual sepulchral deities. From the mosque of Saint Athanasius, at Alexandria."

The labours of Dr. Clarke, however, have not been altogether in vain; his researches can leave no doubt, but that the remains of Alexander were buried in Alexandria, with the honours due *to the sepulture of a god*, and that his tomb became a shrine that was held in high honour and veneration; a place of pilgrimage that was resorted to by pious hero worshippers, and many illustrious personages, Greeks, Romans, Saracens, and Turks, hundreds of years after the death of the madman of Macedon, who ran over the world slaying men, ravaging kingdoms, carousing amid the ruins of cities he had devastated, crying like a fool for not having new countries to conquer, and, finally, in a fit of illness, brought on by drunkenness, who died in Babylon.

PARTHIAN BURIAL-PLACE. TOMB OF EZRA.

Reference has already been made to the early researches of Mr. Rich, among the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon. He was the first traveller who rescued a portion of the ruins of the former city from oblivion, and happily surmised that those which he discovered were a portion of the remains of Nineveh. Later discoveries leave no doubt of the identity. Mr. Rich was a good classical scholar,—had spent many years in Asia,—made a study of antiquarian subjects,—and was appointed British Resident at Bagdad and Bussora in the year 1808.

The first of his examinations of the ruins of Babylon he published about 1815, at Vienna, in his "Memoir of the Ruins of Babylon," in the "Mines de L'Orient," since re-published in England. In 1818, he published a second memoir on Babylon, the result of further enquiries. These memoirs were the only writings of Mr. Rich published in his life-time.

The following account of a Parthian burial-place, a few days' journey distant from Mousul, is taken from his "Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan and of the Site of Ancient Nineveh," edited by his widow in 1836.*

"The artificial mount on which the castle of Arbil stands is, I conjecture, about one hundred and fifty feet high, and three or four hundred yards in diameter. It was once doubtless much higher, and it is probable the summit of it was ruined by Caracalla. Some time ago, when Hajee Abdulla Bey was building on this mount, he dug up a sepulchre, in which was a body laid in state, quite perfect, the features fully recognizable; but it fell to dust shortly after being exposed to the air. If, as I believe, this was the burial place of the Arsacidæ, may not this have been the body of a Parthian king? Hajee Cassim Bey informed me that the interior of the mount is divided into compartments by brickwork, composed of large bricks, with no inscriptions on them, as he ascertained by digging into it from a sirdant, or cellar, in his house, which stands in the castle. The perpendicular height of the mount he estimates at forty large cubits."

"There is a local tradition peculiar to the place, that Arbela was built by Darius; which is the more curious, as there is no connexion in any oriental tale or history between Darius and Arbela, and the easterns are totally ignorant of the battle of Arbela or Gaugamela."†

Mr. Rich, in his expedition from Bagdad to Bussora, in 1811, visited a celebrated place, the pilgrimage of the Jews, the supposed site of the tomb of Ezra.

"The 27th, in the evening, we came to a place of pilgrimage

* Rich died in 1821, at Shiraz in Persia, and was buried there.

† Rich's Residence in Koordistan, vol. ii. p. 17.

of the Jews. It is a building like a mosque, on a promontory, formed by a circular sweep of the river, which winds much in this part. A few Arabs have collected about it, and formed a small village of reed huts. It is on the right bank of the river. We landed, to take a nearer view of it. It is surrounded by a wall with battlements; the dome or cupola is covered with green glazed tiles, and surmounted by an ornament of brass, representing an open hand encircled with rays of glory. On entering the gate we passed through a small courtyard, and then entered a large gloomy hall, arched and supported by square masses of brick-work, totally destitute of any ornament. From this, we entered by a lower door into the chamber which contains the object of the Jews' religious veneration. The room is vaulted, with small grated windows placed at a great height, and paved with tiles of white and green alternately disposed. In a small niche there was a lamp burning. In the centre of the room stood the tomb, which was oblong, with a slanting roof made of wood, and covered with green velvet. The dimensions were about eight feet by four, and six feet high to the ridge of the roof, with a passage of about three feet between it and the walls of the room. Its corners and tops were ornamented with large balls of copper gilt. The person, an Arab, who shewed us the tomb, told us it was that of Ezra, whom the Mahometans called Ozeir, and make him out the nephew of Moses. He further informed us that a Jew, by name Khoph Yakoob, erected the present building over it about thirty years ago."*

"According to Mahometan tradition, Ezra was of the race of Jacob, of the tribe of Levi, and the fourteenth in descent from Aaron; and the Holy Scriptures, and all the scribes and doctors who could read and interpret them, were involved in the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, excepting a few who were taken captives to Babylon. Ezra, who was then very young, was among this number, and continued to read and teach the law of God to his countrymen during their captivity. At the end of the captivity, Ezra returned to Jerusalem, and

* Rich's Residence in Koordistan, vol. ii. p. 390.

some say there, some say near Babylon, while he was occupied in weeping over the ruined city and temple of God, he said often to himself, 'How can fallen Jerusalem ever rise again!' No sooner had he conceived this thought, when God struck him dead, and he remained so for 100 years, when he was raised again, and employed the rest of his days on earth in explaining the word of God to the Jews."

"The Christians of the east say that Ezra drank three times of a well in which the holy fire had been hid, and that thus he received the gift of the Holy Ghost, which rendered him capable of re-establishing the Holy Scriptures among his countrymen."*

SEPULCHRAL RUINS OF PERSEPOLIS.

The accounts that are given by some ancient authors of the total destruction of this great city by Alexander, are irreconcilable with the remains of it existing, or the accounts of early Christian writers.

The royal mountain was the place of sepulture of the kings of Persia. The following account is given by a modern writer, of some of these tombs:—

"There are two ancient royal tombs near the mountain, one to the north, and the other to the south, both of them hewn out of the rock, and both noble fragments of antiquity. Their fronts are covered with figures and other ornaments; the form of both is nearly the same, and therefore a description of that to the north will be sufficient.

"That part of the tomb on which the figures are carved is forty feet wide, the height is almost equal to the width below, and the rock extends on each side to the distance of sixty paces. Below, a range of four columns support the entablature on their capitals, each of which is composed of the heads of two oxen, as far as the breast, with the fore legs bent on the top of each column. The gate, which is surrounded with ornaments, is placed between two of these columns in the middle, but is at present almost closed up. Above the columns are the cornice

* Rich's Residence in Koordistan, notes, vol. ii. p. 390.

and entablature, adorned with eighteen small lions in bas-relief, nine on each side, advancing towards the middle, where there is a small ornament resembling a vase. Above the lions are two ranges of figures almost as large as life, fourteen in each range, armed, and lifting up their hands, as if to support the building above them; and on the side is an ornament somewhat in the form of a pillar, with the head of some animal that has only one horn. Above this is another cornice ornamented with leaves. On the left hand, where the wall projects, are three rows of niches one above another, each of them containing two figures armed with lances, and three others on the side, armed in the same manner. There are likewise two on the right side, with their left hands placed on their beards, and the right on their body. On the side of these are three others in the same disposition as those on the other side. At some distance below, and between these figures and an ornament that has some distant resemblance of a round pillar, is another figure on each side, very much impaired. Above, on three steps, stands a figure pointing at something with his right hand, and holding a kind of bow in his left. Before him is an altar, on which an offering is made, from whence the flames are represented ascending. Above this altar appears the moon; and it is said, that there was once a sun behind the figure, but nothing of it is now to be seen."—*Vide Appendix—Tombs of Perapolis.*

FUNERALS OF THE PERSIANS.

"It is a matter of astonishment," says Muret, "considering the Persians have ever had the renown of being one of the most civilized nations in the world, that notwithstanding they should have used such barbarous customs about the dead * as are set down in the writings of some historians; and the rather because at this day there are still to be seen among them those remains of antiquity† which do fully satisfy us that their tombs have been very magnificent. And yet, nevertheless, if we will give credit to Procopius and Agathias, the Persians were never wont to bury their dead bodies, so far were they from bestowing any

* Diod. l. 17.

† Procop. De Bel. Pers. l. i.; Agath: l. 2.

funeral honours upon them : but, as these authors tell us, they exposed them stark naked in the open fields.

“ And when these corpses were presently devoured, their joy was very great, they enlarged themselves in praises of the deceased ; every one esteemed them undoubtedly happy, and came to congratulate their relations on that account : for, as they believed assuredly that they were entered into the elysian fields, so they were persuaded that they would procure the same bliss to all those of their family.

“ They also took a great delight to see skeletons and bones scattered up and down in the fields, whereas we can scarcely endure to see those of horses and dogs used so. And these remains of human bodies (the sight whereof gives us so much horror, that we presently bury them out of our sight, whenever we find them elsewhere than in charnel-houses or church-yards), were the occasion of their greatest joy ; because they concluded from thence the happiness of those that had been devoured, wishing after their death to meet with the like good luck.

“ The same historians inform us, that when any private soldier was sick in their armies, and in outward appearance past recovery, they carried him to the next wood or forest, leaving with him only a piece of bread, a little water, and a stick, that he might, as long as he should have any strength, defend himself from the wild beasts which most commonly devoured* these poor wretches ; and if it chanced that any one of them escaped and came back to his own house, all the people ran away from him, as if they had seen some ghost or devil, and did not suffer him to converse with any body till after he had been purified and expiated by the priests, as if having been so near death, he were thereby (according to their opinion) become unfit to live any longer ; for they supposed that he must needs have had great converse with demons, since notwithstanding his extreme sickness he had been able to defend himself against the wild beasts, and recovered his strength without any man’s help or assistance.

“ And howsoever barbarous and inhuman these customs may

* Herodotus, l. 3:

seem to us, yet were* they amongst them so strictly observed, that they condemned to death one of their most illustrious captains called Seofez, only because he had interred his wife ; burial amongst them having (as they said) always been contrary to the religion of their country. And for further confirmation of what hath been said, the historian Menander* assures us, that one of the principal conditions in the treaty of peace concluded between the Emperor Justian and Cosrhoes, one of their kings, was, that the Christians of his kingdom should be permitted to bury their dead.

“ Neither did they less abominate the burning of the dead, which was the cause why, in the beginning of that monarchy, King Cambyses† had well nigh made his people to rise in rebellion against him, for having caused the body of Amasis, King of Egypt, to be digged out of his grave, and afterward burnt with great pomp and ceremony ; they openly declaring, that this was to give a very dangerous example to posterity ; since, instead of being a conservator of § the laws of the land, which did not allow either of burials or burning, he was the first that brake them.

“ However, (not to dispute the veracity of the forementioned historians,) certain it is, that this inhuman custom of exposing the dead was never long in use amongst the Persians : for, besides that stately piece of antiquity called the forty pillars, whereof the magnificent remains are seen in these our days, in the very same place where the famous Persepolis once stood ; we read in Cicero’s Tusculan questions, as likewise in Strabo and Herodotus, that in time past these people were wont to cover the corpses with earth only, without any other ceremony or expense ; or else (after they had covered them over with wax, to preserve their shape and figure) shut them up sometimes in caves and hollow places of rocks, and sometimes in tombs. And Xenophon|| puts us out of all doubt concerning this matter, when he tells us that Cyrus expressly forbad his children to put up his corpse in any rich coffin, but barely to commit it to the

* Justinian, l. 19.

† Menander in Excerpt. de Legat.

‡ Just. l. 19. § Strabo, l. 15. Cic. l. Tuscul. l. i. || Xenoph. l. 2.

ground. The same thing is confirmed to us by Justin and Quintus Curtius, speaking of old Darius, son to Hystaspes, and father to Xerxes, who (says he) having subdued the Carthaginians, abolished the custom they had of burning their dead, and instead thereof ordained that of burials. The other (viz., Quintus Curtius), in the exact description he gives of the defeat of the latter Darius, and the conquest of his country by Alexander the Great, tells us, that this incomparable conqueror having totally routed and destroyed the Persian army at the pillars of Amanus, upon the news he received, that the king was killed there, presently dispatched Leonatus, one of his principal courtiers, to his mother and wife, to condole with and comfort them; and that these princesses, in the trouble and confusion wherein they were, by reason of their extreme affliction, thinking at first that he was sent thither to dispatch them, fell down at his feet, and with tears besought him not to slay them before they had buried the body of that poor unhappy prince; which opinion is the more confirmed, because Alexander, having afterwards delivered Bessus, who had killed Darius, into these princesses' hands, they thought they could not inflict upon him a more cruel punishment than by causing his body to be cut into a thousand pieces, and scattered abroad in the fields. We also learn from Appian and Plutarch, that Artaxerxes, having made the chief of the Grecian commanders his prisoners, who had taken the party of his brother Cyrus against him, caused them to die a shameful death, and exposed their corpses to the devouring beasts. So that we must needs conclude that, at least in those days, the casting abroad of dead bodies was accounted a punishment, and not an honour amongst them.

“During the time of their mourning they wore clothes of a brown colour; and not only the men and women were shaved, and had their hair cut off, but generally all their beasts and cattle were shorn too. But as they have in these latter ages embraced the law of Mahomet, so have they altered their customs and ceremonies. They can bury no body, except they have first demanded and obtained the king's leave for it; or if they be too far from the court, the lord lieutenant's or principal ma-

gistrates ; which asking of leave is but a formality, it being never denied. As soon as this is granted, if the party be never so little considerable, they carry some standards before his corpse, which are followed by saddle-horses, charged with these arms, viz., swords, darts, arrows and turbans. Those that lead their horses are naked to the waist. Then come their friends, who, besides their nakedness, give themselves large gashes, out of which the blood runs from all parts. They all march before the body, round about which their priests are singing dirges, or prayers for the dead, which are interrupted and blended with the sad lamentations of the deceased party's relations, who follow after the corpse at the head of a great throng of people, who have all their turbans untied, and hanging loose on their shoulders. In this order they proceed till they come to a river, or any other place where much water is, and there wash the body, having first placed it under a tent. Then they march on towards the place of burial, which is most commonly a mosque, in case the person deceased be of quality, or if of a low rank, the next churchyard. As for their kings, they are all intombed by themselves in a particular mosque, which is covered without with green tiles, and within with plates of silver ; their tombs being ranged all along the wall in a most curious order, and over-laid with the most rich silk, stuffs, and cloth of gold that can be had.”*

“ For the purpose of destruction of dead bodies by animals, the Bactrians† fed dogs which they called canes sepulchrales (or grave-dogs), and took a very particular care of them, that after their death their souls might not want a healthful, strong, and lusty body to reside in. Oh, unheard-of folly and madness ! thus to cherish those creatures that were one day to tear and rend them with their teeth ; and, what was more, to make much of them only upon that account ! We naturally abhor a hangman, because his sole employment is to put men to death ; how then, may we think, can these people look kindly on creatures that are to be their own executioners ? Or, how can they with premeditated deliberation keep and feed them on purpose for this

* Muret, pp. 45, *et seq.*

† Sil. l. 13 ; Agel. l. 10 ; Just. l. 31.

inhuman and barbarous piece of service? nevertheless, most certain it is, that they regarded this as a great point of their felicity; for Cicero tells us, that they made it no less their glory to feed those dogs very high, in order to make them grow fat and lusty, than the Romans did to build sumptuous tombs. And S. Hierom adds, that so great a veneration they had for this kind of burial, that Nicanor, who by Alexander the Great, was made governor over them, going about to suppress and abolish this inhuman custom of theirs, had like not only to have caused a revolt of the whole province, but also to have been by them massacred, as an impious and sacrilegious person.

“To which we may add the custom of the Barceans, which seems no less extravagant; who* were of opinion, that the most honourable burial was to be devoured by vultures; and that, not only because those birds by their long lives did represent eternity, but chiefly because they were consecrated to Mars, and that nature appears to have appointed them for that very purpose.”†

The funeral customs of the ancient Persians are thus glanced at by Herodotus and other ancient writers.

“But as their customs relating to the dead are more concealed and not so manifest, I cannot say that all the Persians are exposed for a prey to some dog or bird before they are buried; but I certainly know this to be the manner of the Magi, for it is done openly. The Persians cover the body with a sufficient quantity of wax, and afterwards lay it in the ground. Their Magi not only differ from all other men, but even from the Egyptian priests, who will not pollute themselves by killing any animal, except those they sacrifice to the gods: whereas the Magi make no scruple to kill every thing with their own hands, except a man or a dog.”‡

“Humatio Persis olim in usu, non crematio.”—V. Cœmetèria sacra, Paris, 1638, in 4to.

“Apud majores, nobiles aut sub montibus aut in montibus sepeliebantur.”—SERVIUS.

“Sepultura vulgo aut avium aut canum laniatus est.”—CICERO, Tuscul.

* Ælian, l. 10. † Muret, pp. 154, *et seq.* ‡ Herodotus, Clio, i. p. 5.

“Magorum mos est non humare corpora nisi a feris essent antè laniata.”—JUSTINUS DE PARTHOS, lib. xli.

“Magos tamen sat scio factitare, quandoquidem apertè faciunt, mortuumque cerâ involventes in terram conduunt.”—JOS. LAUR. LUCENSIS, de Funeribus Antiq.

In treating of the funeral customs of the Persians, Picard gives the following account of those of the Gaures.

“When a Gaure is on the point of death, his friends send for a Hyrbad, who, standing close by his ear, prays for him, and commends his spirit in a very solemn manner to the living God. A dead corpse defiles the person who touches it; for which reason, the priests are obliged to stand at least ten feet distant from it.

“The Gaures never bury their dead; because, as they imagine, it would be a profanation of the earth. They carry their dead to a sepulchre, on a bier made of iron, not of wood; because the latter, being appropriated to the service of their consecrated fires, must be preserved in its utmost purity and perfection. The description which Chardin has given us of the sepulchral monument, or burying-ground of the Gaures, which he saw at Ispahan, will be sufficient to give the reader an idea of the outside of it, and it is, he says, a round tower, built of large free-stone, from about five and thirty feet high, and ninety in diameter, without any avenue or regular entrance. It is a received notion amongst the populace, that when they bury their dead, a considerable breach is made, or opening in the monument, by the removal of some large stones from the bottom; which breach is afterwards well and substantially closed up and repaired, with several layers of parget, or white lime plaster. Within this tower there is a stair-case with steep steps, which are made in a winding form; when they carry their dead into this sepulchral monument, three or four of their priests immediately scale the wall by help of ladders. When they have dragged up the corpse with ropes, they let it slide gently down the stair-case, which is no more than a parcel of stones cemented, or fastened to the wall at about three or four feet distant, not in a direct, but circular line, and each of them about nine inches broad. They do

not admit of a door-way, or passage into this burying-ground, lest the unruly mob should make a forcible entrance, either with intent to pillage or profane the place. There is a kind of grave or ditch in the centre.

“They deposit their dead, with all their clothes on, upon a little mattress and a pillow. They stow them all round the wall, and so close that they touch one another, without any distinction whatsoever of age, sex, or degree. They extend them at their full length on their backs; put nothing over their faces; lay their legs across, and their arms over their stomach near their chin. Near the corpse are placed several bottles of wine, pomegranates, china cups, a knife likewise, with other necessary utensils, more or less costly, according as the circumstances of the deceased party will best admit of. When the monument is full, they make room for others, by throwing the bodies of such as are most consumed into the grave, which is in the centre.

“The Gaures, according to Lord, who resided amongst the Indians, have two sepulchral monuments, built in a circular form, moderately high, very spacious, and paved with stone. In the centre, a deep well is made for the reception of the separated bones of the deceased, and all round about the walls men and women are hung up, and exposed to the open air. These two monuments are situate at some distance from each other. One is set apart for the accommodation of those who have led a virtuous and exemplary life. The other, for those who have been scandalously vicious, and have gloried in their shame.

“The Gaures, as appears likewise by Dr. Hide, have two sepulchral monuments, which are distinguished by the denomination of the white and black dormitories of the dead. He adds in the sequel, that the Gaures call a sepulchral monument the *Seat of Justice*; because, by a method of prognostication, they can form a sure and well-grounded judgment, whether the party deceased be admitted or not amongst the number of the blessed inhabitants of the realms of light. This important presage, however, never takes place till the fourth day after the death of the person whose future state is thus curiously to be inquired into. During the three first, the soul, according to their notion,

hovers without intermission around the corpse. The dead man is all that time on his journey between both worlds, and is consequently looked on as a stranger to both. For which reason they supply him with sufficient stores for that interval of time.

“Lord adds, that during these three days the devil is on his watch, and seeks every opportunity to torture and torment the soul, which therefore wings her way with all possible speed towards the celestial light, with the hope of escaping the tyranny and oppression of that malicious fiend of darkness. For this reason, the friends and relations of the deceased, during these three days, meet at morning, noon, and night, to beg of God, in the most ardent manner, to pardon and absolve him from all his sins. On the fourth day, the soul roams about no longer, but is obliged to be fixed and settled in the place allotted by Providence either for her future punishment or reward. It is therefore on this fourth day, that the fate of the deceased is by their prognostications absolutely determined; and the method practised for that purpose is as follows: the party deceased being laid under the wall of the sepulchre, with his eyes turned towards the heavens, the vultures are permitted, without interruption, to come and peck at his face. The first part they generally attack is the eye. If they seize at once upon the right, the corpse is carried directly to the white tower; if on the left, to the black one. But before they proceed to this final decision with regard to his future state, the person that is on the brink of death, and just expiring, says Tavernier, is exposed to a dog, that he may receive his latest breath. In all probability, it is owing to this superstitious custom that the Sadder so strenuously recommends that animal as the object of their peculiar charity and concern. And the reason alleged for it is, because there is no being whatever so poor and abject as a dog. The distribution of a piece of bread to one of these necessitous creatures is therein pronounced to be a benevolent and meritorious action.

“Ovington says, that before they expose a corpse to the birds of prey, they lay him decently on the ground, whilst some particular friend runs all round about the neighbouring villages, hoping to meet with a dog; and as soon as he is so fortunate, he

endeavours to allure and bribe him with some crusts of bread, and to bring him as near to the corpse as possibly he can. The nearer the dog approaches it, the nearer, they imagine, the soul of the deceased must be to the mansions of eternal bliss. If he jumps upon him, and seizes the bit of bread which for that purpose is put into his mouth, it is an incontestable mark or presage of his future felicity: but if the dog, on the other hand, cannot be tempted to approach it, but keeps at a distance, it is a melancholy, unpropitious sign, and they almost despair of his happy state. When the dog has performed his part of the ceremony, two Daroos stand in a devout posture, with their hands joined closely together, at about one hundred feet distant from the bier on which the corpse is laid, and repeat with an audible voice a form of prayer of half an hour long, but with such hurry and precipitation, that they scarcely give themselves sufficient time to breathe. During the ceremony, the deceased party wears a piece of white paper fastened to each ear, which hangs down over his face about two or three inches below his chin. As soon as the prayers are over, the corpse is carried directly to the proper place allotted for its reception, and all the company follow it, two and two, with their hands devoutly closed. They are enjoined not to speak a word, because their sepulchral monument is a place of silence and repose. There is one thing more that is very remarkable, viz., that instead of two bearers, which is the common and stated custom, they have four for a woman that dies with child; *because she is a double person*.

“Mandeslo assures us, that the Gaures have three separate burying-grounds, or sepulchral monuments; one for men, another for women, and the third for children; and Ovington says, that the Gaures are extremely careful not to lose any individual part of the hair of their heads, or of their beards, when they cut them off or shave them; and that they cause all these excrescences to be interred with them.

“At the end of this life, the dead are obliged, in their journey to the other world, to pass over a very narrow and dangerous bridge, which becomes more so, when their friends indulge themselves in weeping over them to excess. Such an act of im-

prudence swells the waters of the torrent over which the bridge is erected. These waters, which are exceedingly black and chilly, are the tears of those who bemoan the loss of their departed friends: the dread of the overflowing of this torrent is the cause of that general injunction, that no person shall presume to drop a tear, or vent a groan for the death of their nearest friend or relation. This is, they say, the true and genuine reason of that universal silence which reigns at the celebration of their funeral solemnities.

“ In order to entertain an adequate idea of the pleasures and enjoyments of the other world, they imagine that they shall meet with every thing there which is ravishing and delightful in this. They maintain, as several professors of other religions do, an unquenchable, material fire; and the Sadder speaks of the intolerable stench, or noisome smell of wicked souls. But this is nothing in comparison to that melancholy story which is related in another of their religious books, called *Erda Viraph-nama*—of the deplorable state of the damned. This bigotted author tells us of some unhappy souls who are tormented and plunged up to the neck in those black and chilly waters before-mentioned; of others, who are doomed to dwell in dark dungeons full of smoke, amongst an infinite variety of dangerous and loathsome reptiles. Moreover, he speaks of devils who are for ever venting their spleen and resentment; for ever unmercifully tormenting and tearing souls to pieces. Here, says he, hangs a soul by the feet, which is doomed to be bastinadoed; there stands another, sentenced to be for ever perishing with hunger and thirst; in another place hangs a woman who in her life-time was a notorious scold, and disobedient to her husband, with her tongue lolling out of the nape of her neck.

“ As to the future happiness of the virtuous, the orthodox Gaures believe that their bodies and souls shall be raised again at the last day; but that both shall then be infinitely more pure, and become the inhabitants of a new world, that is to say, the world in which they now reside new-modelled and re-established in its primitive beauty and perfection; that there shall be a new terrestrial paradise, and a free intercourse and correspondence

maintained and kept up between its inhabitants and those of the other world, by virtue of a bridge, erected on a tremendous bottomless abyss, and, according to the expression of an Arabian author, *extended on the back of hell*; that there are angels constantly attending at the entrance of it; and that those who can happily procure their passport, go directly, without the least interruption, into Paradise; and those, on the other hand, who are unhappily denied that privilege, are plunged headlong into the deep abyss; but not till after the strictest scrutiny, which every passenger is obliged to undergo, the solemn form of which is very remarkable. There are two angels, who act in the capacity of examiners, and one of them has a pair of scales, in which he weighs the good works and merits of each passenger; and if he find them light and deficient, he first makes his report to his celestine sovereign, and then pronounces sentence accordingly. They who produce such works as pass current, and answer to the standard, go instantly over the bridge, and direct their course to a glorious and magnificent city, which, according to Hide, may aptly enough be compared to the New Jerusalem in St. John's Revelations. After this strict inquiry into their respective merits is concluded, the other angel, who acts in the capacity of the Almighty's awful executioner, throws those who are convicted headlong down to hell." *

* Picard, p. 704, *et seq.*

CHAPTER X.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS OF THE HINDOOS.

“The Shundu Pooranu declares that by dying in the Ganges, a person will obtain absorption into Burmhu.”

WARD'S HIST. OF THE HINDOOS.

“Dead bodies are brought by their relations to be burnt near the river; and when they cannot bring the whole body, it is not uncommon for them to bring a single bone and cast it into the river, under the hope that it will help the soul of the deceased.”—IDEM.

THE funeral, like the marriage customs of the Hindoos, vary with the condition and rank of the people. The cost must naturally be regulated by the means and circumstances of each caste.

Strangers who visit the regions through which the Ganges flows, from the numbers of dead bodies seen daily floating down the stream, might be led to suppose that the only mode of disposing of the dead was that of consigning the remains to a watery grave. And such is the mode of burial practised by the mass of the people of those regions bordering on the Ganges. The sacred character of the waters of the Ganges compensates for that which is associated in the minds of the opulent and great, with the fragrance of burning woods and the incense of odoriferous gums and resins. The dying and the dead are daily brought to the banks of the sacred river, and left there to be borne away by the tide to their last home. Bernier speaks of a Hindoo burial custom more barbarous than the Suttee, “that which is practised in some parts of India by the Brahmins. For instead of burning the women at the funeral of their husbands, they inter them alive by little and little, until they are buried in the ground up to the throat, then two or three of the bystanders twist the neck, and finish by strangling them.”

The funeral customs of the higher castes are generally performed at dusk : the dead are seldom kept above a day, and the heat of the climate renders the usage necessary. As soon as a person dies, advice is sent to all the relations of the deceased, and those who live nearest repair to the house to condole with the family, and attend at the funeral.

A Brahmin presides over the ceremony, and all who are to assist in it shave and wash themselves. The Brahmin having done the same, and performed his ablution with more punctilious forms, purifies the house, and sprinkles it with water. The principal relative, who is the chief mourner, addresses the dead, calls on him by name, and, joined by the assistants, prays the gods to be propitious to him. The prayer ended, they make a sacrificial ceremony with five of the "Roas," or sacred grass, into which they throw incense, and sometimes the ashes of burnt cow-dung. The Brahmin again repeats many prayers, after which the body is washed, rubbed with the dust of sandalwood, painted on the forehead with the marks of the caste, and covered with a clean robe. It is then placed on a palanquin adorned with flowers, and preceded by persons with large trumpets and tam-tams or small drums, it is carried to the place destined for the funeral rites. This is always at some distance from the town or village of the deceased. The relations and friends follow the remains. When they arrive at the funeral pile, they put down the corpse, and perform a sacrifice to the spirits of the air, or genii of the place, with rice and other grain. They examine the body to see if there be any signs of life, then cut the nails and shave the head. It is then placed on the pile, and one of the relations, having a torch given to him by a Brahmin, sets fire to it, with his back turned towards the corpse. The others assist in lighting it : some are employed in burning perfumes ; and all make lamentations, accompanied by the tam-tams and other instruments. A sacrifice is afterwards performed to the manes of the deceased, which is repeated on the same spot for several days successively. When the pile is burnt out, they sprinkle the ashes with milk and consecrated water. The bones are gathered up with great care, and

put into an earthen vase, which is kept until an opportunity be found of throwing it, if possible, into the Ganges, or, if that be at too great a distance, into some other sacred river.*

The origin of the Suttee sacrifice I find ascribed, in Diodorus Siculus, to feelings with which reverence for the dead, piety, or poetry, have had nothing whatever to do. The early date of the practice described by Diodorus is also deserving of notice. It is evident from his account that the Suttee funeral custom which prevailed three and twenty centuries ago, was the same that has been practised in our days; and that no material alteration had taken place in the mode of Indian immolation in that period.

“There fell out,” says Diodorus, “a strange accident at this time, very unusual and dissonant from the laws of the Grecians. For there was one Ceteus, who commanded them that came out of India, and fought with great resolution, but died in the battle. He left two wives behind him, who followed him all along during the campaign; one he had but lately married, the other had been his wife for some years before; and both loved their husband exceedingly. It had been an ancient custom in India for men and women to marry themselves with their own mutual liking without consulting the advice of their parents. And in regard that in those former times young people would rashly marry one another, and often repent afterwards, as being deceived in their choice, many wives were corrupted, and through their inordinate passions fell in love with other men. And because they could not with their credit leave them they first chose, they would often poison their husbands; to the more ready effecting of which, the country did not a little contribute, by bearing many and divers sorts of poisonous plants, some of which never so little bruised, either in meat or drink, do certainly kill the party. This wicked art growing still more and more to perfection, and many being destroyed by these means, and though several were punished for these pieces of villany, yet others would not be reclaimed nor restrained from the like practices; another law therefore was made, that wives should be burnt to-

* Sketches of the History, Religion, Manners, &c. of the Hindoos, pp. 280, 281.

gether with their dead husbands, except they were with child, or had borne children ; and that she who would not observe the common law of the land, should remain a widow, and, as one convicted of that impiety, should be excluded from the sacred rites, and all other benefit and privilege of the laws. This being thus established, henceforward this wickedness of the wives was changed into a contrary practice. For seeing that every wife, to avoid that insufferable disgrace, was voluntarily to die, they became not only careful to preserve the health and provide for the well-being of their husbands, as that which was likewise their own preservation ; but the wives strove one with another, as who should gain the highest pitch of honour and reputation. An example of which fell out at this time. For although, by the law, one only was to be burnt with the husband, yet at the funeral of Ceteus both strove which should die, as for some honourable reward of their virtue. Whereupon the matter was brought before the generals for their decision. The younger declared that the other was with child, and therefore her death could not satisfy the law. The elder pleaded that it was a greater piece of justice that she who was before the other in years, should be preferred before her in honour ; for in all other cases the constant rule is to yield more honour and respect to the elder than to the younger. The captains being informed by the midwives that the elder was with child, preferred the younger before the other. Upon which she lost her cause, went out weeping and wailing, rending her veil in pieces, and tearing her hair, as if some sad and dreadful news had been told her. The other, rejoicing in the victory, made forthwith to the funeral pile, crowned by the women of her house with attires called mitres, and by her kindred brought forth most richly adorned, as to some nuptial festival, setting forth her praises all along as they went, in songs fitted for that occasion.

“ As soon as she came to the pile she threw off her attire, and distributed them amongst her servants and friends, leaving these behind her as tokens of remembrances for them that loved her. Her attire was multitudes of rings upon her fingers, set with all

manner of precious stones of divers colours. Upon her head were a great number of little golden stars, between which were placed sparkling stones of all sorts. About her neck she wore abundance of jewels, some small, others large; increasing by degrees as they were on one after another. At length she took leave of all her family and servants, and then her brother placed her upon the pile, and, to the great admiration of the people, (who flocked thither to see the sight) with an heroic courage she there ended her life.

“The whole army solemnly marched thrice round the pile before it was kindled: she in the mean time (disposing of herself towards her husband’s body) discovered not by any shrieks or otherwise that she was at all daunted at the noise of the crackling flames, so that the spectators were affected, some with pity, and others with admiration, and extraordinary commendation of her resolution. However, there are some who condemn this law as cruel and inhuman.”*

We find also in Diodorus an account of an Indian philosopher, honoured by Alexander, mounting his own funeral pile, and dying there, after the same manner as the Suttees.

“Calames, an Indian, a great philosopher, and much honoured by the king Alexander, ended his days in a wonderful manner. Having now lived to be seventy-three years old, and during all that time never knew what sickness or the least distemper meant, he proposed to put an end to his own life; supposing that now both nature and fortune had brought him to the utmost bounds of his felicity and well-being in the world. Being seized upon therefore with sickness, which grew upon him more and more every day, he desired the king that he would order a great funeral pile to be made; and that when he had placed himself upon it, some of his servants should set it on fire. The king at first endeavoured to dissuade him from this purpose; but when he saw he would not be moved, he promised it should be done as he had desired.

“The thing presently spread abroad, and when the pile was

* Booth’s Diodorus, book xix. p. 622.

finished, multitudes of people flocked to see the strange sight; and there Calames (according to the rules and dictates of his opinion) with great courage ascended the pile, and both he and it were consumed together. Some that were present judged this act to be an effect of madness; others, nothing else but a piece of vain-glory. Though some there were that admired his noble spirit and contempt of death; and the king caused him to be honourably buried.”*

Holwel, in his *Cosmogony and Mythology of the Hindoos*, gives one of the most graphic and accurate accounts of a Suttee funeral sacrifice that is extant, though of one that took place so far back as 1742.

“Rhaam Chund Pundet, of the Mahratta tribe, died at the age of twenty-eight years. His widow (for he had but one wife), aged between seventeen and eighteen, having determined to immolate herself on the funeral pile of her beloved husband, communicated her resolution to the Brammins, without waiting the time usually allowed in such cases for reflection. As her family was of no small consideration, her relatives opposed her wishes; the merchants of Cossumburraar endeavoured to dissuade her; and Lady Russell, being made acquainted with the circumstances, with the tenderest humanity sent several messages to her to the same effect, representing the infant state of her two children, and the dreadful nature of the death she meditated. But she was deaf to all remonstrance; she thanked Lady Russell for her kindness, and bade her messenger inform the English lady—‘She had nothing now to live for.’ Her children she recommended to her ladyship’s protection. But when their destitute condition was again pressed on her, she said—‘He that made them will take care of them.’ The torments of burning were again urged on her attention. With a calm countenance she put her finger to the fire and held it there a considerable time. She was finally informed she would not be permitted to burn. The news seemed at first to afflict her; but recovering soon, she said—‘Death was still in her own power,—if

* Booth’s *Diodorus*, book xvii. p. 567.

she could not burn her body on her husband's funeral pile, she could destroy it by starvation.'

"Her friends, finding her thus resolved, were obliged at last to assent.

"The body of the deceased was carried down to the water-side early the next morning. The widow followed about ten o'clock accompanied by three principal Brammins, her children, parents, and relatives, and a great concourse of people. The permission for burning was obtained from Hosseyn Khan, and transmitted by one of his officers, with orders to see that the burning was a voluntary one.

"In the interim she prayed with the Brammins, and retired and washed in the Gambia. She then passed about half an hour with her attendants and relatives, amongst whom was her mother. On the funeral pile an arched arbour was erected, formed of dry sticks, boughs, and leaves, open only at one end to admit her entrance; in the arbour the body of her husband was deposited, his head being at the end opposite the opening. She was conducted to a corner of the pile where the Brammins had made a small fire, and there she sat with them for some minutes. One of them put into her hand a leaf of the bale tree (the consecrated wood of which the funeral pile is chiefly composed), with sundry ingredients on it, which she threw into the fire. Another Brammin gave her a second leaf, which she held over the flame whilst he dropped some ghee or fatty substance on it three times, which, as it melted, fell into the fire. These were symbols of her dissolution.

"And while these ceremonies were performed, the third Brammin read to her portions of the Aughlarrah Bhade, and asked her questions, to which she returned answers with a steady and serene countenance.

"She was then led with great solemnity three times round the pile, the Brammins reading before her. When she came a third time to the fire, she stopped, took her rings off her toes and fingers, and put them along with her other ornaments: here she took a solemn majestic leave of her parents, children, relations and friends, after which one of the Brammins dipped a large

cotton wick in some ghee, and gave it ready lighted into her hand, and led her to the aperture in the fatal arbour. There all the Brammins fell at her feet ; after she had pronounced some words of benediction on them, they retired weeping.

“ She ascended the pile by two steps, and composedly entered the arbour. On entering it she made a profound reverence at the feet of her deceased husband, then rose, advanced by the side of the body, and took her seat by the head of the deceased. She looked on his face intently for the space of a minute, then set fire to the arbour in three places.

“ Observing that the flames blew from her, she arose, and set fire to the windward side, and then resumed her station.

“ An English officer who was present, Ensign Daniel, with his cane separated the grass and leaves on the windward side, by which means the writer of this account had a distinct view of her. With what a dignity and undaunted countenance she set fire to the pile the last time, and assumed her seat, can only be conceived, for words cannot convey a just idea of it.

“ The pile being of combustible matters, the supporters of the roof were presently consumed, and it tumbled upon her.”

Bernier, a distinguished French traveller, gives the following curious account of another suttee which he witnessed, of a somewhat later date than the preceding.

“ At the time that I was going from the town of Amedaba to Agra, through the territories of the Rajahs who live in that quarter, they brought us news, in a wood where the caravan was reposing in the shade, awaiting the cool of the evening to proceed on its route, that a woman was going at that moment to burn herself on the body of her husband. I rose on the spot, and went in haste to the borders of a large reservoir of water, where the burning was to take place. I saw below, in the reservoir, which was nearly dry, a large stock of wood with a dead body extended upon it, a woman, who from that distance appeared a good figure, seated upon the same bundle, four or five Brahmins, who were setting fire to it on all sides, five women of a middle age, and tolerably well dressed, who held each other by the hand, singing and dancing round the place,

and a great crowd of people, men and women, looking on. The pile was then all on fire, as they had thrown a quantity of oil and butter on the top ; and I observed, through the flames, that the fire had caught to the woman's clothes, which had been rubbed with sweet oil mixed with flower of sandal-wood and saffron. I saw all this, and I remarked that the woman was not in the least disturbed, and appeared in no way troubled ; they even said that she had been heard to pronounce with great force the two following words—'five, two,' to give it to be understood, according to certain particular and popular sentiments in the 'Metempsicose,' that it was for the fifth time she was burning herself with her husband, and that there now only remained two more burnings to complete the required number, as if it had been only a reminiscence or some prophetic spirit.

"This was not the end of the infernal tragedy. I thought it was only by way of ceremony that these five women sung and danced round the pile ; but I was very much surprised, when no sooner did the woman set fire to the clothes of one amongst them, than she rushed head foremost into the flames of the burning pile, and then another, being enveloped in the flames and smoke, did the same as the first.

"My astonishment became greater when I found that the three remaining ones again took each other by the hand, continued round the fire, and at length, one after the other, threw themselves into the flames, as their companions had done.

"It annoyed me sadly that I could not understand the meaning of all this ; but I soon learnt that these women were five slaves, who seeing that their mistress was greatly afflicted at the illness of her husband, and had promised him she would burn herself with him, had been touched with compassion and tenderness towards their mistress, and had given her their word to follow her in her resolution, and to burn themselves with her.

"Several persons to whom I spoke about women burning themselves on the bodies of their husbands, tried to persuade me that what they did was purely from the love they had for them. But I have since found out, that it is only from the effects of opinion, of necessity and custom ; and that mothers,

infatuated themselves from their earliest childhood with this superstition, look upon it as a most virtuous and praiseworthy thing, and one which is indispensable to a woman of honour, and instil the same into the minds of their daughters in their youth, though, in truth, it is only an artifice of the men to keep their wives more in subjection."

BURNING OF WIDOWS ALIVE.

"The following and other passages from the Hindoo shastru," says Ward, "have no doubt given rise to this singular shocking practice.

" 'O Fire, let these women, with bodies anointed with clarified butter, eyes (coloured) with stibium, and void of tears, enter thee, the parent of water, that they may not be separated from their husbands, but may be in union with excellent husbands, be sinless, and jewels among women.'—*Rig-védũ*.

" 'There are 35,000,000 hairs on the human body. The woman who ascends the pile with her husband, will remain so many years in heaven.—As the snake-catcher draws the serpent from its hole, so she, rescuing her husband (from hell), rejoices with him.—The woman who expires on the funeral pile with her husband purifies the family of her mother, her father, and her husband.—If the husband be a bramhũnicide, an ungrateful person, or a murderer of his friend, the wife by burning with him purges away his sins.—There is no virtue greater than a virtuous woman's burning herself with her husband.—No other effectual duty is known for virtuous women, at any time after the death of their lords, except casting themselves into the same fire.—As long as a woman, in her successive transmigrations, shall decline burning herself, like a faithful wife, on the same fire with her deceased lord, so long shall she not be exempted from springing again to life in the body of some female animal.'—*Ungira*.

" 'If a woman who had despised her husband, and had done what was contrary to his mind, should (even) from mercenary motives, as fear, or a suspension of the reasoning powers, die with her husband, she shall be purged from all crimes.'—*Mũhabharũtũ*.

“ ‘ Though he have sunk to a region of torment, be restrained in dreadful bonds, have reached the place of anguish, be seized by the imps of Yūmū, be exhausted of strength, and afflicted and tortured for his crimes ; still, as a serpent-catcher unerringly drags a serpent from his hole, so does she draw her husband from hell, and ascend with him to heaven by the power of devotion.—If the wife be within one day’s journey of the place where the husband died, and signify her wish to burn with him, the burning of his corpse shall be delayed till her arrival. If the husband die on the third day of the wife’s menstrual discharge, and she desire to burn with him, the burning of his corpse shall be delayed one day to accommodate her.’ *Vyasū*.

“ ‘ If the husband be out of the country when he dies, let the virtuous wife take his slippers (or any thing else which belongs to his dress), and binding them (or it) on her breast, after purification, enter a separate fire.’ *Brūmhū pooranū*.

“ ‘ A bramhuneer cannot burn herself on a separate pile.’ *Goutūmū*.—‘ But this is an eminent virtue in another woman.’ *Ooshūna*.*

“ In Orissa, the defenceless widow is compelled to cast herself into a pit of fire. If, on the death of a raja, his wife burn herself with him, his concubines are seized, and by beating, dragging, binding, and other forcible methods, are compelled to throw themselves into the pit, where they are all destroyed together. On this I beg leave to insert a letter drawn up by Pūrūshoo-ramū, a learned bramhūn :—‘ Shree Pūrūshoo-ramū writes : I have myself seen the wives of one of the rajas of Oorisyā burn with their husband. These are the particulars :—after the death of raja Gopēē-nat’hū-dévū, the head-queen, of her own accord, being prepared to be burnt with the body, a pit was dug, and quantities of wood piled up in it, upon which the corpse was laid, and upon this more faggots : when the fire blazed with the greatest fury, the head-queen cast herself into the flames and perished. The two other wives of the raja were unwilling to follow this example ; but they were seized by force,

* Ward’s History of the Literature and Religion of the Hindoos ; 3rd edition, vol. ii. p. 96. London, 1817.

and thrown into the pit, and consumed. This happened about the year 1793.'

"The widows of the yogēēs, a description of weavers, are sometimes buried alive with their deceased husbands. If the person have died near the Ganges, the grave is dug by the side of the river, at the bottom of which they spread a new cloth, and on it lay the dead body. The widow then bathes, puts on new clothes, and paints her feet; and after various ceremonies, descends into the pit that is to swallow her up: in this living tomb she sits down, and places the head of her deceased husband on her knee, having a lamp near her. The priest (not a bramhūn) sits by the side of the grave, and repeats certain ceremonies, while the friends of the deceased walk round the grave several times, repeating, 'Hūree būl! Hūree būl!' (that is, literally, 'Repeat the name of Hūree;' but in its common use it is equivalent to 'Huzza! Huzza!') The friends (if rich) cast into the grave garments, sweetmeats, sandal wood, roopees, milk, curds, clarified butter, or something of this kind; and the widow directs a few trifles to be given to her friends or children. The son also casts a new garment into the grave, with flowers, sandal wood, &c., after which earth is carefully thrown all round the widow, till it has arisen as high as her shoulders, when the relations throw earth in as fast as possible, till they have raised a mound of earth on the grave; when they tread it down with their feet, and thus bury the miserable wretch alive. They place on the grave sandal wood, rice, curds, a lamp, &c., and then, walking round the grave three times, return home. Among the voishnūvūs also are instances of widows being buried alive with the dead bodies of their husbands. On enquiring among the bramhūns, and other Hindoos employed in the Serampore printing-office, I found that these murders were much more frequently practised than I had supposed: almost every one had seen widows thus buried alive, or had heard of them from undoubted authority." *

"The conduct of the bramhūns at the burning of widows is so unfeeling, that those who have represented them to the world

* Ward's History of the Literature and Religion of the Hindoos, vol. ii. p. 110.

as the mildest and most amiable of men, need only attend on one of these occasions to convince them that they have greatly imposed on mankind. Where a family of bramhūns suppose that the burning of a mother, or their brother's or uncle's wife, or any other female of the family, is necessary to support the credit of the family, the woman knows she must go, and that her death is expected. She is aware also, that if she should not burn, she will be treated with the greatest cruelty, and continually reproached, as having entailed disgrace on the family. The bramhūn who has greatly assisted me in this work, has very seriously assured me, that he believed violence was seldom used to compel a woman to ascend the pile ; nay, that after she has declared her resolution, her friends use various arguments to discover whether she be likely to persevere or not ; (for if she go to the water side, and there refuse to burn, they consider it an indelible disgrace on the family ;) that it is not uncommon for them to demand a proof of her resolution, by obliging her to hold her finger in the fire ; if she be able to endure this, they conclude they are safe, and that she will not alter her resolution. If, however, she should flinch at the sight of the pile, &c., they remain deaf to whatever she says ; they hurry her through the preparatory ceremonies, attend closely upon her, and go through the work of murder in the most determined manner.

“ Some years ago, two attempts were made, under the immediate superintendence of Dr. Carey, to ascertain the number of widows burnt alive within a given time. The first attempt was intended to ascertain the number thus burnt within thirty miles of Calcutta, during one year, viz. in 1803. Persons, selected for the purpose, were sent from place to place through that extent, to enquire of the people of each town or village how many had been burnt within the year. The return made a total of *four hundred and thirty-eight*. Yet very few places east or west of the river Hoogly were visited. To ascertain this matter with greater exactness, ten persons were, in the year 1804, stationed in the different places within the above-mentioned extent of country ; each person's station was marked out, and he continued on the watch for six months, taking account of every

instance of a widow's being burnt which came under his observation. Monthly reports were sent in ; and the result, though less than the preceding year's report, made the number between *two and three hundred* for the year !—If within so small a space several hundred widows were burnt alive in one year, *how many thousands of these widows must be murdered in a year, in so extensive a country as Hindoost'han !* ” *

In 1815, when Mr. Ward published the first edition of his work, the frequency of Suttees and suicides of various kinds was much greater than it appears, by other accounts, to have been in 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820.

This barbarous and inhuman usage was not only tolerated but protected in a British possession, for upwards of half a century after the perpetration of the crimes described in the preceding pages.

Verily, and indeed, our civilizing influence has been over-rated ; but our mercantile influence has not been injured in the East by any objects of such trivial import as the promotion of the interests of Christianity or humanity.

“ It is difficult,” says Mr. Ward, “ to form an estimate of the number of Hindoos who perish annually, the victims of superstition ; and the author fears any reasonable conjecture would appear to many as highly exaggerated, and intended to prejudice the public mind against the Hindoos as idolaters. He wishes to feel and avow a just abhorrence of idolatry, and to deplore it as one of the greatest scourges ever employed by a Being, terrible in anger, to punish nations who have rejected the direct and simple means which nature and conscience supply of knowing himself ; but he would use no unfair means of rendering even idolatry detestable : and with this assurance, he now enters on as correct a conjecture respecting the number of victims annually sacrificed on the altars of the Indian gods as he is able :

Widows burnt alive on the funeral pile, in Hindoost'hanu . . .	5000
Pilgrims perishing on the roads and at sacred places . . .	4000
Persons drowning themselves in the Ganges, or buried or burnt alive	500
Children immolated, including the daughters of the raju-pootus .	500
Sick persons whose death is hastened on the banks of the Ganges	500
Total,	10,500

* Ward's Religious Customs of the Hindoos, pp. 113, 114.

“ But if these calculations are not beyond the truth, what a horrible view do they present of the effects of superstition. Since the commencement of the bramhinal system, millions of victims have been immolated on the altars of its gods ; and, notwithstanding the influence of Europeans, the whole of Hindoost’hanū may be termed ‘a field of blood unto this day.’ ”*

In a parliamentary report on the subject of the Suttee practice in India, published in 1824, it is stated, that in 1817, the number of widows who ascended the funeral pile was 707 ; in 1818, the number was 839 ; in 1819, the number was 650 ; in 1820, the number was 597. The increase in 1818 is attributed to the ravages of the cholera.

In 1822, an order emanated from the supreme government, dated Presidency of Fort William, directing the authority to prevent the practice denominated Suttee, in the case of young women under age, of those pregnant, or inebriated for the purpose, or of those not assenting ; and, finally, it was abolished with little difficulty altogether.

Without considering the religious opinions of the Hindoos respecting death,—existence in a future state,—or return to this world,—the sanguinary superstitions connected with their hopes of heaven, and fears of a place of retribution beyond the grave,—it would be useless to go into a detailed account of their funeral customs, and modes of terminating life. I borrow from the able work of the Rev. Mr. Ward, on the Literature, Customs and Religion of the Hindoos, the admirable account therein given of the customs which are the subject of these volumes.

“ It has been wondered at,” says Mr. Ward, “ that a people so mild, so benevolent, so benignant as the Hindoos, ‘ who *shudder at the very sight of blood*,’ should have adopted so many bloody rites. But are these Hindoos indeed so humane ?—these men, and women too, who drag their dying relations to the banks of the river at all seasons, day and night, and expose them to the heat and cold in the last agonies of death without remorse ;—who assist men to commit self-murder, encouraging them to swing with hooks in their backs, to pierce their tongues and

* Ward’s Religious Customs of the Hindoos, vol. ii. p. 130.

sides, to cast themselves on naked knives, to bury themselves alive, throw themselves into rivers, from precipices, and under the cars of their idols ;—who murder their own children, by burying them alive, throwing them to the alligators, or hanging them up alive in trees for the ants and crows before their own doors, or by sacrificing them to the Ganges ;—who burn alive, amidst savage shouts, the heart-broken widow, by the hands of her own son, and with the corpse of a deceased father. . . .

“ Voluntary suicide is not only practised to a dreadful extent among the Hindoos, but the shastr̥s positively recommend the crime, and promise heaven to the self-murderer, provided he die in the Ganges ! Nay, the bramh̥ns, as well as persons of other castes, assist those who design thus to end life, of which the reader will find instances recorded in these pages. In some places of the Ganges, deemed peculiarly sacred and efficacious, infatuated devotees very frequently drown themselves. A respectable bramh̥n assured the author, that in a stay of only two months at Allahabad, he saw about *thirty* persons drown themselves ! . . .

“ Add to all this, the almost incredible number of human victims which annually fall in this Aceldama. I have ventured on an estimate of the number of Hindoos who annually perish, the victims of the bramhinical religion ; and have supposed that they cannot amount to less than 10,500 ! Every additional information I obtain, and the opinions [of the best informed persons with whom I am acquainted, confirm me in the opinion, that this estimate is too low, that the havoc is far greater, however difficult it may be to bring the mind to contemplate a scene of horror which outdoes all that has ever been perpetrated in the name of religion by all the savage nations put together.” * . . .

OF THE TRANSMIGRATION OF SOULS.

“ After death, the person is conveyed by the messengers of Y̥m̥ through the air to the place of judgment. After receiving his sentence, he wanders about the earth for twelve months, as

* Ward's Religious Customs of the Hindoos, vol. i. Introd. 74 v.

an aërial being or ghost ; and then takes a body suited to his future condition, whether he ascend to the gods, or suffer in a new body, or be hurled into some hell. This is the doctrine of several pooranūs ; others maintain that immediately after death and judgment the person suffers the pains of hell, and removes his sin by suffering, and then returns to the earth in some bodily form.

“ I add a few particulars respecting the transmigration of souls from the work called Kūrmū-vipakū :—He who destroys a sacrifice will be punished in hell ; he will afterwards be born again, and remain a fish for three years ; and then ascend to human birth, but will be afflicted with a continual flux. He who kills an enemy subdued in war, will be cast into the hell Krūkūchū ; after which he will become a bull, a deer, a tiger, a bitch, a fish, a man : in the last state he will die of the palsy. He who eats excellent food without giving any to others, will be punished in hell 30,000 years, and then be born a musk-rat ; then a deer ; then a man whose body emits an offensive smell, and who prefers bad to excellent food. The man who refuses to his father and mother the food they desire, will be punished in hell, and afterwards be born a crow ; then a man. In the latter birth he will not relish any kind of food. The stealer of a water-pan will be born an alligator, and then a man of a monstrous size. The person who has lived with a woman of superior cast, will endure torments in hell during seventy-one yoogūs of the gods : after this, in another hell, he will continue burning like a blade of grass for 100,000 years. He will next be born a worm, and after this ascend to human birth ; but his body will be filled with disease. The stealer of rice will sink into hell ; will afterwards be born and continue eighteen years a crow ; then a heron for twelve years ; then a diseased man. He who kills an animal, not designing it for sacrifice, will, in the form of a turtle, be punished in hell ; then be born a bull, and then a man afflicted with an incurable distemper. He who kills an animal by holding its breath, or laughs at a pooranu at the time of its recital, will, after enduring infernal torments, be born a snake ; then a tiger, a cow, a white heron, a crow, and a man having an asthma. He

who steals alms will sink into hell, and afterwards be born a blind man, afflicted with a consumption. A beautiful woman who despises her husband, will suffer in hell a variety of torments ; she will then be born a female, and, losing her husband very soon after marriage, will long suffer the miseries of widowhood.* . . .

“ Sometimes the doctrine of transmigration appears in the conversation of widows, when they are talking over their sorrows one among another. One begins the conversation, by addressing one of the company, recently become a widow, in some such words as these :—‘ Ah ! why is so much trouble fallen upon you ? You have continually performed works of merit. I have observed, that from your childhood you have been very religious.’ Another replies,—‘ How you talk ! What ! do you think she is suffering for sins committed in this birth ?’ The widow addressed now adds :—‘ Ah ! my sorrows are indescribable. I am now suffering for the sins of many births ; the sins of birth after birth, birth after birth, are fallen upon me. If the sins of numerous births had not been cast upon me, would my husband (a lack of lives in one) have been taken from me ? O God, do not bring upon my worst enemy the misery which I endure. What had I done against God, and what against him (her husband), that I suffer thus ? I must have injured him in a former birth, and therefore he was married to me on purpose to bring upon me the sorrows of widowhood. He was born in one womb, and I in another ; we were perfect strangers ; fate brought us together, and I began to flatter myself that I should long enjoy the blessings of a married state, when he was seized with sickness, and, without making the least provision for me, has left me to crouch and fawn for a handful of rice. When waiting upon him in his last moments he did not say, ‘ I leave you this or that ; you will not be destitute :’ but shutting up my food and garments, he has thus abandoned me. He ! he was my greatest enemy. If I meet him in a future state, I’ll certainly revenge myself. Instead of putting fire into his mouth after death, if I had known that he would have served me thus, I would have put fire in his

* Ward’s Religious Customs of the Hindoos, vol. ii. pp. 159, 162.

mouth while living. I entreat the gods, that in the next birth I may be a man, and he my wife, and that I may bring upon him exactly what he has brought upon me; and that this may be continued through numerous births. Vile enemy ——.' Continuing her address to a married woman, she says:—'See! you have two meals a day, while I have but one; you have all manner of ornaments, and I am naked; you are invited to all the feasts; you can eat of all kinds of delicacies, but I must live on the meanest food; I must fast twice a month; there is no end of my sorrows.'

"If a person die an untimely death, it is attributed to crimes committed in a former state of existence. A person born blind, is supposed to have destroyed the eyes of some one in a former birth. A few neighbours sitting together, as a person afflicted with an incurable distemper passes along, observe, 'Ah! no doubt, that man was guilty in a former birth of such or such a crime, and now the consequences appear in his present state.' *

"The faith of the Hindoos in the doctrine of the transmigration of souls often appears in their conversation, especially when either prosperous or adverse circumstances have arisen in a family. When a person is in deep sorrow for the loss of a child, and is addressed by another on the subject, the former perhaps utters her grief in some such words as these:—'What have I done, that I am thus grievously afflicted? When I examine my life from my childhood, I cannot see that I have done any harm. Why then does God thus afflict? Why did he give me a child? Why did he take it away?'—She next vents her grief in a torrent of abuse on Yŭmŭ:—'Oh! Yŭmŭ! What did I do to thee? I am sure I never injured thee. Thou knewest that I had none else: I am in this world like a blind creature; this child was my staff—and thou hast taken him away. O thou wicked Yŭmŭ!—I will put a wisp of fire in thy face.—I will flog thee with the broom.—My breast is rent with grief.' Another female now joins her, and says, 'Oh! sister! What! is your child gone? Ah! Ah! Ah!—that vile Yŭmŭ—he is full of injustice. If I could see him, I would cut him into a

* Ward's Religious Customs of the Hindoos, vol. ii. pp. 163—164.

thousand pieces. He has taken all mine ; but he has left you one. Ah ! if I were stone, I should split into pieces ; but I am earth—only flesh and blood, and therefore I am sunk into nothing. But why do I thus complain ? I am not singular ; every one's house is plundered.' Another person now comes in, and says, ' Why do you blame Yǔmǔ ? What fault has he done ? In former births you must have committed many crimes ; otherwise I cannot see why you should suffer in this dreadful manner : you have done nothing but works of merit in this birth. You must have injured some one's child in a former birth, and now yours is taken from you. Yǔmǔ has done nothing wrong. He is justice itself. He never errs. Nor ought you to think it extraordinary that a person dies. It is more extraordinary that a person desires to live. If you confine a bird in a cage, though you cherish him with the greatest care, if the door be open he flies away. But though there are nine openings in the body by which the soul may make its escape, and though the person be suffering the deepest distress, yet the soul is not willing to depart ;—this desire of life is more wonderful than death itself.—When the soul has taken its flight, then, why should you think it such an extraordinary thing ? You are suffering for the sins of many former births ; which sins, like a shadow, will pursue you, go where you will, and, assume whatever shape you may, till they be expiated by suffering. If this were not so, why is it that a good man suffers, while a wicked man is raised to the pinnacle of prosperity ? If men suffered only for the sins of this life, the good would have nothing but happiness, and the wicked nothing but sorrow.' '*

" Yǔmǔ is judge of the dead. He is said to hold a court, in which he presides as judge, and has a person to assist him, called Chitrū-gooptū, who keeps an account of the actions of men. A number of officers are also attached to the court, who bring the dead to be judged. If the deceased persons have been wicked, Yǔmǔ sends them to their particular hell ; or if good, to some place of happiness. The poor Hindoos, at the hour of

* Ward's Religious Customs of the Hindoos, vol. ii. pp. 161, 162.

death, sometimes fancy they see Yǔmǔ's officers, in a frightful shape, coming to fetch them away.

"Yǔmǔ is said to reside at Yǔmalǔyǔ, on the south side of the earth. All souls, wherever the persons die, are supposed to go to Yǔmǔ in four hours and forty minutes; and a dead body cannot be burnt till that time have elapsed."*

JUDGMENT OF MEN AFTER DEATH.

(From the Pudmu pooranu.)

"At the extremity of the earth southwards, floating on the waters, is Sǔngyǔmǔnēē, the residence of Yǔmǔ, the judge of the dead, and of his recorder Chitrǔ-gooptǔ, and his messengers. Yǔmǔ has four arms, is of a dark colour, with eyes like the petal of the water-lily; in his hands he holds a shell, a discus, a club, and a lotus; he rides on Gǔroorǔ; wears a golden poita, and pearl ear-rings; and has a crown on his head, and a garland of flowers round his neck. Chitrǔ-gooptǔ, the recorder, and Yǔmǔ's attendants, appear in the most pleasing forms.

"Those who perform works of merit are led to Yǔmǔ's palace along the most excellent roads, in some parts of which the heavenly courtezans are seen dancing or singing; and gods, gǔndhǔrvūs, &c. are heard chanting the praises of other gods; in others, showers of flowers are falling from heaven; in other parts are houses containing cooling water and excellent food; pools of water covered with nymphœas; and trees, affording fragrance by their blossoms and shade by their leaves. The gods are seen to pass on horses or elephants, with white umbrellas carried over them; or in the palanqueens or chariots, fanned with the chamurus of the gods: while the dévurshees are chanting their praises as they pass along. Some, by the glory issuing from their bodies, illumine the ten quarters of the world.

"Yumu receives the good with much affection, and, feasting them with excellent food, thus addresses them:—'Ye are truly meritorious in your deeds; ye are wise; by the power of your merits ascend to an excellent heaven. He who, born in the

* Ward's Religious Customs of the Hindoos, vol. i. p. 76.

world, performs meritorious actions, he is my father, brother, and friend.'

"The wicked have 688,000 miles to travel to the palace of Yumu, to receive judgment. In some places they pass over a pavement of fire; in others, the earth in which their feet sink is burning hot; or they pass over burning sands, or over stones with sharp edges, or burning hot; sometimes showers of sharp instruments, and at others showers of burning cinders, or scalding water, or stones fall upon them; burning winds scorch their bodies; every now and then they fall into concealed wells full of darkness, or pass through narrow passages filled with stones in which serpents lie concealed; sometimes the road is filled with thick darkness; at other times they pass through the branches of trees, the leaves of which are full of thorns; again, they walk over broken pots, or over hard clods of earth, bones, putrifying flesh, thorns, or sharp spikes; they meet tigers, shakals, rhinoceroses, elephants, terrible giants, &c.; and in some parts they are scorched in the sun without obtaining the least shade. They travel naked, their hair is in disorder, their throat, lips, &c. are parched; they are covered with blood or dirt; some wail and shriek as they pass along; others are weeping; others have horror depicted on their countenances; some are dragged along by leathern thongs tied round their necks, waists, or hands; others by cords passed through holes bored in their noses; others by the hair, the ears, the neck, or the heels; and others are carried, having their heads and legs tied together. On arriving at the palace, they behold Yumu clothed with terror, two hundred and forty miles in height; his eyes distended like a lake of water, of a purple colour, with rays of glory issuing from his body; his voice is loud as the thunders at the dissolution of the universe; the hairs of his body are each as long as a palm-tree; a flame of fire proceeds from his mouth; the noise of the drawing of his breath is greater than the roaring of a tempest; his teeth are exceedingly long, and his nails like the fan for winnowing corn. In his right hand he holds an iron club; his garment is an animal's skin, and he rides on a terrific buffalo. Chitru-gooptu also appears as a terrible monster,

and makes a noise like a warrior when about to rush to battle. Sounds terrible as thunder are heard, ordering punishments to be inflicted on the offenders. At length Yumu orders the criminals into his presence, and thus addresses them:—‘Did you not know that I am placed above all, to award happiness to the good, and punishment to the wicked? Knowing this, have you lived in sin? Have you never heard that there are different hells for the punishment of the wicked? Have you never given your minds to religion? To-day, with your own eyes, you shall see the punishment of the wicked—from yoogu to yoogu stay in these hells!—You have pleased yourselves in sinful practices: endure now the torments due to these sins. What will weeping avail?’ Yumu next directs Chitru-gooptu to examine into the offences of the criminals, who now demand the names of the witnesses: let such, say they, appear and give their evidence in our presence. Yumu smiling, though full of rage, commands Sōōryu,* Chundru,† Puvunu,‡ Ugnee,§ Akashu,|| Prit’hivēē,¶ Vuroonu,** Tit’hhee,†† Dinu,‡‡ Ratreē,§§ Pratu-kalu,||| Sundhya-kalu,¶¶ and Dhurmu, to appear against the prisoners, who, hearing the evidence, are struck dumb, and remain trembling and stupified with fear. Yumu, then gnashing his teeth, beats the prisoners with his iron club till they roar with anguish, after which he drives them to different hells.”***

. . . “The doors of heaven are shut against the great bulk of the people: they have neither performed splendid religious actions, nor subdued their passions, nor fixed their minds on God, nor performed severe religious austerities. The shōōdru, also, having no inheritance in the védus, is placed in far worse circumstances than the bramhun. Heaven was made for bramhuns as well as the earth; and in general a Hindoo must be raised to bramhinical birth before he can raise his eyes towards heaven as his home. Very few, therefore, indulge the hope of

* The sun.

† The moon.

‡ Wind.

§ Fire.

|| Æther.

¶ Earth.

** Water.

†† A lunar-day.

‡‡ Day.

§§ Night.

||| Morning.

¶¶ Evening.

*** Ward’s Religious Customs of the Hindoos, vol. ii. pp. 161—169.

heaven. On the contrary, when at the point of death, almost every Hindoo is in a state of the most perplexing anxiety, like mariners in a storm when the vessel has become wholly unmanageable. Such a wretched Hindoo, in these moments, is often heard giving vent to his grief and fears in the midst of his relations, as he lies by the Ganges. If he be advanced in years, they endeavour to comfort him, by reminding him that he could not expect to have lived much longer; that he leaves a numerous family in comfortable circumstances, and further, that his merits will certainly raise him to heaven." . . .

FUTURE PUNISHMENTS.

"The Shrēē-bhagŭvŭtŭ contains the following account of the punishments endured in different hells :—The person guilty of adultery or fornication, the thief, and the stealer of children, are to be cast into the hell Tamisrŭ, and continually famished and beaten. He who defrauds others, is to be cast into a hell of darkness. The proud person, who also neglects the ceremonies of religion, is to be tormented by the animals Rooroo. The glutton, who has also been guilty of destroying animals, is to be thrown into a hell of boiling oil. He who disregards the védŭ and bramhŭns, is to be punished in a hell of burning metal, for 3,500,000 years. He who injures a man of a superior order, is to be torn by swine. The unmerciful are to be tormented by snakes, flies, deer, birds, lice, wasps, &c. The bramhŭn, bramhŭnēē, brŭmhŭcharēē, voishyŭ, or king, who drinks spirits, shall be thrown into pans of liquid fire. He who despises a religious devotee, shall be punished by sticking fast in mud with his head downwards. He who kills a man, and offers him to the gods; and he who devours any animal, without having slain it in sacrifice; are to be fed on flesh and blood. He who betrays and afterwards destroys a person, is to be pierced with spears and arrows. The person who causes sorrow to others is to be bitten by snakes with five heads. He who is inhospitable to guests, must have his eyes torn out by vultures and other ravenous birds. The covetous are to be fed with impure substances. He who cohabits with a woman of

another cast, or a virgin, or the wife of another man, is to be inclosed in the arms of an iron female image made red hot. The person who professes different religions, and is familiar with all casts, is to be punished by being continually cast down from lofty trees. Bramhũns who commit adultery with the wives of Bramhũns are to be fed with blood. Highway robbers, or those who burn houses, or poison others, are to be bitten by dogs with huge teeth. False witnesses are to be cast from rocks 800 feet high." *

rites for the repose of the soul (SHRADDHU.)

"The Hindoo shastrũs teach, that after death the soul becomes prẽtũ, viz. takes a body about the size of a person's thumb, and remains in the custody of Yũmũ, the judge of the dead. At the time of receiving punishment the body becomes enlarged, and is made capable of enduring sorrow.

"There are three shraddus for the dead, one eleven days, another every month, and another at the close of a year, after the person's decease. At the end of the first day, after bathing, the family prepare an open place for the ceremonies. 'If it be the shraddhũ of a rich man, all the learned Hindoos and respectable people of the neighbouring villages are invited. The company being seated under an awning, the sons and the other relations of the deceased, dressed in new garments, place themselves in the midst of the company with their faces eastward, having near them sixteen different gifts, as brass cups, candlesticks, umbrellas, shoes, &c. Next are brought seeds of sesamum, a small piece of gold, and another of a different metal, wrapt up in new cloths. The son of the deceased now puts a piece of new cloth across his neck, and offers an atonement for the sin of having killed insects in sweeping the room, in cooking, grinding spices, and in moving the water jar; then follows an offering to the sun; then, rising, and bringing his hands forward in a supplicating posture, he solicits leave from the company to make the offering; after which he offers the sesamum, gold, and metal,

* Ward's Religious Customs of the Hindoos, vol. ii. pp. 182, 183.

for the happiness of the deceased ; takes the kosha, and sprinkles the sixteen gifts with water ; then, placing a flower on each, and repeating prayers, he offers them in the presence of the shalgramũ, one by one, in the name of the deceased, that he may obtain heaven. The son after this, if in circumstances sufficiently affluent, presents large gifts to the bramhũns, as elephants, horses, palanqueens, boats, &c., the receiving of which, however, is not honourable. A bramhũn then marks the foreheads of all present with sandal powder, and puts round the neck of each a garland of flowers. To the ũgrũdanēē bramhũns and others are now given, amidst much confusion among the receivers, the sesamum, the morsel of gold, the metal, a large bason full of kourees, and a couch or two, as well as the sixteen different gifts ; after which the assembly breaks up. The son then goes into the house, and placing a bramhun and his wife on a seat, covers them with ornaments, worships them, and, adding a large present of money, dismisses them.

After this, the son of the deceased requests five bramhũns, of some note for learning, to offer a male calf ; in doing which they take two cloths each, four poitas, four betle-nuts, and some kourees, provided for the purpose, and go with the company to a spot where an altar has been prepared, one cubit high, and four cubits square. Four of the bramhũns sit on the four sides of the altar, and there worship certain gods, and offer a burnt-sacrifice. Near the altar are placed the shalgramũ, four female calves, a male calf, and a vilwũ post. The fifth bramhũn reads certain parts of a pooranũ, to drive away evil spirits. The female calves are tied to four vilwũ posts, and the male calf to a post called vrishũ post. To the necks of the female calves four small slender baskets are suspended, in which are placed, among other things, a comb, and the iron instrument with which the Hindoo women paint their eyebrows black. A sheet of metal is placed under the belly of the male calf ; on the back a sheet of copper : the hoofs are covered with silver, and the horns with gold, if the shraddhũ be performed by a rich man. On the hips of the male calf marks of Shivũ's trident are impressed with a hot iron. After this, the son of the deceased

washes the tail of the male calf, and with the same water presents a drink offering to his deceased ancestors ; and afterwards marries the male calf to the four female calves, repeating many formulas, in which they are recommended to cultivate love and mutual sympathy. The son next liberates the female calves, forbidding any one to detain them, or partake of their milk in future. In liberating the male calf he says, ‘ I have given thee these four wives ;* live with them. Thou art the living image of Yūmū ; thou goest upon four legs. Devour not the corn of others, go not near a cow in calf, &c.’ The female calves are generally taken by bramhūns :† the male calf is let loose, to go where he pleases.‡

“ To this succeeds what is peculiarly termed the shraddhū. The river side, or the cow-house, or some retired place, is chosen ; after cleansing which, they collect all kinds of eatables, cloth, sesamum, flowers, &c., and place them in dishes made of the excavated trunks of the plantain tree. The son then washes his feet, and sits with his face towards the east, with a shalgramū before him, and repeats many incantations to purify himself ; he then worships the shalgramū ; presents to his deceased parent the seven dishes placed to the east, repeating various incantations ; and worships Gunga, Vishnōo, and the household gods, adding an offering to the ancestors of the king, as an acknowledgment for using the king’s land at worship. He then, turning his face to the south, reads many incantations, and with five, seven, or nine blades of kooshū grass, makes the image of a bramhun, which he places on a plantain before him ; then with joined hands he repeats before this image many incantations, to the following purport : ‘ Before thee, O bramhun,

* “ Here the Hindoos marry cattle ! In another part of this work the reader will find an account of the marriage of monkies !!

† “ Yet the receiving of these and other gifts at shruddhus is supposed to disgrace a person.

‡ “ These bulls wander about, and are treated by the Hindoos with great respect. No one can claim any redress for the injury they do, and no Hindoo dare destroy them. In large towns they are often mischievous. The English call them bramhunee bulls.”

I perform my father's shraddhu.' * He next offers to his deceased parent, on a plantain-trunk dish, seven blades of kooshu and seven of dōōrva grass, flowers, dry rice, cloth, red paint, and a brass lamp. He next cleanses the place before him with his hands, and scattering upon it a few blades of kooshu grass, presents other offerings to his deceased father, repeating many incantations, which contain the names of the offerings, and an invitation to the deceased father to partake of them. From what remains of these offerings the son makes two balls, the smallest of which is offered in the name of those of the family who have not received the benefits of the shraddhu, and the other he presents to his deceased father, and then lays it on some kooshu grass as before, and worships it, presenting flowers, water, &c. He now places both hands open against a lamp which is burning, as though he were warming himself; after which he prostrates himself to the sun, and presents a fee of from one roopee to five to the officiating bramhun; salutes all the bramhuns present, and makes prostrations to the shalgramu, which he afterwards sends into the house. All the offerings are sent to the houses of bramhuns. The family now return home, where an entertainment is provided, both for bramhuns and others, consisting principally of sweetmeats, milk, curds, sugar, cakes, &c. The bramhuns eat in an enclosed spot, the uninvited bramhuns near the house, and the poor in the street or road.† . . .

"The deities in the Hindoo pantheon amount to 330,000,000. Yet all these gods and goddesses may be resolved into the three principal ones, Vishnoo, Shivu, and Brumha; the elements; and the three females, Doorga, Lukshmēē, and Suruswutēē."

But the bloodiest rites are connected with the worship of the subordinate divinities.

TARA THE DELIVERER.

"This is the image of a black woman, with four arms, standing on the breast of Shivū: in one hand she holds a sword; in

* The shastru directs that a living bramhun shall be chosen; but a grass bramhun is generally substituted.

† Ward's Religious Customs of the Hindoos, vol. ii. p. 144.

another a giant's head ; with the others she is bestowing a blessing, and forbidding fear.

“ The worship of Tara is performed in the night, in different months, at the total wane of the moon, before the image of Sid-déshwurēē ; when bloody sacrifices are offered, and it is reported, that even human beings were formerly immolated in secret to this ferocious deity ; who is considered by the Hindoos as soon incensed, and not unfrequently inflicting on an importunate worshipper the most shocking diseases, as a vomiting of blood, or some other dreadful complaint which soon puts an end to his life.

“ Almost all the disciples of this goddess are from among the heterodox : many of them, however, are learned men, Tara being considered as the patroness of learning. Some Hindoos are supposed to have made great advances in knowledge through the favour of this goddess ; and many a stupid boy, after reading some incantations containing the name of Tara, has become a learned man.”

KALEE.

“ This deity is equal in ferocity to any of the preceding forms of Doorga. In the Kalika pooranu MEN are pointed out, amongst other animals, as proper for sacrifice. It is here said that the blood of the tiger pleases the goddess for one hundred years, and the blood of a lion, a rein-deer, or a MAN, a thousand. But by the sacrifice of THREE MEN, she is pleased 100,000 years. I insert two or three extracts from the Sanguinary Chapter of the Kalika pooranu :—‘ Let a human victim be sacrificed at a place of holy worship, or at a cemetery where dead bodies are buried. Let the oblation be performed in the part of the cemetery called héruku, or at a temple of Kamakshya, or on a mountain. Now attend to the mode : The human victim is to be immolated in the east division, which is sacred to Bhoiruvu ; the head is to be presented in the south division, which is looked upon as the place of skulls sacred to Bhoiruvu ; and the blood is to be presented in the west division, which is denominated héruku. Having immolated a human victim, with all the requi-

site ceremonies at a cemetery, or holy place, let the sacrificer be cautious not to cast his eyes upon it. The victim must be a person of good appearance, and be prepared by ablutions, and requisite ceremonies, (such as eating consecrated food the day before, and by abstinence from flesh and venery,) and must be adorned with chaplets of flowers, and besmeared with sandal wood. Then causing the victim to face the north, let the sacrificer worship the several deities presiding over the different parts of the victim's body: let the worship be then paid to the victim himself by his name." * . . .

JUGUNNAT'HU.

"The image of this god has no legs, and only stumps of arms: the head and eyes are very large. At the festivals the bramhuns adorn him with silver or golden hands.

"About seventeen days after the snanu-yatra, on the second of the increase of the moon in Asharhu, the Ru'thu or car festival is held. Before the god is taken out of the temple to be placed on the car, the usual ceremonies of worship are performed. The car belonging to the image near Serampore is in the form of a tapering tower, between thirty and forty cubits high. It has sixteen wheels, two horses, and one coachman, all of wood. Jagunnat'hu, his brother Bulu-ramu, and their sister Soobhudra, are drawn up by ropes tied round the neck, and seated on benches in an elevated part of the carriage; when a servant on each side waves a tail of the cow of Tartary, called a chamuru. The crowd draw the carriage by means of a hawser; their shouts, as the carriage proceeds, may be heard at the distance of a mile. Being arrived at the appointed spot, the bramhuns take out the images, and carry them to the temple of some other god, or to a place prepared for them, where they remain eight days."

DYING UNDER THE WHEELS OF JUGUNNAT'HU'S CAR.

"Amongst the immense multitudes assembled at the drawing of this car, are numbers afflicted with diseases, and others involved in worldly troubles, or worn out with age and neglect. It

* Ward's Religious Customs of the Hindoos, vol. i. p. 148.

often happens that such persons, after offering up a prayer to the idol, that they may obtain happiness or riches in the next birth, cast themselves under the wheels of the car, and are instantly crushed to death. Great numbers of these cars are to be seen in Bengal; and every year, in some place or other, persons thus destroy themselves. At Jugunnat'hu-kshétru, in Orissa, several perish annually. Many are accidentally thrown down by the pressure of the crowd, and are crushed to death. The victims who devote themselves to death in these forms have an entire confidence that they shall, by this meritorious act of self-murder, attain to happiness.

"I beg leave here to insert the following extract of a letter from an officer to a friend, to confirm the facts related in this and the two preceding sections: 'I have known a woman, whose courage failed her on the pile, bludgeoned by her own dear kindred. This I have told the author of 'The Vindication of the Hindoos.'—I have taken a Gentoo out of the Ganges: I perceived him at night, and called out to the boat-men.—'Sir, he is gone; he belongs to God.' 'Yes, but take him up, and God will get him hereafter.' We got him up at the last gasp: I gave him some brandy, and called it physic. 'O Sir, my cast is gone!' 'No, it is physic.' 'It is not that, Sir! but my family will never receive me. I am an outcast!' 'What! for saving your life?' 'Yes.' 'Never mind such a family.' "*

"*Jūgūnnat'hū-kshūtrū*, (in Orissa.) Several temples and pools attract the attention of pilgrims at this place; but the great god Jugunnat'hu is the most famous object of attention to pilgrims, who come from all parts of India at the times of the thirteen annual festivals held in honour of this wooden god. All casts eat together here, the rise of which custom is variously accounted for. The Hindoos say, that 200,000 people assemble at this place at the time of drawing the car; when five or six people are said to throw themselves under the wheels of the car every year, as a certain means of obtaining salvation. When I asked a bramhun in what way such persons expected salvation, he said, that generally the person who thus threw away his life

* Ward's Religious Customs of the Hindoos, vol. ii. p. 13.

was in a state of misfortune; and that he thought, as he sacrificed his life through his faith in Jugunnat'hu, this god would certainly save him.—The pilgrims to this place, especially at the time of the above festival, endure the greatest hardships; some from the fatigues of a long journey, others from the want of necessary support, or from being exposed to bad weather. Multitudes perish on the roads, very often by the dysentery; and some parts of the sea-shore at this holy place may be properly termed Golgotha, the number of skulls and dead bodies are so great. In no part of India, perhaps, are the horrors of this superstition so deeply felt as on this spot: its victims are almost countless. Every third year they make a new image, when a bramhun removes the original bones of Krishnu* from the belly of the old image to that of the new one. On this occasion, he covers his eyes lest he should be struck dead for looking at such sacred relics. After this, we may be sure, the common people do not *wish* to see Krishnu's bones. . . .

“It is a well-authenticated fact, that at this place a number of females of infamous character are employed to dance and sing before the god. They live in separate houses, not at the temple. . . .

“Before this place fell into the hands of the English, the king, a Marhatta chief, exacted tolls from pilgrims for passing through his territories to Jugunnat'hu. At one place the toll was not less than one pound nine shillings for each foot-passenger, if he had so much property with them. When a Bengalee raja used to go, he was accompanied by one or two thousand people, for every one of whom he was obliged to pay the toll. The Honourable Company's government levies a tax of from one to six roopees on each passenger. For several years after the conquest of Kutuku by the English, this tax was not levied; when myriads of pilgrims thronged to this place, and thousands, it is said, perished from disease, want, &c.”*

“*Buddruc in Orissa, May 30th, 1806.* We know that we

* The tradition is, that king Indru-dyoomu, by the direction of Vishnoo, placed the bones of Krishnu, who had been accidentally killed by a hunter, in the belly of the image of Jugunnat'hu.

† Ward's Religious Customs of the Hindoos, vol. i. pp. 133, 134.

are approaching Juggernaut (and yet we are more than fifty miles from it) by the human bones which we have seen for some days strewed by the way. At this place we have been joined by several large bodies of pilgrims, perhaps 2000 in number, who have come from various parts of Northern India. Some old persons are among them, who wish to die at Juggernaut. Numbers of pilgrims die on the road ; and their bodies generally remain unburied. On a plain by the river, near the pilgrims' caravansera at this place, there are more than a hundred skulls. The dogs, jackals, and vultures, seem to live here on human prey.

"*Juggernaut, 14th June.* I have seen Juggernaut. The scene at Buddruck is but the vestibule to Juggernaut. No record of ancient or modern history can give, I think, an adequate idea of this valley of death ; it may be truly compared with the 'valley of Hinnom.' I have also visited the sand plains by the sea, in some places whitened with the bones of the pilgrims ; and another place a little way out of the town, called by the English the Golgotha, where the dead bodies are usually cast forth, and where dogs and vultures are ever seen.

"*Juggernaut, 21st June.* I have beheld another distressing scene this morning at the place of skulls ; a poor woman lying dead, or nearly dead, and her two children by her, looking at the dogs and vultures which were near. The people passed by without noticing the children. I asked them where was their home. They said, 'they had no home but where their mother was.' O, there is no pity at Juggernaut ! no tenderness of heart in Moloch's kingdom." *

"A person who has lived several years near the temple of Jugunnat'hu, in Orissa, in a letter to the author, says, 'I cannot pronounce on the numbers who annually perish at Jugunnat'hu, and on their way thither : in some years they do not amount to more than 200 perhaps ; but in others they may exceed 2000.'

"A gentleman, whose opinion is of great weight, says, 'I believe this estimate is far below the truth.' "†

* Buchanan's Researches in India.

† Ward's Religious Customs of the Hindoos, vol. i. p. 127. N.B. Mr. Ward's work was first published in 1815.

“ I have obtained from several works accounts of the following burnt-sacrifices :—

“ *The sacrifice of a Man* !!—First, a covered altar* is to be prepared in an open place near the house of the offerer ; sixteen posts are to be erected, six of vilwu, six of khudiru, and four of oodoomburu ; a golden image of a man, and an iron one of a goat, are then to be set up ; and also golden images of Vishnoo and Lukshmēē, a silver one of Shivu, with a golden bull on which Shivu rides, and a silver one of Gurooru. Brass pans are also to be provided for holding water, &c. Animals, as goats and sheep, are to be tied to the posts, one of the khudiru posts being left for the man who is to be sacrificed. Fire is next to be procured with a burning-glass, or with flint, or brought from the house of a devout bramhun. The priest, called brumha, sits on a seat of kooshu grass at one corner of the altar with an alms' dish in his hand, and consecrates the different utensils. The priest, called hota, then performs certain minute ceremonies, and lays blades of kooshu grass all round the fire on the altar ; to which succeeds the burnt-sacrifice to the ten guardian deities of the earth, to the nine planets, to Roodru, Brumha, Vestoo-poorooshu, and Vishnoo : to each of the two latter clarified butter is to be poured on the fire a thousand times. Next follows another burnt-sacrifice, and the same sacrifice to sixty-four gods, beginning with Douvariku. After this, in the name of all the gods above-mentioned, is made the burnt-sacrifice with the flesh of the other animals tied to the different posts. To this succeeds the human sacrifice. The victim must be free from bodily distemper, be neither a child nor advanced in years.† After slaying the victim, the hota, with small pieces of flesh, must offer the sacrifice to the above-mentioned gods, walking round the altar after each separate offering.” ‡ . . .

* The Hindoo altar may have brick-work around it, but in the inside it is to be filled up with pure earth. In the centre some persons make a hole for the fire, and others raise on the centre a small elevation of sand, and on this kindle the fire.

† These victims were formerly bought for sacrifice.

‡ Ward's Religious Customs of the Hindoos, vol. i. p. 47.

INFANTICIDE.

The people of Orissa and of the eastern parts of Bengal, and other parts of India frequently offer their children to the goddess Gunga.

“In the north-western parts of Hindoost’hanu, the horrid practice of sacrificing female children as soon as born, has been known from time immemorial. The Hindoos ascribe this custom to a prophecy delivered by a bramhun to Dwēēpu-singhu, a raju-pootu king, that his race would lose the sovereignty through one of his female posterity. Another opinion is, that this shocking practice has arisen out of the law of marriage, which obliges the bride’s father to pay almost divine honours to the bridegroom: hence persons of high cast, unwilling thus to humble themselves for the sake of a daughter, destroy the infant. In the Punjab and neighbouring districts, to a great extent, a cast of Sikhs, and the raju-pootus, as well as many of the bramhuns and other casts, murder their female children as soon as born. I have made particular enquiry into the extent of these murders; but, as the crime is perpetrated in secret, have not been able to procure very exact information. A gentleman, whose information on Indian customs is very correct, informs me, that this practice was, if it is not at present, universal among all the raju-poots, who, he supposes, destroy all their daughters: he expresses his fears, that, notwithstanding their promises to the Government of Bombay, made in consequence of the very benevolent exertions of Mr. Duncan, the practice is almost generally continued. He adds, the custom prevails in the Punjab, in Malwa, Joud-pooru, Jesselmere, Guzerat, Kutch, and perhaps Sind, if not in other provinces.”*

VOLUNTARY SUICIDE, (*Kamyū-Mūrūnū*.)

“A number of expressions in several shastrus countenance the practice of voluntary suicide; and some of the smritees, and pooranus, lay down rules for Kamyu-murunu, declaring it, however, a crime in a bramhun, but meritorious in a shōōdru.

* Ward’s Religious Customs, vol. i. p. 123.

The person is directed first to offer an atonement for all his sins, by making a present of gold to bramhuns, and honouring them with a feast; afterwards, putting on new apparel and adorning himself with garlands of flowers, he is accompanied to the river by a band of music. If he has any property, he gives it to whom he pleases: then, sitting down by the side of the river, he repeats the name of his idol, and proclaims that he is now about to renounce his life in this place in order to obtain such or such a benefit. After this, he and his friends proceed on a boat, and fastening pans of water to his body, he plunges into the stream. The spectators cry out, ‘Huree bul! Huree bul!’ Huzza! Huzza! and then retire. Sometimes a person of property kindly interferes, and offers to relieve the wants of the victim if he will abstain from drowning himself; but the deluded man replies that he wants nothing, as he is going to heaven!

“When a person is afflicted with a supposed incurable distemper, or is in distress, or despised, it is common for him to form the resolution of parting with life in the Ganges; or the crime is committed after a vow, at the time of making which, the person prayed for some favour in the next birth, as riches, freedom from sorrow, &c. Sick persons sometimes abstain from food for several days while sitting near the river, that life may thus depart from them in sight of the holy stream: but the greater number drown themselves in the presence of relations; and instances are mentioned, in which persons in the act of self-murder have been forcibly pushed back into the stream by their own offspring!”* . . .

“The Hindoos are extremely anxious to die in the sight of the Ganges, that their sins may be washed away in their last moments. A person in his last agonies is frequently dragged from his bed and friends, and carried, in the coldest or in the hottest weather, from whatever distance to the river side, where he lies, if a poor man, without a covering day and night till he expires: with the pains of death upon him, he is placed up to the middle in the water and drenched with it. Leaves of the

* Ward’s Religious Customs of the Hindoos, vol. i. pp. 115, 116.

toolusee plant are also put into his mouth; and his relations call upon him to repeat, and repeat for him the names of Ramu, Huree, Narayunu, Brumha, Gunga, &c. In some cases the family priest repeats some incantations, and makes an offering to Voiturunēē, the river over which the soul, they say, is ferried after leaving the body. The relations of the dying man spread the sediment of the river on his forehead or breast, and afterwards with the finger write on this sediment the name of some deity. If a person should die in his house, and not by the river side, it is considered as a great misfortune, as he thereby loses the help of the goddess in his dying moments. If a person choose to die at home, his memory becomes infamous. The conduct of Raja Nuvu-krishnu of Nudēeya, who died in his bed-room about the year 1800, is still mentioned as a subject of reproach, because he refused to be carried to the river before death.”*

CEREMONIES AT DEATH.

“A sick person, after his removal to the banks of the Ganges, if he possess sufficient strength, directs quantities of food, garments, &c. to be presented to the bramhuns. That he may not be compelled to cross Voiturnnēē, whose waters are hot, in his way to the seat of judgment, he presents to a bramhun a black cow. When about to expire, the relations place the body up to the navel in the river, and direct the dying man to call aloud on the gods, and assist him in doing so.

“The burning of the body is one of the first ceremonies which the Hindoos perform for the help of the dead in a future state. If this ceremony have not been attended to, the shraddhu, turpunu, &c. cannot be performed. If a person be unable to provide wood, cloth, clarified butter, rice, water pans, and other things, beside the fee to the priest, he must beg among his neighbours. If the body be thrown into the river, or burnt, without the accustomed ceremonies (as is sometimes the case),

* Ward's Religious Customs of the Hindoos, vol. i. p. 274.

the ceremonies may be performed over an image of the deceased made of kooshu grass.

“Immediately after death, the attendants lay out the body on a sheet, placing two pieces of wood under the head and feet ; after which they anoint the corpse with clarified butter, bathe it with the water of the Ganges, put round the loins a new garment, and another over the left shoulder, and then draw the sheet on which the body lies over the whole. The heir-at-law next bathes himself, puts on new garments, and boils some rice, a ball of which and a lighted brand he puts to the mouth of the deceased, repeating incantations. The pile having been prepared, he sets fire to it, and occasionally throws on it clarified butter and other combustibles. When the body is consumed, he washes the ashes in the river ; the attendants bathe, and presenting a drink-offering to the deceased, return home ; before they enter the house, however, each one touches fire and chews some bitter leaves, to signify that parting with relations by death is an unpleasant task.”*

“To procure relief for the wandering spirit after death, they make to it offerings of rice, &c. in a religious ceremony, almost universally attended to, called the shraddhu, and on which very frequently a rich man expends not less than 3 or 400,000 roopees. To make this offering at Guya, is supposed to be attended with the certain deliverance of the deceased from all sorrow.” . . .

“I once saw some Musulman women, near Calcutta, lying on the new-made grave of a relation, and weeping bitterly ; and I am informed that Musulman females in this manner weep, and spread flowers over the graves of relations, at the expiration of four days, and forty days after the interment.”

“Dead bodies are brought by their relations to be burnt near this river ; and when they cannot bring the whole body, it is not uncommon for them to bring a single bone and cast it into the river, under the hope that it will help the soul of the deceased.”

“The Skundu pooranu declares, that by dying in the Ganges a person will obtain absorption into Brumhu. The same work

* Ward's Religious Customs of the Hindoos, vol. i. p. 140.

contains a promise from Shivu, that whoever dies in Gunga shall obtain a place in his heaven.—The Bhuvishyu pooranu affirms, that if a worm, or an insect, or a grasshopper, or any tree growing by the side of Gunga, die in the river, it will obtain absorption into Brumhu.—The Brumhu pooranu says, that whether a person renounce life in Gunga, praying for any particular benefit, or die by accident, or whether he possess his senses or not, he will be happy. If he purposely renounce life he will enjoy absorption, or the highest happiness; if he die by accident, he will still attain heaven.—Munoo says, ‘A mansion with bones for its rafters and beams; with nerves and tendons for cords; with muscles and blood for mortar; with skin for its outward covering; filled with no sweet perfume, but loaded with ordure; a mansion infested by age and by sorrow, the seat of malady, harassed with pains, haunted with the quality of darkness, and incapable of standing long; such a mansion of the vital soul let its occupier always cheerfully quit.’”

CUSTOMS OBSERVED DURING THE SICKNESS, OR AT THE DEATH OF
THE BRAMINS, AND ALSO OF BURIALS, DETAILED BY PICARD
AND OTHERS.

“When a Bramin falls sick, though the vessels be ever so much over-charged with blood, they yet always prefer abstinence to bleeding; but then they frequently make him fast so long, that he quite loses the habit of eating, by which means he is unable to swallow when they afterwards think proper to give him sustenance.

“When the symptoms of death appear, a Bramin is sent for to pray with the sick person, and alms are given to the poor. In the meantime, the sick person is repeating continually the name of God; and when he is no longer able to do it, his friends ring it incessantly in his ears. The Vedam declares, that as God has promised to assist those who think on his name, and repeat it, he is obliged to succour them in this extreme; but in case their speech fails them, and their friends do this office for them, it is the same thing as if they themselves had performed it. If the sick person be married, and his senses are not yet

gone, he asks his wife whether she will be burnt or buried with him? If she answers in the affirmative, she is obliged to adhere to her promise, and it then becomes her duty, because of the oath by which she bound herself at her marriage, in presence of the Bramin and the fire Homam. She then took an oath, that her soul should not be separated from that of her husband, and she could not, without being guilty of a great sin, violate an oath which the presence of the Bramin and the fire had made sacred. In case she has any children, and loves them better than she did her deceased husband, then she is at liberty either to live with them or die with him. If she dreads the fire, she must not be forced to throw herself into it, but the general opinion is, that no virtuous woman will refuse to make herself a sacrifice on this occasion; for, according to the Vedam, the duty of a wife consists in the three following particulars:—

“The first is, a blind and implicit compliance in all the desires and wishes of her husband.

“The second duty of a virtuous wife is to observe a great modesty and simplicity in her dress, and not to lead a dissolute life when her husband is out of town.

“The third is to die when her husband leaves the world. However, some women, before they marry, put in this clause, viz. that they shall not be burnt with him, and oblige their husbands to ratify it; nevertheless, the Bramins leave a woman at her liberty, to answer either yes or no, when her husband asks her in his expiring moments, whether she be willing to follow him to death. They themselves confess, that the forcing a woman to it, either by violence or threats, is a crime that merits hell. But the Settreas, who are the nobles, constrain their wives to submit to this cruel custom, thinking that their surviving them would cast a stain on their honour; and once, at the death of a Settrea, threescore women threw themselves on his funeral pile, and were there consumed.

“They believe that when the sick person is at the point of death, two Jamma-doutas, or Judges of Hell, always appear to him, whose hideous figure terrifies him; but then a Vishnu-douta is present at the same time. In case the dying man has

led a virtuous life, the latter carries away his soul in a magnificent flying chariot ; but if he has been a wicked wretch, one of the Jamma-doutas carries him to Jamma-locon, or the place where Jamma presides. This judge orders his registrar to acquaint him with the particulars of the life of the deceased, pursuant to the informations he had received from Vishnu ; when these being read, he sends him back into the world, where he skips up and down like a hobgoblin for ten days together, till such time as his doom is pronounced. It is for this reason that the Bramins, after the death of a relation, feed a magpie for ten days, from a notion they entertain that his soul may possibly be among those birds.

“As soon as the sick man is dead, his beard is shaved, he is washed, is clothed in a clean suit, and his mouth is rubbed with lime and pounded betel, and the women also rub it with raw rice. When he is carried from his house to some place adjacent to the city, he is attended by his friends, who wash their hands and put a little rice on his mouth. They wash their hands a second time, and begin a Beteani round the pile on which his body lies. This Beteani is a kind of procession which a Perrea makes, who is followed by certain persons that beat on a little drum, when they go thrice round the corpse. This being done, one of the company preaches to the rest in death's name, and observes, that his empire equally extends over all things, over the young and old, rich and poor ; that those who lead a life of virtue shall be happy after death, but that those who tread the paths of vice must expect nothing but torment.

“All the Bramins are not burnt after their deaths ; for some of them are buried. The Vishnuvas and Smartas are always burnt, from an opinion which prevails among them, that though they have served Vishnu ever so faithfully, they yet contract certain impurities, which are thoroughly purged by fire. On the contrary, the Seivias and Sanjasiis maintain that their sins will not be imputed to them, though they have not exactly filled up all the duties of life ; consequently that they have no occasion for this purification, and therefore may be quietly laid in the

ground. The former have an eye chiefly to God's justice ; the latter rely more on his mercy."*

"The shikhs have certain ceremonies after the birth of a child, at their marriages, and at death : some present offerings to the manes of deceased ancestors, copying the ceremonies of the Hindoos. . . . Should a man murder his wife on account of improper conduct, he is not punished. The belief is, if he were to punish such a husband, all the women of the country would become unfaithful.

"The shikhs burn their dead ; and their wives sometimes, but very seldom, ascend the funeral pile with their husbands. This is done, however, by those who are least detached from the Hindoo system. They generally sing certain couplets of their shastru, accompanied with music, as they convey the body to the cemetery ; and sometimes a great multitude of shikhs assemble on these occasions, and continue singing till the body is entirely consumed."†

The customs of the Thanars or Tiars of Malabar, and the Nairs or Naimars of that country, are largely described by Dr. Buchanan in his "Journey from Madras through Mysore, Canara, and Malabar," published in three vols. 4to., 1807.

"The Nairs burn the dead, and suppose that good men after death go to heaven, while bad men will suffer transmigration."‡

"The Tiars seem to be entirely ignorant of a state of existence after death ; some of them burn and some bury their dead. They are permitted to eat swine, goats, fowls, and fish, and have no objection to eat animals that have died a natural death."§

"The Ladas or Ladarus (near the Krishna River) burn their dead, who ought to be accompanied on the pile by their widows, but this custom has become obsolete."||

"The Wully Tigulas (of the Carnatic) bury their dead, and have some faint notions of a future state, but rather as of a

* Picard, pp. 717, *et seq.*

† Dr. Buchanan's Travels, vol. ii. p. 410.

|| Idem, vol. i. p. 424.

‡ Idem, vol. ii. p. 380.

§ Idem, p. 416.

thing of which they have heard than of which they are convinced, or in which they are much interested." *

"The Woddas or Woddarees, a tribe of Telinga origin, bury their dead." †

"The Telega Uparu of Telinga origin, bury their dead : they have no knowledge of a future life." ‡

"The Mussulmen of India retain their ancient custom of burying their dead. Their grandees erect magnificent mausoleums in honour of their deceased relations. One of the most gorgeous of these monuments is that erected by Aurungzebe over the tomb of his favourite wife, Rabea Dooraney, at an expense of £90,000." §

This tomb is built after the celebrated mausoleum of Tai-Mhal at Agra, which cost the amazing sum of £700,000 sterling. It was constructed by the father of Aurungzebe, Shah Jehan.

The forms observed at the burials of Mahommedan Hindoos of Aurungabad, are described in Captain Seely's work on the wonders of Elora (page 381), in his account of a funeral of a Mahommedan Hakim of Shah Safit, which he had witnessed :

"The body was brought out of the apartment on a bier, and placed in front of a mosque. An attendant mourner then placed his own hands in two small bags, and commenced washing the head, hands, and particularly the fingers of the deceased. During this ceremony, a party were waving fans over the body, to prevent flies or insects from fixing on it. The custom of washing being over, the nostrils were now cleansed, and a little roll of cotton put in each. The body was now stripped completely naked, excepting a small piece of muslin over the middle; then carefully washed and dried with a fine cloth, and rubbed with powder and sandal wood, camphor and myrrh, some of which had been burning in little brazen vessels at the head and feet of the corpse. The two great toes were tied together by two narrow slips of muslin, and the body was then stretched out.

* Dr. Buchanan's Travels, vol. i. p. 339.

† Idem, p. 310.

‡ Idem, p. 304.

§ Wonders of Elora, by Captain Seely, p. 370; 1824.

“This being done, a large fine piece of muslin, prepared for the occasion, was put into the hand of Shah Safit, who having repeated a few sentences from the Koran, both in Arabic, Persian, and Hindostanee, gave it to an attendant, who made slits in it for the head and hands of the deceased to be passed through. This being done, the covering fitted close to the neck, the hands were brought out through the holes along the side. The body was now completely covered. At the foot part two holes were made for the toes to be inserted, which kept it fast. A few sentences and solemn dirges were now chanted, when a number of persons, throwing off their shoes, requested they might convey the body to the grave. Their desire being complied with, the procession moved on, accompanied by a vast number of spectators, who all saluted it with some pious exclamation or other, every one appearing anxious to bear a part in carrying the body. Near the burying-ground was raised a terrace, having a wall on one side facing towards Mecca.

“At this Yeedgāh or palace of mourning, the relatives and friends visit daily, to offer up prayers for the deceased.

“No women were to be seen on the occasion; the very reverse of what takes place at the burning of a Hindoo corpse, where the females, sometimes hired for the purpose, make a most outrageous noise, beating their breasts, tearing their hair, and shewing other frantic signs of grief.”*

This account of the funeral customs of the Mahomedan Hindoos furnishes abundant proof of the analogy which exists between the funeral rites of the Mahomedan Hindoos and those of many other Asiatic nations, ancient and modern.

* Wonders of Elora, by Captain Seely, p. 320, *et seq.*

CHAPTER XI.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS OF THE CINGALESE.

“From the native chronicles we find that the ancestors of a people whom Britain long regarded as savages, and for some time treated as slaves, existed as a numerous and comparatively civilized nation at a period antecedent to the discovery of Great Britain and its semi-barbarous inhabitants.” — MAJOR FORBES’ *Eleven Years in Ceylon, &c.* vol. i. p. 2.

THE burial customs of the Cingalese, the annals of which nation, of an authentic nature, with one exception, are the most ancient in existence, are of high importance and interest in an enquiry of this kind.

Major Forbes, in his excellent work on Ceylon, says, “the Ramayana (the most ancient book of the Cingale) is the oldest of epic poems.” Vol. ii. p. 260.

The period of Rama’s actions, of which it treats—according to Sir William Jones—is 1810 years before Christ. And Rama’s conquest of Ceylon, on the same authority, must have been a few centuries only after the flood. The passages of this poem which have been given by Major Forbes possess uncommon beauty, sublimity, and depth of thought.

The four divine beings, or Buddhas, of which it treats, who appeared in the flesh, and acted a part in Cingalese affairs, came down in the following order of dates:—

The 1st, Kakusanda, about B.C. 3001 years.

2d, Konogaunna, “ 2099 “

3d, Rayapha, “ “ 1014 “

4th, Gautama, “ “ 577 “

They all selected for their places of worship mountain eminences remarkable for their natural grandeur and magnificent scenery,—such as Adam’s Peak, or Samanala’s Point. The Cingalese united astrology with demon worship. This planetary and evil

principle propitiating religion of theirs, prescribed solemn festivals in honour of the heavenly bodies, to deprecate their malignant influence. These festivals, observes Major Forbes, were called *Bali*; they had, also, sacrificial offerings to deceased ancestors. "The belief in the power of evil spirits, the act of making them propitiatory offerings, and sacrificing a red cock for the purpose of averting and repelling threatened misfortune, are very general." *

The prevalence of a particular superstition in various regions, far remote from each other, is remarkable. In 1305, in Ireland, "Dame Alice Kettyl was charged with having sacrificed nine red cocks to her familiar spirit or imp."

On the Kroo coast in Western Africa, in 1840, mention is made in Madden's Report on West African Settlements, of the practice of sacrificing cocks still existing there.

It is a curious circumstance, and well worthy of observation, that the most ancient records in existence (with the exception of those of the Hebrew language) are those of the people of two islands under British rule—the Scytho-Celtic race of Ireland, and the Cingalese of Ceylon.

"From the native chronicles" (of the Cingalese), says Major Forbes, "we find that the ancestors of the people, whom Britain long regarded as savages, and for some time treated as slaves, existed as a numerous and comparatively civilized nation, at a period antecedent to the discovery of Great Britain, and its semi-barbarous inhabitants. The ancient and continued annals of the Cingalese race have been preserved for upwards of 23 centuries, and describe the erection and formation of all those extensive works—cities, tanks, temples, whose ruins and numerous inscriptions remain to verify the historic records." †

Turner, in his *Epitome of Cingalese History*, gives a chronological list of the kings of Ceylon, from authentic ancient annals, beginning with Wijay, in the year of Buddha's death—before Christ 543 years, and ending with the last Cingalese

* Forbes' *Ceylon*, vol. i. p. 322.

† Forbes' *Eleven Years in Ceylon, its History and Antiquities*, 2nd Edition, vol. i. p. 2. London: 1841.

sovereign—Raja Singa, who commenced his reign in 1798, who was deposed by the English in 1815, and was imprisoned at Vel-lare, where he died in captivity.

The number of Cingalese sovereigns is 165. Forbes reviews the line of 159 Cingalese sovereigns, from the year 307 B.C. to 1815 A.D., comprising a period of 2122 years.

Of those 159 sovereigns, twenty-two were murdered by their successors, six were slain by private individuals, thirteen were killed in broils and wars, and four committed suicide; so that not one-fourth died by violence, a proportion, it is to be feared, which the ancient annals of Ireland would shew has been more than trebled there.

In theory, the Cingalese monarchy was elective in the descendants of the solar race. In practice, it was hereditary, or became the prize of the strongest who claimed to be of royal blood.

The moral doctrines of Gautama Buddha, who was born, according to some, in 577, of others, in 623 B.C., constitute the code of the Cingalese Buddhists.

Gautama came on his Buddhist mission into Ceylon, from India, in his thirty-fifth year, and began the conversion of the Yakkas or devil worshippers. He went back to India, and returned again to Ceylon in 581 B.C. He again went away in 577 B.C., and returned, and took his final departure, and died in India in 543 B.C.

The language in which the ancient sacred books of Buddhism are written is called Pali, and by the priests is named the Maghada language.

One of these books, which treats of the creation of the world, presents remarkable coincidences with some of the Mosaic records, "arguing a common origin, and not a copy," such as the account of the fall of man from a more perfect state to his present condition, but "by progressive stages on account of increasing wickedness," while in the Mosaic account of the first transgression "the fall is single and sudden." *

There is a mention made there of a tree named Kalpauruksha, which becoming extinct, the human race became by its loss mortal.

* Forbes, vol. ii. p. 249.

This loss was occasioned by the wickedness of the Bambas—sons of heaven sent on earth, and doing evil things on it.

There are several destructions of the earth recorded, and recreations from the ruins, but only one notice of a great flood in Ceylon, which corresponds with the flood recorded by Moses. This flood of the Cingalese is said to have occurred about 2387 years before Christ, the era of the death of the Cingalese Rawana.

Funeral rites in Ceylon are thus described by Major Forbes :*

“As prejudice and habit have concurred in producing the universal impression amongst Thardians, that a dead body pollutes the house, they generally remove any expiring relation into some detached apartment, and place him with his head to the east. If the sickness terminate fatally, the position of the corpse is altered: the head is then turned to the west, the great toes are tied together, and the body is arrayed with the best dress and ornaments usually worn by the deceased. Only the body of priests, or those of the highest ranks, were permitted to be burned; others were interred in a grave, with the head still to the west; and if the deceased left little property, and no relations were forthcoming, it was sometimes difficult to get persons for any hire to bear the corpse to the burial ground.

“The body of one of the principal chiefs, or any of their family, was conveyed to the funeral pile on a sort of open palanquin, borne by slaves, and attended by the relations. The funeral pile consisted of alternate layers of dry and green wood, about four feet in height, secured by stakes at the sides, and with strong posts at the corners ornamented with cocoa-nut leaves. The body being placed on the pile, which is surrounded with cloths extended from the corners, the fire is kindled by the nearest relations, and the whole suddenly becomes enveloped in fierce flames and clouds of smoke. The fire is maintained until the body is consumed; and during the operation the priest, who has been called by the relations, repeats certain forms of prayer. After seven days the friends return, collect the ashes, over which a small mound is raised, and the priest having delivered some

† Forbes' Ceylon, vol. i. p. 335.

moral admonitions, the funeral rites are over : in many cases the mourning, except the dress of dark blue, may be said to cease with the termination of the ceremonies."

In "The Historical Relation of Ceylon, by Richard Knox, a captive there near twenty years," published in 1681, 4to.—we find some interesting accounts of the funeral customs of the natives, given by an observant but very illiterate person. Those accounts differ little, however, from the descriptions of more recent writers. "The people," he says, "are very loath to die, and are much afraid of the devil." When the sick man dies the priests give their attendance and assistance against the evil spirits; the women assemble with loosened hair, and hands behind their heads, and make hideous lamentations and mournful songs extolling the virtues of the dead; the men stand still and sigh. The women make these lamentations more for fashion than affection. The dead of quality are burned; the body is first washed, embalmed, then wrapped in linen cloth, carried to the funeral pile, placed on a bedstead, and consumed.*

Davy, in his work on Ceylon, p. 113, speaks of the Weedah-bribe as taking no care whatever of the dead, and throwing their remains in the jungle.

"The Cingalese," observes Picard, "add the following notion to their doctrine of the metempsychosis; that the souls of the wicked after their transmigration into the bodies of unclean, or abject and contemptible reptiles, become much more wicked in the other world than they were in this, and meet with punishments proportioned to their demerits; and, on the other hand, that the souls of the righteous, after they have sojourned for a long time in the bodies of some majestic creatures here below, are loaded with honours in the mansions above, and become partakers of an infinite number of pleasures, which they never enjoyed on earth, as a recompense of their shining virtues. Possessed of this opinion, they devote the riches which the deceased had heaped together in his life-time to his future service, and bury all his effects with him, his implements of husbandry only

* Knox's Historical Relation of Ceylon, p. 115.

excepted. Those presents, indeed, which the king had honoured the deceased with in his life-time, are likewise reserved, as not being in reality his own property; for in that country the king never makes any absolute grants to his subjects; but his favours of all kinds are returnable, and held only *durante bene placito*, or as long as his pleasure lasts. From what has been above premised, we must of necessity allow that these islanders believe in the immortality of the soul, and the doctrine of rewards and punishments in a future state."

Knox assures us, "that they die with the utmost reluctance; and that when they are dangerously ill, they look on the devil as the king of terrors, inasmuch as at those times they invoke him without ceasing, and implore his aid and assistance.

"The better sort of people burn their dead, to prevent the worms from feasting on their bodies. But the poor observe no manner of ceremony in their interments. Those who perform the friendly office for them are obliged to wash themselves afterwards; for, according to the principles of their religion, he who touches the dead is polluted. The party deceased is laid on his back, with his head westward, and his heels towards the east. As to those bodies which are burnt, they are first well washed with water: afterwards embowelled, embalmed, and filled with pepper, and then deposited within a tree cut hollow for that purpose; after that, no one presumes to touch the corpse, especially if it be a courtier's, till the king gives positive orders to have it burnt, which is often neglected for a considerable time, if not totally forgotten. To prevent, therefore, the corpse from being offensive in the house, they dig a kind of grave in the floor, and inter it there, with the hollow tree in which it is deposited, until his majesty's directions for burning it can be procured. When this happens, no sooner has the fire consumed both the corpse and the funeral pile, than the ashes are thrown up together in a pyramidical form, and then the ground is hedged about and sown with grass. Our author concludes his relation with this particular circumstance, that those who die of the small-pox, whether rich or poor, are laid directly upon thorns and briars, and burnt without the least further regard.

“Some few days,” says Picard, “after a man’s death, those friends who respect him, and have a real concern for the welfare of his soul, send for a priest, who spends the whole night in singing requiems, and praying for the salvation of the deceased. The next day he is elegantly entertained, and well gratified for his trouble: in return for which favours, he gives them a sure and certain hope of the happy state of their departed brother’s soul.” *

THE CELEBRATED CINGALESE SHRINE OF SREE-PADA, ON THE
SUMMIT OF ADAM’S PEAK IN CEYLON.

Dr. Davy gives the following account of this most famous place of Boodhoo pilgrimage :—

“From the surrounding scenery our curiosity soon led us to examine the summit of the mountain, and the object which induces thousands annually to undertake this weary pilgrimage. The summit is very small; according to the measurement made by Lieut. Malcolm (the first European who ascended the Peak), its area is seventy-four feet by twenty-four. It is surrounded by a stone wall five feet high, built in some places on the brink of the precipice. The apex of the mountain is a rock, which stands in the middle of the inclosure, about six or eight feet above the level ground. On its top is the object of worship of the natives, the Sree-pada,—the sacred impression, as they imagine, of the foot of Boodhoo, which he stamped on his first visit to the island. It is a superficial hollow, five feet three inches and three quarters long, and between two feet seven inches and two feet five inches wide. It is ornamented with a margin of brass, studded with a few gems of little value: it is covered with a roof, which is fastened to the rock by four iron chains, and supported by four pillars, and it is surrounded by a low wall. The roof was lined with coloured cloths, and its margin being decked with flowers and streamers, it made a very gay appearance. The cavity certainly bears a coarse resemblance to the figure of the human foot; were it really an impression, it is not a very flattering one, or the encomiums which are lavished on

* Picard.

the beauty of the feet of Boodhoo are very improperly bestowed. It is hardly worth enquiring how it was formed, and whether it is entirely or only partly artificial. From its appearance and other circumstances, I believe it to be partly natural and partly artificial. There are little raised partitions to represent the interstices between the toes; these are certainly artificial; for a minute portion, which I secretly detached, was a mixture of sand and lime, similar to common cement, and altogether different from the rock itself. Lower down, on the same rock, there is a little niche of masonry, dedicated to Samen, who is also worshipped on the peak, being considered the guardian god of the mountain. Within the enclosure is a small house of one room, the residence of the officiating priest; and this, and two small huts outside the parapet, is all the shelter that the mountain affords. There is nothing else on the summit deserving of notice, that I am aware of, excepting a grove of rhododendrons (*rhododendron arboreum*), which, studded with large red flowers, made a very handsome appearance. It is situated on the east and north-east side of the mountain, immediately outside the parapet, and is considered sacred. This shrub, or rather tree, the natives say was planted by Samen immediately after the departure of Boodhoo; and that it is peculiar to the Peak, and found in no other part of the island. The latter assertion I have since ascertained to be quite erroneous; the tree is common on all the higher mountains of the interior, and it occasionally makes its appearance at elevations little exceeding 2000 feet above the level of the sea.

“We passed the night on the mountains. . . . The next morning, just before sun-rise, we were awoken by the shouts of a party of pilgrims, just arrived. Having no toilet to make, we were in the open air in an instant. It was indeed a glorious morning, and we had reason to thank the pilgrims for waking us. The rising sun painted the sky with gold and purple, and threw over the whole scene such a rich purple light, that I never before saw equalled.

“The party of pilgrims that had just arrived consisted of several men and women, all native Singalese of the interior,

neatly dressed in clean clothes. They immediately proceeded to their devotions. A priest, in his yellow robes, stood on the rock close to the impression of the foot, with his face to the people, who had ranged themselves in a row below; some on their knees, with their hands uplifted, and joined palm to palm, and others bending forward, with their hands in the same attitude of devotion. The priest, in a loud, clear voice, sentence by sentence, recited the articles of their religious faith and duties; and, in response, they repeated the same after him. When he had finished, they raised a loud shout; and, he retiring, they went through the same ceremony by themselves, with one of their party for their leader.

“An interesting scene followed this: wives affectionately and respectfully saluted their husbands, and children their parents, and friends one another. An old grey-headed woman first made her salems to a really venerable old man; she was moved to tears, and almost kissed his feet: he affectionately raised her up. Several middle-aged men then salemed the patriarchal pair; these men were salemed in return by still younger men, who had first paid their respects to the old people; and lastly, those nearly of the same standing slightly salemed each other and exchanged betel-leaves. The intention of these salutations, I was informed, was of a moral kind—to confirm the ties of kindred—to strengthen family love and friendship, and remove animosities.

“Each pilgrim makes some offering to the impression of the foot, and to Samen. I observed several of them: one presented a few small pieces of copper coin, another some betel-leaves, another some areka-nuts, another some rice, and another a piece of cloth. The offerings were placed on the impression, and almost immediately removed by a servant, who stood by for the purpose; they are the perquisites of the chief priest of the Malwattè Wiharè.

“Before the pilgrims descend they are blessed by the priest, and exhorted to return their homes, and lead in future virtuous lives.”

“I shall conclude,” continues our author, “with transcribing

the exordium of a curious Sanus, written in the time of king Kirtisseré, relative to and descriptive of the Peak :— ‘ Our Boodhoo, who acquired Niwané, who came into the world like other Boodhoos ; from whom is derived the food of life (religion) ; who is celebrated for his thirty-two great manly beauties, and for the eighty-two signs connected with them, and for the light which shines a fathom round his body, and for the beams of light that dart from the top of his head ; who is the preceptor of three worlds ; who is acquainted with the past, present, and future ; who, during four asankeas of kalpés, so conducted himself as to be an example of the thirty great qualities ; who subdued Mareya and his attendants, and became Boodhoo :— in the eighth year from that event he rose into the air, spread beams of light of six different colours round his person, and stamped the impression of his foot, bearing the noble marks of Chakkralaksana, and the one hundred and eight auspicious tokens, on the rock Samantakootaparwate ;—which is celebrated for the cold and lovely waters of its rivers, for its mountain torrents and for its flowery groves, spreading in the air their sweet-scented pollen ;—which is the crown of the Virgin Islands, rich in mines of all kinds of precious stones, like a maid decked with jewels.’ ”*

The Cingalese, like the Indians, attach particular importance to pilgrimages. No old native of Ceylon would die with comfort to himself and honour to his relatives without having visited some celebrated shrine.

“ There are few Hindoos grown up to mature age who have not visited one or more of these places, the resort of pilgrims ; many spend their whole lives in passing repeatedly from one end of Hindoost’hanu to the other as pilgrims : nor are these pilgrimages confined to the lower orders, householders and learned bramhuns are equally infatuated, and think it necessary to visit one or more of these spots for the purification of the soul before death. In some instances, a river ; in others, a phenomenon in nature ; and in others a famous idol attracts the Hindoos. Large sums are expended by the rich, and by the poor their little all, in these pilgrimages.”

“ A journey to Benares, &c., and the performance of religious ceremonies there, are actions in the highest repute for religious merit amongst the Hindoos. Many sirkars in Calcutta indulge the hope that they shall remove all the sins they commit in the service of Europeans (which every one knows are neither few nor small) by a journey to Benares before they die. The Hindoo pūndits declare, that even Europeans, dying at Benares, though they may have lived all their days upon cows' flesh, will certainly obtain absorption into Brumhu.”

* Ceylon and its Inhabitants, by Dr. John Davy, M.D., F.R.S.



LIZZY COGAN DEL.

1. TOMB OF AJAX.
2. TOMB OF ACHILLES AND PATROCLES.
3. TOMB OF HECTOR AND AISYETES.

CHAPTER XII.

THE SEPULCHRAL TUMULI OF TROY.

“ubi Troja fuit.”—VIRGIL.

THE monumental mounds on the site of ancient Troy are probably the most remarkable in existence.

Where the miserable Turkish hamlet of Bournarbashi now is, Troy is said to have been some five and twenty centuries ago. The two streams which intersect the plain, with travellers at least, still bear the names of the Simois and Scamander; and the classical tourist finds something of a sacred character in the waters wherein the daughters of Priam washed their garments, and the rival goddesses bathed their immortal forms before the contest for the prize of beauty. All this may be piously believed without damage to the grave character of our antiquarian judgment and critical acumen.

In 1825 I visited the plains of Troy. The ruins of Alexandrian Troy (the modern Chiblak) are situated at a short distance from the sea-shore. This site of this city is sometimes confounded with that of the pre-eminent Troy. Of the former, like all the other cities founded by Alexander, nothing is left to attest former magnificence but broken columns and shattered piles, for the most part of an undistinguishable character. The ruins of a temple in the vicinity of Chiblak are the most perfect of the ancient remains. Proceeding to the promontory of Sigeum (now Cape Janissary), which is supposed to have sheltered the Greek fleet—the valley of the Troad opens on the view of the traveller, and the first objects that meet the eye in the vicinity of this promontory are the great monumental mounds which are called the tombs of Achilles and Patroclus.

The former barrow had been opened by a French ambassador

at the Porte, some years before my visit, and in the interior, after very expensive and extensive researches, a metal urn, a fragment of a sword, an idol with some ornaments, such as are usually found on the statues of the Egyptian Isis, were discovered. All these objects were much decayed, and Thornton questions if there is any certainty of their having been found in the interior of the mound.

Near the shore, between the promontories of Sigeum and Rheteum, there are evident traces of a moat and a redoubt, which are pointed out as the remains of the defences of the Grecian camp.

The best guide-book for the plain of Troy is that of "the old blind bard born in Scio's rocky isle."

Nine miles from the shore, at the bottom of the plain, and at the foot of Mount Ida, is the reputed site of the ancient city, which is now represented by the miserable Bournarbashi.

Not one stone of that ancient city is now standing, and not one fragment of its ancient sculpture remains to indicate the precise spot "where Troy was."

The sources of the Scamander are near to the modern town. Homer describes them as near the Scæan gates. The spot is beautiful, shaded by trees; several Turkish women were washing clothes in the stream, but there was nothing in the appearance or behaviour of these women favourable to classical reminiscences. The temperature of the various springs at the source of the stream, according to Homer, and some modern writers on the Troad, is warm, but I could not perceive any indication of the temperature of hot springs either in the Scamander or Simois. On an eminence above the supposed site of the eastern limits of the ancient city—the Pergamus of old—a conical tumulus of vast magnitude, though not equal to that of the sepulchral mounds over the remains of Achilles and Patroclus, has been raised, consisting not of earth only, like those barrows, but of stones heaped together. This tumulus bears the name of Hector's tomb.

When Priam solicited Achilles to yield the remains of his son for the rites of burial, Achilles asked how many days were re-

quired for the funeral ceremonies? Priam replied—"Nine days will we mourn in our houses for Hector, the tenth day we will inter him and celebrate his funeral feast. On the following day we will raise his tomb, and the twelfth we will recommence the war, if necessity constrains us." *

The remains having been given up, and a truce of eleven days accorded, the body of Hector having been brought back to the city, the preparations are made for the funeral rites. On the tenth day the body is placed on an elevated funeral pile. Multitudes of people surround it. For nine days wood had been brought from the forest to consume the body. The pile is set in flames, and the remains left to burn till the morning of the eleventh day; then the flames are extinguished with wine, and the relatives and friends of the deceased collect the whitened bones, place them in a golden urn, and cover them with a purple veil. "The same day, in a deep fosse the urn is deposited, and the place is filled with a prodigious quantity of large stones, and a tomb is elevated above it. . . .

"Then the people return to the palace and celebrate the funeral feast that Priam gives them with royal magnificence. It is thus that the Trojans terminated the funeral ceremonies of Hector." †

From the summit of this tumulus, called the tomb of Hector, on Mount Pergamus, the view takes in the whole scene of the marvels that are recounted of Troy, and her last struggle with her invaders. It embraces the sea-shore, where the ships of the Greeks lay under the Sigæum, the mouth of the Hellespont, the line of coast between the celebrated capes, in front of the plain which is nine miles long and four in breadth, with the sepulchral mounds that bear the names of Achilles, Ajax, and Patroclus's tomb—the whole place, in short, from the western shore to the base of Mount Pergamus, which forms the eastern boundary of the immortal plain of Troy. From the eminence likewise is to be seen the huge mound near the shore which bears the name of Ilus, and a little to the right, that which, according to Strabo, is held to be the tomb of Æsyetes. The Simois and the Scaman-

* Iliad, 24th book.

† Ib. end of 24th book.

der, along the whole length of the plain, are seen peacefully meandering and shining, in that dreary course, like streaks of silver light, till they are lost sight of on the shore between the Sigæum and Rheteum.

And this is all that is left of Troy!

It is little truly to remain of a mighty city and a nation,—a scene that is the subject of a poem that was written upwards of two thousand years ago!

The pilgrim who stands on the summit of that eminence which overlooks the city and the plain of Troy, may well ponder there on the marvellous vicissitudes of the past, and the mysteries that are involved in the rise and fall of nations. He may wander in spirit, from the silent eminence which overhangs the site of Troy to the busiest haunts of men now existing, and meditate on the inevitable doom they must submit to, in the appointed time of dissolution and decay; an issue regulated by laws similar to those which make age and luxury productive of disease and death in man.

In his sombre musings perhaps he may anticipate the fate of some vast city that now flourishes, whose site, like that of Ilium, shall become in future ages a problem to the traveller, when all that may remain of its noblest structures may perhaps be the mention of their names and the glories connected with them in the pages of some immortal bard.

The sepulchral mounds of Troy are more enduring monuments than any others probably in existence.

These tumuli have survived many empires. In their vicinity nation after nation has sprung up and disappeared: cities have been founded and have fallen to the dust, since these sepulchral mounds were raised.

The custom of erecting mounds of vast magnitude, and pillars of great elevation, over the illustrious dead, and burying with them their weapons of war and badges of distinction, was not only the most ancient, but the most extensive custom that prevailed in Asia.

“At old Smyrna, on the side of a hill, Pococke saw two kinds of barrows; the plainest sort consisting of a raised ground in a

circular form, made of stones hewn out or laid in a rough manner. In these generally are two graves sunk in the earth, made of hewn stones and covered with a large stone. The others are circular mounds, walled round as high as their tops, having within a subterranean room, divided in some into two apartments. At Syracuse the *hypogæa* are catacombs forming a labyrinth, with cavities and coffins of all sizes. At Agrigentum they are of two stories, and no door; at Amphissa, and in other parts of Greece and Italy, they are cut in a rock, and formed within like a bell; at Taman, in Phanagoria, a stone sepulchre, of one entire mass, of a cylindrical form, shaped like a well, and covered by a marble slab, was found in a pit. At the Chersonesus they are hewn in a rock, each tomb being closed by a single stone; at Claros, likewise, in a rock, they have narrow door-ways, and within a large horizontal or transverse cavity for the body; but the most famous of all are those of Telmessus. Here the whole side of a mountain is cut into caverns, with architectural facings, in general, like the pediments of temples and interior chambers, elaborately wrought. In some instances they are fixed upon the craggy pinnacles of precipitous rocks; and others have no entrance, through being built over the body, or a concealed one. Circular arches and domes occur, and Dr. Clarke finds in the architecture traces of the Indian or Persepolitan style: the latter may have been the immediate original, for the tomb of Cyrus is of the temple form.” *

“The Phrygians, to give more honour to their priests than to lay persons, were used in ancient times, when any one of them was dead, to set him upright upon a pillar of ten fathoms high; as if he were to continue from thence to instruct the people. The Nasamonians, that inhabit some parts of Lybia, in acknowledgment of the perils and pains their captains and soldiers had undergone for the good of their country, clothed them in white after their death; and instead of burying their bodies, exposed them on rocks and other solitary places.” †

Stobæus, in his collection of the remarkable sayings and me-

* Treatise on the Arts, Manners and Institutions of the Greeks and Romans.

† Muret, Cer. Fun. ch. ii.

morable passages in the writings of the Greek sages and authors of antiquity, quotes the following passage from one of them :—

“The Phrygians did not inter their priests in the earth, but placed them on stones of ten cubits high, which they erected for this purpose.”*

Antiquarians cognizant of the connection between Phrygian, Phœnician, and Celtic customs may find matter worthy of their attention in these passages.

Higgins, in his work on “The Celtic Druids,” observes, that the sepulchral pillars, called Lithoi by the Greeks, were usually placed beside, sometimes immediately over, the graves of their illustrious dead. They existed at Megara, Cheronea, Scotufsa in Thessaly, and one at Athens. Mr. King has observed, that Pope has not rendered truly a passage in the Iliad (lib. xi.), where sepulchral stones are referred to. It should be, he says, “Paris shot his arrows bending behind the pillar placed on the tumulus that contained the ashes of Ilus, the son of Dardanus, the ancient king of Troy.”

The funeral of Patroclus, we learn from Homer, was performed with signal pomp and pageantry. The pile being prepared, the procession began, headed by warriors in cars fully armed, followed by the infantry.

“The body was carried on a bier in the middle by companions who had off their hair in token of mourning, and laid it upon the corpse; Achilles followed next, as chief mourner, stooping over the body, and supporting the head of it. When arrived at the pile, and the body deposited near it, Achilles cut off his hair, made an oration, and put the former between the arms of the corpse. It was then placed upon the upper story of the pile; a large number of sheep and oxen were killed, and with their fat Achilles smeared the whole body of Patroclus from head to foot; placed urns full of oil and honey upon its two sides; killed four of the best horses, two of the best dogs out of the nine which he kept to guard his camp, and threw them against the pile. Lastly, to appease the manes of his friend, he sacrificed twelve young Trojans of the best family. He then set fire to the pile, invoked his friend, and, during the conflagration, poured out wine from

* Epit. Loc. Commun. ex Græcis Auct. Stobæi, p. 361.

a golden urn upon the ground, still loudly calling upon the soul of Patroclus. In the meanwhile, all the chiefs having assembled around Agamemnon, Achilles requested them to extinguish all vestiges of flame with wine, and to collect the bones of Patroclus without mixing them, because their situation in the midst of the pile would easily discriminate them, and to put them into a golden urn, with a double envelope of fat. The urn was then deposited in the tent of Achilles, and covered with a precious veil; the extent of the barrow marked out, foundations laid around it, and the earth thrown up, the whole barrow denoting both the site and dimensions of the funeral pile. In further honour, Achilles instituted games of chariot races, the cestus, wrestling, single combat, the disc or quoit, and archery. The prizes show the manners and arts of the times: they consisted of handsome captive girls, skilled in needlework; a mare, a mule; a fat, handsome wild bull; tripods of gold, with two handles; cisterns, not made for the fire, but fit to ornament a palace, and vases with double bottoms; arms and armour.”*

Plutarch, in his life of Alexander, thus refers to the visit of the Macedonian warrior to the Trojan tombs. “As soon as he (Alexander) landed, he went up to Ilium, where he sacrificed to Minerva, and offered libations to the heroes. He also anointed the pillar upon Achilles’ tomb with oil, and ran round it with his friends, naked, according to the custom that obtains: after which he put a crown upon it, declaring—‘He thought that hero extremely happy in having found a faithful friend while he lived, and after his death an excellent herald to set forth his praise.’”*

* Treatise on Arts, &c. of the Greeks and Romans.

† Langhorne’s Plutarch’s Lives; Life of Alexander, p. 470.

CHAPTER XIII.

MODES OF SEPULTURE SUPPOSED TO BE OF CANAANITISH ORIGIN.
THE NURAGHE OF SARDINIA.

“Traditions dark and cold, whence evil creeds start forth.”—SHELLEY.

“SARDINIA (says Diodorus) is an island as big as Sicily; it is inhabited by barbarians whom they call Iolaeians sprung, as they themselves suppose, from those few that inhabit the country with Iolaus the Thespide). For at that time that Hercules instituted those so much celebrated games, having many children by the daughter of Thespius, by the command of the oracle he sent them with a numerous train, both of barbarians and Grecians, into Sardinia, to settle themselves in new habitations.

“Their captain, Iolaus, Hercules’ nephew on his brother’s side, possessed himself of the island, and built in it several famous cities; and dividing the country by lot, called the people, from himself, Iolaeians.

“He built, likewise, public schools and temples, and left other monuments, for public use and general advantage, which remain to this day.* . . .

“They live in caves hewed in the rocks, and spend all their days in the holes dug up and down in the steepest part of the rocky mountains, by which means they provide for themselves both shelter and security. . . .

“They have another strange custom, likewise, about the burying of their dead; they cut the carcass in pieces with wooden knives or axes, and so put all the parts into an urn, and then raise up a great heap of stones over it.”†

“In general, the opinion of Pythagoras prevails much amongst

* Booth’s Diodorus, book v. chap. i. p. 182.

† Idem, book v. chap. i. p. 183.

them, that men's souls are immortal, and that there is a transmigration of them into bodies, and after a certain time they live again, and, therefore, in their funerals they write letters to their friends and throw them into the funeral pile, as if they were to be read by the deceased. . . .

"When they are to consult of some great and weighty matter, they observe a most strange and incredible custom; for they sacrifice a man, striking him with a sword, near the diaphragma, over the breast, who being thus slain, and falling down, they judge of the event from the manner of his fall, the convulsion of his members, and the flux of blood; and this has gained among them (by long and ancient usages) a firm credit and belief. . . .

"According to their natural cruelty, they are as impious in the worship of their gods; for malefactors, after they have been kept close prisoners five years together, they impale upon stakes, in honour to the gods, and then, with many other victims, upon a vast pile of wood they offer them up as a burnt sacrifice to their deities." *

Cyclopean, polygonal, Pelasgic, and Etrurian styles of architecture are frequently spoken of very loosely in the works even of professed antiquarians, and the consequence is, that a great deal of confusion prevails in descriptions of the most ancient monuments. It is desirable to know what is understood by the best authors, on this subject of very early constructive art.

Of the Cyclopes, it is said they were of Phœnician, or Canaanitish origin. They are regarded as the earliest authenticated architects by whom structures in stone were erected. The spies that Moses sent out to explore Canaan brought back word that one of the cities of the latter, Hebron, was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt: that "their cities were walled and very great: and that they saw the giants, the sons of Anak, who came of the giants."

The Cyclopes are considered, by Pezron and many other writers of good authority, to have been the giants of the Septuagint; that they were the giants of Virgil, and the classic writers

* Booth's Diodorus, book v. chap. ii. p. 191.

of antiquity, is certain. Cicero makes them dwellers on the sea-coast, entrappers and plunderers of unfortunate mariners. Euripides makes them slayers of men. Homer describes them as inhabiting caverns on the summits of hills, lawless men, and living in the patriarchal state. Agriculture was only introduced into Canaan by the Jews, and the natives, expelled by Joshua, emigrated to Argolis and Mycenæ 1200 years before our era; and the Hyscos or Phœnician shepherds, who conquered Egypt, are said to be a portion of the fugitives.* Of their gigantic figure, mythologically exaggerated, some idea may be formed from the figures in the temple of Agrigentum, commonly called the temple of the giants, twenty-five feet high, intended to represent, as it is supposed, these Cyclopes. The Anakims of Scripture were a fierce and gigantic race, and they also, like the Cyclopes of Homer, inhabited the mountains.

The two best authenticated and most remarkable specimens of Cyclopean architecture are the monuments, denominated fortresses, of Tyrins and Mycænæ. The Cyclopean style, properly so called, of these two cities is chiefly characteristic for its large uncemented irregular masses of stone, with the interstices filled with smaller fragments.

The Polygonal style is characterized, likewise, by the adaptation of large stones so as to fit into each other, but without the necessity for filling up the interstices with small stones. Polygonal architecture is, like the former, uncemented; and by Steuart, in his work on Athens (vol. iv. p. 26), is considered of later date than Cyclopean; while Sir William Gell maintains the contrary opinion.

Pausanias says the Cyclopes built Tyrins for Prætus, whose era is supposed to have been about 100 years before the Trojan war, and, according to others, 400 years earlier, or about 1379 B.C. Mycenæ is said, by Euripides, to have been the city of Perseus, and, by Pausanias, to have been built by the architects of Tyrins. It was destroyed by the Argives in the year 468 B.C. The most perfect of the remains are the gate of the lions and the treasury

* Some old authors derive the Celts from one Celtus, the son of Polyphemos, the most memorable of their race.—*Natall's Cornib. Mythol.* 987.

of Atreus. But this "treasury," as well as that of Athens, are considered now, by the most intelligent travellers, to have been tombs; and if I might offer an opinion, I would suggest that these monuments may have served princes and personages of great wealth for both purposes.

In some of the unpillaged Etruscan tombs—of Cervetri especially—the amount of property in gold and silver ornaments and vessels, in chains, torques, and fibulas, now deposited in the Gregorian Museum in Rome, Dennis speaks of as being sufficient to furnish an ordinary jeweller with a stock for his establishment.

Mr. Dodwell, observing traces both of the Cyclopean and Polygonal styles of architecture in one of the monuments at Mycenæ, observes,—“I hazard this only as a probable conjecture, without presuming to decide whether the regular, as well as the irregular or polygonal construction, were not sometimes employed at the same period; but as the walls are mostly composed of the second style of well-joined polygons, although the rough construction is occasionally seen, and the outer enclosure, or walls of the city, were apparently less ancient than those of the fortresses, and supposed to be the works of the Argives themselves—not the Cyclopes—it may be affirmed that these changes were repairs only.”

Where one style begins, and where the other ends, it is almost impossible to determine; yet Colonel Leake, Sir William Gell, and many eminent Italian writers, contradistinguish the Polygonal from the Cyclopean style by a difference, not of time only, but of race, with respect to the origin of the builders of both kinds of structures.

Colonel Leake thinks the second order of the Polygonal, such as the walls of Messene, should be deemed Pelasgic.

“Another fact,” says Colonel Leake, “from the ruins of Mycenæ, as well as from the description of Pausanias, and other authors, of the Greek buildings of those times, is that the early colonies of Egypt, although they introduced some of the mythology of that country, did not transplant its arts in any great degree; for there is nothing at Mycenæ bearing any resem-

blance to the monuments of Egypt; nor, indeed, have the temples of Greece any similarity to those of Egypt, beyond the existence of columns, which are so natural an invention, that they are found in the huts or caves of similar climates in every part of the world, and, in the course of improvement, have become the principal ornaments of sacred buildings in the most distant countries."

The author of the work on "The Arts, Manners, &c., of the Greeks and Romans,"* published in the "Cabinet Cyclopaedia," has the following judicious remarks on the subject above referred to:—

"It is to be repeated, that nothing authentic can be said concerning Egypt in remote periods except that which the Scripture affords. Zoan is stated to have been built seven years after Hebron; and as Sarah died at Hebron, it must have been founded at least 2000 years before our era. The site of Zoan has been placed by an old author at Memphis; by Dr. Clarke at *S'el Hajar*, or Sais or *Sin*; but as the Hebrew *Tsoan* is the Coptic *Djane*, there is little doubt but that it was the subsequent *Tanis*, of which considerable ruins are still seen near the Pelusiac mouth of the Nile, and on the borders of the lake of Menzaleh. It was a vast city, built upon an artificial elevation, and upon the ruins was founded a Roman town, called *Tennys*. It was certainly co-existent with the Pharaohs; and, intermixed with remains of monuments of more recent era, are excavated those which are also found at Babylon,—namely, immense masses of bricks, porcelain, pottery, and glass of all colours. Denon's plate of the ruins shows obelisks, blocks, trunks of statues, and other works in granite, which appear to have been brought there from Upper Egypt."

The origin of the Pelasgians is thus given by Herodotus:—

"Cræsus, on enquiry, found that the Lacedemonians and Athenians were the principal nations of Greece; the first being of Dorian, and the other of Ionian descent. They were in ancient time esteemed the most considerable, when they went under the names of Pelasgians and Hellenians; of which the

* Vol. i. p. 29.

latter constantly continued in one country, while the former very often changed their seat ; for under the reign of Deucalion the Pelasgians inhabited the country of Phthiotis ; and in the time of Dorus, the son of Hellenes, possessed that region which is called Istiæotis, lying at the foot of the mountains Ossa and Olympus. From thence, being expelled by the Cadmæans, they betook themselves to Macednum on Mount Pindus, which place they afterwards abandoned for another settlement in Dryopis ; and again changing their country, came to inhabit in Peloponnesus, where they were called Dorians. What language the Pelasgians used I cannot certainly affirm ; but, if I may form a conjecture by that which at present is spoken among those Pelasgians who, being now settled at Crotona beyond the Tyrrhenians, were formerly neighbours to those called at this day Dorians, and dwelt in Thessaly when the Pelasgians founded Placia and Sylace, on the Hellespont, and lived in society with the Athenians : if, I say, adding to these such other Pelasgian cities as have altered their name, I may be permitted to give my conjecture, the Pelasgians spoke a barbarous language ; and if the whole Pelasgian body did so, the people of Attica, who are descended from them, must have unlearned their own mother-tongue, after they took the name of Grecians. For the language of the Crotonians and of the Placians is the same, but different from that of all their neighbours.”*

“These and other rites, which I shall afterwards mention, the Grecians received from the Egyptians ; but they learned of the Pelasgians to make the images of Hermes with a mystic member, the Athenians having been the first who practised this manner, and others by their example. For in that time the Pelasgians inhabited part of the Athenian territories ; and, because the Athenians were accounted among the nations of Greece, came likewise to be esteemed Grecians. Whoever is initiated in the Cabirian mysteries of the Samothracians, which they received from the Pelasgians, knows what I say. For these Pelasgians were inhabitants of Samothracia before they came into the country of Attica, and had instructed the Samothra-

* Herod. Clio, i. p. 19.

cians in the Orgian rites; as they afterwards did the Athenians, who by that means were the first of all the Grecians that formed the images of Mercury in the manner above mentioned: for which the Pelasgians pretend certain sacred reasons, explained in the mysteries of Samothracia. They had formerly sacrificed and prayed to the gods in general, as I was informed at Dodona, without attributing either name or surname to any deity, which in those times they had never heard: but they called them by the name of gods, because they disposed and governed all actions and countries.”*

Dennis, in a note in the second volume of his great work on Etruria (p. 281), states that he has made use of the term Cyclopean, in the course of that work, in its generic sense, applying it alike to all early massive masonry. “Pausanias,” he observes, “applies the same term to the walls of Mycenæ, which are of hewn polygonal blocks, and even to the celebrated gate of the lions, which is of regular, squared masonry. The term is also repeatedly used by Euripides, in reference to the walls of Mycenæ or of Argos. . . .

“It is therefore clear that the term Cyclopean cannot with propriety be confined, as it has been by Dodwell, Gell, and others, to masonry of the rudest unhewn description, in contradistinction to the neater polygonal, or to the horizontal style. The term was employed in reference to the traditions of the Greeks, rather than to the character of the masonry; or if used in this way, it was generic, not specific; applicable to any walling of great massiveness, which had the appearance or the reputation of high antiquity.

“‘*Arces Cyclopum autem, aut quas Cyclopes fecerunt, aut magni, ac miri operis; nam quicquid magnitudini sua nobile est Cyclopum manu dicitur fabricatum.*’ Lactant. Though rejected altogether by Bunsen (*Ann. Inst.* 1334, p. 145), the term is convenient—*se non è vero, è ben trovato*—and, in default of a better, has some claim to be retained. †

“This polygonal masonry is of high antiquity, long prior to

* Herodotus, *Euterpe*, ii. p. 105.

† *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, by Dennis, vol. ii. p. 281.

Roman times, though every instance of it cannot claim to be of so remote a date. It must, however, be of later origin than that composed of unhewn masses, rudely piled up, with no further adjustment than the insertion of small blocks in the interstices, that style which, from the description of Pausanias, is sometimes designated 'Cyclopean,' for this polygonal masonry is the perfecting of that ruder mode of construction. Yet that this smooth-surfaced, closely-joined style, as seen in the walls of Cosa, is also of early origin, is proved, not only by numerous instances of it on very ancient sites in Greece and Italy—some referred to, as marvels of antiquity, by the ancients themselves—but also by the primitive style of its gateways, and the absence of the arch in connexion with it. The fact of the Romans adopting this style of masonry, as they seem to have done in the substructions of some of their great ways, and perhaps in a few cities of Latium, in no way militates against the high antiquity of the style.* . . .

"The ruder Cyclopean style is a mere random piling of masses as detached from the quarry: a style which may suggest itself to any people, and which is adopted, though on a much smaller scale, in the formation of fences or of embankments by the modern Italians and Tyrolese, and even by the peasantry of England and Scotland, on spots where stone is cheaper than wood. But the polygonal masonry of which we are treating stands on a totally different ground; and it seems unreasonable to suppose that the marvellous neatness, the artistic perfection displayed in polygonal structures like the walls of Cosa, could have been produced by any people indifferently who happened to fix on the site. For it is not the mere cleavage of the rock into polygonal masses that will produce this masonry; there is also the accurate and laborious adjustment, the careful adaptation of parts, and the subsequent smoothing of the whole into an uniform level surface." †

I now proceed to those ancient structures in Sardinia,—the sepulchres of a people who were, before those of Greece and

* Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria, by Dennis, vol. ii. p. 280.

† Idem, vol. ii. p. 22.

Rome were heard of. The most ample, accurate, and authentic modern account that has been given of those most extraordinary monuments of antiquity, called Nuraghe, bearing, if not a resemblance in form, a manifest similarity of purpose and design to the sepulchral quasi-Cyclopean structures of Ireland, is to be found in the admirable work of Mr. John Warre Tyndale, M.A., "*The Island of Sardinia, including Notes on its Antiquities, &c.*" (In 3 vols.: London, 1849.)

From this work we learn that the origin of the Noraghe, Nurag, Nurache, Nuraxi, Ourag, or Orag, as those ancient architectural remains are called by various writers, has hitherto baffled the learning and ingenuity of historians, archæologists, and antiquaries. An analysis, however, of the researches of previous writers, and a careful personal examination of those monuments, has thrown, at least, a new light on the former vague supposition of their origin.

1. They are all built on natural or artificial mounds, whether in valleys, plains, or on mountains, and some are particularly enclosed at a slight distance by a low wall of a similar construction to the building.

2. Their essential architectural feature is a truncated cone or tower, averaging from thirty to sixty feet in height, and from 100 to 300 in circumference at the base.

3. The majority have no basement, but the rest are raised on one extending either in a corresponding or an irregular shape, and of which the perimeter varies from 300 to 653 feet, the largest yet measured.

4. The inward inclination of the exterior wall of the principal tower is almost always in the centre of the building, and so well executed as to present, in its elevation, a perfect and continuously symmetrical line; the instances of a contrary appearance being very rare.

5. None of the Noraghe are quite perfect; but their structure evidently indicates that the cone of each was originally truncated, and formed thereby a platform on its summit.

6. The natural stone of the locality furnishes the material of the Noraghe, granite, basalt, limestone, lava, &c. The blocks vary in shape and size, from three to nine cubic feet, while those

forming the architraves of the passages are sometimes twelve feet long, five feet wide, and the same in depth.

7. The surfaces present the slight irregularity which proves the blocks to have been rudely worked by the hammer, but with sufficient exactness to form regular horizontal layers. With few exceptions, the stones are not polygonal, but, when so, are without the regularity of form which would indicate the use of the rule; "nor is their construction of Pelasgic style; neither have they sculpture, ornamental works, or cement."

8. The external entrance is invariably between the E.S.E. and S. by W., but generally to the east of south: it seldom exceeds five feet two inches wide, and is often so small as to necessitate crawling on all-fours. The architrave, as previously mentioned, is very large; but, having once passed a passage, varying from three feet to six feet high, and two to four wide, leads to the principal domed chamber, the entrance to which is sometimes by another low aperture as small as the first.

9. The interior of the cone consists of one, two, or three domed chambers, placed one above the other, and diminishing in size in proportion to the external inclination; the lowest averaging from fifteen to twenty feet in diameter, and from twenty to twenty-five in height. The base of each is almost always circular, but when otherwise is elliptical.

10. The edges of the stones of the interior, where the tiers overlay each other, are worked-off, so that the interior assumes a semi-ovoidal shape, or that of which the section will be a parabola; the apex being crowned with a large flat stone, resting on the last circular layer, which is reduced to a small diameter.

11. In the interior of the lowest chamber, on a level with the floor, are frequently from two to four cells or niches, formed in the thickness of the masonry, without external communication; varying from three to six feet long, two to four wide, and two to five high, and only accessible by very small entrances.

12. The access to the second and third chambers, as well as to the platform on the top of these Noraghe—which have only one chamber—is by a spiral corridor made in the building; either as a simple ramp, with a gradual ascent, or with rough, irregular steps, made in the stones.

13. The corridor varies from three to six feet in height, and from two to four in width; and the outer side either inclines according to the external wall of the cone and the inner side, according to the domed chamber, or resembles in the section a segment of a circle.

14. The entrance to a spiral corridor is generally in the horizontal passage which leads from the external entrance to the first floor chamber of the cone, though sometimes it is by a small aperture in the chamber, about six or eight feet from the base, and very difficult of entry.

15. The upper chambers are entered by a small passage, at right angles to this corridor, and opposite to this passage is often a small aperture in the outer wall, having apparently no regular position, though frequently over the external entrance to the ground-floor; while, in some instances, there are several apertures, so made that only the sky or most distant objects in the horizon are visible.

16. The constant concomitants of the Noraghe are the Sepulture de is Gigantes.

17. There are the remains of nearly 3000 Noraghe in Sardinia.

18. There are no monuments of antiquity, of a strictly similar conformation to that of the Noraghe, in any other country. No ancient author, except Aristotle, speaks of any monuments similar to them in other countries.* In Corsica, the sister-island of Sardinia, there are neither Noraghe nor Sepulture de is Gigantes. Bochart observes:—"It is doubtful whether the Phœnicians occupied Corsica, nor do the ancients inform us in sufficiently express terms."

19. The only known structures of a cognate character to those of the Noraghe, in Sardinia, are the Talayots in the Balearic Islands, colonized by the Phœnicians; described by Marmora, and in "Las Antiquidades Celticas de la Isla de Minorca,

* It is questionable, however, if Mr. Tyndale's observation be correct, that no researches of the most eminent antiquarians, "by their explanations of the various architectural remains, as extant or restored, throw any light on these Sarde monuments; but that they tend, on the contrary, to prove their entire difference and dissimilarity."—Vol. i. p. 120.

des de los tiempos mas rimatas hasta el Siglo 4to, de la era Cristiana."—Por Ramis y Ramis. Minorca, 1818.

20. The name of those Balearic monuments signifies the Giant's Burrows. "They differ from the Noraghe in having only one principal chamber, or floor, in their minor lateral coned chambers, or niches, being unconnected with each other; in the style of masonry being more Cyclopean, and in many of them being surrounded with circles of stones and supposed altars, scarcely ever met with in Sardinia, though it is possible they may have existed and are demolished."*

21. The number of Talayots in existence is nearly 200; and upwards of one-third are in complete ruins.†

22. On the exterior of one, a ramp-way, ascending to the summit, has been found, presumed to have been originally part of the spiral corridor, like that on the Noraghe, but that the outer wall has been destroyed. Armstrong, on the contrary, considering the ramp to have been originally thus built, says that the commodious mode of ascent on the outside is a strong argument in favour of the opinion, that these structures were used as watch-towers; and therefore he calls them *speculæ*, or watch-mounts.

23. In the Noraghe, as well as the Talayots and the monuments of the Gigantes in Gozo, several bronze ornaments and utensils have been found; some apparently of an Etruscan origin.

24. The etymology of the word Noragh, or Nurhag, may

* This passage from Tyndale's work (Vol. i. p. 122) shows that the Balearic Celtic monuments are more analogous with that class of Hiberno-Celtic structures which is represented by the cairn of New Grange, than the Sardinian Noraghe.

† In Vallancey's *Collectanea* there is a paper descriptive of a monument discovered near Dundalk, which the writer calls a "ship temple," and bestowed much labour in vainly endeavouring to elucidate the origin and history of.

In Tyndale's work there is mention made of a monument in Minorca, not far from Ciudadela, called Nao, from its supposed resemblance to a ship; and considered, in some degree, homogeneous with the Sepulture de is Gigantes.—Vol. i. p. 122.

strengthen the supposition of their ancient and eastern origin and religious purpose. The Abbe Arré considers it a Phœnician or Carthaginian word, and of which the Hebrew, or rather Chaldee, word for fire is the root. By others the word Noraghe is derived from the name of the founder of an Iberian colony, Norax. "It is allowed that the Canaanitish and Phœnician god Baal was the Sun (as Astaroth was the moon), and was worshipped as the first principle, the heat and light of life, before Moses entered those countries; and as such the names Nurhag and Our-ag might possibly have descended from some Phœnician or Aramœan word indicative of the worship and attributes of the deity, or in some way referrible to the building. They could not have been applied to the worship of the element itself in later times, as the Persians and other fire-worshippers never used buildings or idols." *

Their very ancient eastern origin may be inferred, and shown to be a probability, from the nature of their structure, and the knowledge that has reached us of the Phœnician settlements in this island. A religious or sepulchral use is indicated by their great strength and solidity, uniformity of design notwithstanding difference in size, their peculiar direction, and smallness of entrance, narrow winding passages, domed chambers, position on a natural or artificial elevation whether on hills or in valleys, the small aperture for the admission of light, and the circumstance of the *Sepulturas de is Gigantes* being concomitant remains.

25. Comparatively few are so constructed as to permit the supposition of their having been merely (query, solely?) sepulchres; but there is nothing in their shape to render it impossible that they may have been altars or temples for the worship of the heavenly bodies, or for the earliest sacrifices and idolatries recorded in the Old Testament.

26. The custom of sacrificing children to Saturn, which prevailed among the Carthaginians, is supposed to have existed in Sardinia during their occupation of the island. "A penis admixto Afrorum genere Sardi," is not the only passage where

* Tyndale, vol. i. p. 137.

the admixture in question is referred to. Whether the Noraghe may have been connected with these sacrifices, which Justinian says ceased in Carthage circa 480 B.C., is unknown.

27. "These customs were undoubtedly inherited from the Phœnicians; and as those 'Merchants of many Isles,' and the Japhetian nations, had analogous principles of idolatry in their religions, a descent and affinity may be traced through and between the Carthaginian, Phœnician, Canaanitish, and Japhetian forms of worship." *

28. "In regard to this Saturn, Jahn says he devoured his own offspring; of which, indeed, we have an intimation in the custom of offering children to him in sacrifice, which existed among the Canaanites, Phœnicians, and Carthaginians, by whom he was known under the names of Moloc, Molec, Malcom, and Milcom." †

29. Of the extraordinary antiquities known as the Sarde idols, the greater part are shown to be "of Canaanitish worship—the miniature representation of some of the large and original gods, which those nations adored, especially of Moloch, Baal, Astarte or Astaroth, Adonis or Tammuz—the very object of that idolatry so frequently denounced in the New Testament. Distinct and peculiar in their character, their counterparts are no more to be met with, out of Sardinia, than the Noraghe themselves; and this circumstance, in conjunction with the fact that many of them have been found in, and the greater part near those buildings, may suggest a further proof that they may have been, directly or indirectly, connected with each other, in either a religious, sepulchral, or united character." ‡

30. The human remains occasionally found in the Naraghe have not any indications of embalmment, or any other process by which they could have existed between 3,000 and 4,000 years.

31. The various objects of metallurgy and pottery found in the Noraghe tend rather to prove a sacrificial than a sepulchral character of building; as they are all built on a raised base, and the exalted platform on the summit might well be adapted for

* Tyndale, vol. i. p. 134.

† Idem, vol. i. p. 135.

‡ Idem.

sacrifice. But with respect to the uses of the central domed chamber—the minor cells, and recesses or niches in them, which generally, but not invariably, exist in those structures—no explanation of a satisfactory kind has been given—their irregularity in size and shape is adduced as a proof of unfitness for funeral purposes.

32. Of the temples of the early Canaanitish and Phœnician nations, neither sacred nor profane writers of antiquity give any account, nor are there any remains existing in the countries in which they originated. Those mentioned in later times, such as the Temple of Astarte at Ascalon, destroyed by the Scythians 630 B.C., might be very different from those erected at an earlier period, as the religions of the Aramœan families became diversified, and departed from their primitive simplicity. Yet there is good ground for believing that the religion of both the Canaanites and Phœnicians, which was of a similarly pagan and idolatrous character, found a place of refuge in Mauritania, Libya, Iberia, and Sardinia, at a period long antecedent to the date of the destruction of the temple of Astarte at Ascalon; and though “it may be argued that no positive similarity between the Noraghe and the idolatrous temples of the colonies from the Canaanitish and Phœnician nations can be proved by history, it may be answered that it is rather by the non-existence of such buildings in those countries which were ravaged and destroyed, and whose inhabitants were expatriated, and by the sole existence of them in a direction to which those inhabitants migrated—and by the knowledge that the other nations adopted and have left monuments and records of a dissimilar style and character, that the hypothesis of the Canaanitish origin of the Noraghe may be strengthened.”*

33. There is no express mention in ancient history of the Canaanites having reached Sardinia, but there is sufficient collateral evidence to warrant the assumption.

34. “Among the various migrations mentioned in the Old Testament, it is now clearly understood, that the Philistines, when the very early tide of population pressed on them, quitted

* Tyndale, vol. i. p. 134.

the main-land for the islands, and that they inhabited Crete, and subsequently returned before the date of Moses. The Hebrew word Philistine, meaning wanderer, in the Septuagint is translated by 'men of another tribe.' God says (Amos ix. 7.), 'Have I not brought the Philistines from Caphtor?' In Jeremiah (xlvii. 4) the Philistines are called 'the remnant of the Country of Caphtor:' but for evidence of the identity of the Caphtorim and Philistim, that the island of Crete was peopled by them, and for the supposition that Caphtor was Crete, vide the condensed and learned authorities of Biblical literature."

35. The religion of the Philistines was very similar to that of the Phœnicians. *

36. The island of Cyprus was peopled by the very early Phœnician colonies is certain, "and that it was previously occupied by the Chittim, the descendants of Javan, the son of Japhet, is equally certain."

Various writers make mention of the town of Citium, the modern Chitti, as having been built by the Chittim.

In the well-known inscriptions found there, there is mention of a temple of Astarte (vide Gesenius *Inscriptiones Citienses*, lib. ii. ch. 3) and some other Phœnician deities.

37. The island of Sicily is specifically stated, by Thucydides, to have been occupied by the Phœnicians. But not a vestige of any Phœnician monument remains.

38. At Tartessus, on the Spanish coast, they had a colony, and there they found a town on their arrival of that name already existing, considered to have been founded by the migrating descendants of Tarshish, the grand-son of Japhet; (Gen. x. 4) as Cyprus has been shewn to have been peopled by a race from his brother Chittim.

"The Phœnicians have left no memorials at Tartessus." †

* How comes it then, if the Philistines had been long established in Crete, that no remains of monuments connected with the Canaanitish worship are to be found? I have travelled in Crete, and have neither seen nor heard of any such.

† Tyndale, vol. i. p. 132. This is a mistake. They have left no monuments; but many objects of Phœnician art are found in that part of

“From the Tartessus (in the vicinity of the Straits of Gibraltar) is said to have proceeded the so-called Iberian colony, under Norax, to Sardinia.” “By these were the isles of the Gentiles divided,” Gen. x. 5.

39. In Mauritania the existence of a Canaanite colony admits of no doubt. “Procopius states that there were at Tigisis Tingis, in Mauritania, two columns, on which were inscribed, in Phœnician characters—‘We are those who fled from the face of Joshua, the robber, the son of Nun.’”

“St. Augustin, 1900 years after a migration of the Phœnicians into Libya, states, that the people about Carthage and Hippo still called themselves Canaanites, and Eusebius mentions, that Tripoli was colonised by the Canaanites, whom the Israelites drove out of their country. *

40. “The Phœnicians, a branch of the great Semitic or Aramœan nations, originally dwelt, according to Herodotus, on the shores of the Erythrœan Sea: but Strabo says there were two islands in the Persian Gulf—Tyrus, or Tylus, and Aradus—on which were found temples similar to those of the Phœnicians, and (likewise) inhabitants who affirmed that the Phœnicians went out from them as colonists, though the period is unknown; but it must have been very early, as Sidon was a great city in the time of Joshua, 1442 B.C.” †

41. “It is clearly ascertained, too, that the original inhabitants of Tyre and Sidon had been expelled from their cities before the time of Joshua, and that the occupants in his time were a distinct people from the Canaanites. So that there are two early expulsions and migrations, and no reason to doubt that the religion of both the Canaanites and Phœnicians was of a similarly pagan and idolatrous character.”

Spain, and, indeed, in every place in Spain where the Phœnicians had settlements. An abundance of them, figures like Egyptian idols, with Phœnician characters, from six to twelve inches long, some in stone, most in baked clay, some vitrified vases, cups, and lamps, exist in the cabinets of the curious, and especially in the Royal Museum of Lisbon.

* Tyndale, vol. i. p. 132.

† Idem, vol. i. p. 131.

42. "Besides the seven tribes of the Canaanites specifically mentioned to be dispossessed wholly or partially by the Israelites, many living to the north of the promised land were also exterminated either by the sword or expulsion. There is no positive mention of the countries which they fled to on the approach of Moses; but that, among their migrations, some went to Africa on the approach of Joshua, is known by historical evidence and tradition. *

"The direction of the Canaanitish emigrations might also be assumed, from the probability that the Phœnicians may have followed their example and footsteps; and as the expression of Diodorus Siculus (lib. v.) relative to Phœnician colonies migrating, 'some to Sicily and the neighbouring isles, some to Libya, and Sardinia, and Iberia,' is proved by Phœnician coins, inscriptions, and other remains found in those places, it may be an additional ground of presumption of their previous occupation by some Canaanitish colony." †

43. The fact of the non-existence of any monuments in those countries of Crete, Mauritania, and Iberia, in which, Canaanitish colonies are said to have been established, "may be accounted for by the circumstance that these nations have all been subjected to the fire, sword, and destruction of invaders and enemies, to a degree, in comparison to which Sardinia has suffered but little in ancient times." ‡

From a careful consideration of all the preceding circumstances, and observations on the monuments called Noraghe, "deductions made on hypotheses" and "inferences worked by a negative process," a comparison of those ancient Sardinian structures with the remains of Assyrian, Babylonian, Egyptian, Cyclopean, Pelasgic, Etrurian, Greek, and Roman monuments, the able author of this most interesting work on the island of Sardinia arrives at the conclusion:—

"That those extraordinary monuments (the Noraghe) were probably temples of sacrifice and worship, built by the very

* Tyndale, vol. i. pp. 132, 133.

† Idem, vol. i. p. 133.

‡ Idem, vol. i. p. 139.

early Canaanites, in their migration when expelled from their country; and that as such they may have been occasionally used as a depository of the idols, or remains of the immolated victims, or even of some exalted personages connected with their worship and rites." *

* Tyndale, vol. i. p. 139.

CHAPTER XIV.

SEPOLTURE DE IS GIGANTES IN SARDINIA.

“Magnarum rerum, magna sepulchra vides.”

THOSE monuments of Sardinia, the traces of which are invariably found in the vicinity of the Noraghe, that have been recently examined by Mr. Tyndale, present the following features :—

Each sepulchre consists of a foss or vacuum, from fifteen to thirty-six feet long, from three to six feet wide, and the same in depth, with immense flat stones resting on them as a covering : but though the latter are not always found, it is evident, by a comparison with the more perfect sepulture, that they once existed, and have been destroyed or removed. The foss is enclosed by a series of large stones placed together without any cement. The foss is invariably from north-west to south-east, and at the latter point is a large upright head-stone, averaging from ten to fifteen feet high, varying in its form, the square, elliptical and conical, to that of three quarters of an egg, and having in many instances an aperture about eighteen inches square at its base. On either side of this stele or pillar commences a series of separate stones, irregular in shape and size, but forming an arc, the chord of which varies from twenty to forty feet, so that the whole figure resembles the bow and shank of a spur.*

The number of the sepulture scattered over the island must have been considerable. The Sardes generally call them Sepulture de is Gigantes, from the belief that they were the tombs of giants : but some name them Perdas Ebraica, or Hebrew stones—altares or altars. “These monuments are essentially distinct and peculiar to the island of Sardinia.”†

* Tyndale, vol. i. p. 141.

† Idem, vol. i. p. 142.

“Plutarch, in his *Life of Sertorius*, mentions that when that general took the town of Tingis, in Mauritania, the same place where stood the inscription—‘We are those who fled from the face of Joshua the robber, the son of Nun’—he broke open the sepulchre of Antæus, a hero and giant of Phœnician origin, and venerated by the Tingesi: but how great was his surprise when he beheld a body sixty cubits long. He immediately offered sacrifices, and closed up the tomb, which added greatly to the respect and reputation it had before.”*

The only importance Tyndale attaches to this marvellous account is the curious coincidence of a sepulchre of gigantic proportions existing, and held in veneration in a place to which the Canaanites and Phœnicians had migrated.

“The shape of the foss and head-stone of the sepulture fairly admits of the probability that those Sardinian monuments were graves, as some of the earliest forms of sepulchres on record are the upright stones with superincumbent slabs, such as the druidical cistaens and some tombs in Greece: but all these are entirely different in point of size and character: so that unassisted by any positively collateral or analogical elucidation, we can only venture on a hypothetical origin and purpose of the sepulture.”†

Tyndale observes, speaking of the connexion between the *noraghe* and sepulture—“if a Canaanitish race migrated here (Sardinia), nothing is more probable than that the tradition and worship of the giants would be also imported, and that it is even possible that some of the actual gigantic races of the Rephaim, Emin, Zamzummim, Anakim, or Philistines, might have actually arrived in Sardinia. In regard to the Rephaim, a people who, in the time of Abraham, dwelt in the country beyond the Jordan, in and about Astaroth Karnaim, it is now the received opinion of Biblical archæologists, that they were the most ancient or aboriginal inhabitants of Palestine, prior to the Canaanites, by whom they were gradually dispossessed of the region west of the Jordan, and driven beyond that river. Some of the race however, remained in Palestine Proper so late as the invasion of

* Tyndale, vol. i. p. 142.

† Idem, p. 143.

the land by the Hebrews, and are repeatedly mentioned as 'the old sons of Anak,' and 'the remnant of Rephaim' (Numbers xiii. 28; Deut. ix. 2; Joshua xv. 14); and a few families existed in the land as late as the time of David (2 Sam. xxi. 20). These, as well as the Emin and Zamzummim, two of the southern tribes, and the Anakim, worshipped Astaroth, whose idols we lately mentioned as discovered in the noraghè."*

Many of the Sardinian sepoltures, it must be observed, are more than double the size of the tallest giants recorded in holy writ, Og and Magog. The bedstead of Og was about thirteen feet six inches long, and six feet wide: the latter was only six cubits and a span, about nine feet and eight inches high. "These monuments then were not made in proportion to the actual size of the giants," though the shape of the sepulture fairly admits of the assumption of their being tombs.

"But that they may have been memorials or monuments to the memory of some of the chiefs of their original country, beings of high endowments, if not of a superior nature, whose memory, and perhaps worship, were imported by a colony, is as previously mentioned, not improbable. For instance, we find the iron bed of the giant Og was thus preserved as a memorial by the Ammonites."†

No very ancient remains have been found in the sepulture. Those hitherto discovered in them have been human bones of a comparatively recent period, some bronze arms of ordinary size, and common earthenware vases—the two latter of Carthaginian and Roman workmanship. Aristotle incidentally makes mention of the buried heroes in Sardinia, speaking of "those who are fabulously said to sleep with the heroes in Sardinia when they shall rise up." *Physicis*, iv. 3.

Simplicius, in his commentary on the passage, makes the allusion to the buried heroes referrible to the bodies of the *Thespiadæ*, which, having been preserved without decay, appeared, as it were, to sleep.

The small square hole found in some of the stele or tomb-

* Tyndale, vol. i. p. 143.

† Idem, p. 144.

stones at the north-west end of the graves, from the shape and position of the aperture, "might have served as a pillow for the dead," but it is difficult to form any surmise of the purpose for which it was made.

No sculpture exists on these monuments; the only trace of work on any of the stones is on some of the steles, and consists merely of a well-defined border; many of the stones, however, have been roughly shapen by some instrument in the same way as the *noraghe*.

Similar conical stones, "almost all inclined to a phallic shape," but without any globular concavity or projection; some having rather an elliptical form with several concavities entering half-way into the stone; and three found near Fonni, known as the "*Perdas fittas*," which are by no means regularly shaped, and have neither globular projections nor concavities, have been noticed by Tyndale. Some writers consider that these stones were objects of Cabiri worship, of that kind described by Herodotus (lib. ii. chap. 21), which the Pelasgi introduced at Samothrace; and their Cabiri monuments, generally supposed of Phœnician origin, were in configuration a Hermes with a phallic form.

The three reputed Cabiri were supposed personifications of the generative and fecundative principles. The three female pillar stones, and three (popularly accounted) male ones, found at Tamuli, might be thus elucidated, as being connected with Cabiri worship.

The upright, huge stones, rudely fashioned into pillar form, standing in a row or circle, either round or in the vicinity of Druidical and Ibero-Celtic altars, *Kistvaens*, and *Cairnes*, have their parallels in Sardinia. At Tamuli in that island, Tyndale found two *Sepulture de is Gigantes*, much dilapidated, and near them. "The most remarkable object is a row of six conical figures near the sepulture, standing in a straight line, a few paces from each other, with the exception of one, which has been upset and lies on the ground. . . . They are about four feet eight inches high, of two kinds, and have been designated male

and female, from three of them having two globular projections from the surface of the stone resembling the breasts of a woman ; but on the other three there is nothing indicative of the male sex.”*

It is evident the two kinds of monuments, *noraghe* and *sepulture*, existing in Sardinia, and not elsewhere, invariably associated, have had some mutual reference to each other.

If the *sepulture* were tombs, would the *noraghe* be so also ?

If the *noraghe* were tombs, what were their frequent concomitants, the *sepulture* ?

If the latter were the depositories of the illustrious dead, and the *noraghe* were temples or altars of some idolatrous creed, the co-existence, observes Mr. Tyndale, of the two monuments might be accounted for : and finally, he adds—“a Canaanitish race, with its idolatrous religion is apparently the only source from whence we may derive either of these extraordinary erections.”†

In conclusion, I must remark, that Mr. Tyndale does not seem to be sufficiently aware of the fact, that the earliest structures of a religious kind, in ancient times served the common purpose of tombs and temples. This was the case in Greece and Rome. The church in the catacombs is a proof of the same custom at a later period. It is the general opinion of enlightened Egyptian travellers that the pyramids were connected with the observance of religious rites, but it is most certain they served likewise for sepulchral purposes ; and most probably the monarch who prepared a place of security for his remains, could only make a sanctuary of his mausoleum, by dedicating the vast monument to the service of religion, and thus make the priests its perpetual protectors.

I think it may be presumed the *noraghe* served the double purpose of tombs and temples, and probably that these sepulchres were destined only for the remains of sacred persons, regal and sacerdotal ; while the other monuments, which are called by the *Sardes Sepulture de is Gigantes*, were the graves

* Tyndale, vol. ii. p. 171.

† Idem, vol. i. p. 147.

of their distinguished heroes, warriors and sages; and that the extraordinary length of the latter may be owing to the desire to afford sufficient space for the interment, with his remains, of the weapons of the deceased, his ornaments, apparel, or idols of his worship.*

* In confirmation of this opinion, I may notice a fact stated by Tyndale, namely, that at Tamuli, in Sardinia, two Sepulture de is Gigantes were examined; "one thirty-five feet long, and seven feet six inches wide; the other about the same length, but narrower, and differing from other sepulture in having two large stones in the interior, *forming a partition*, with another outside in front of the foss."—Tyndale, vol. ii. p. 171.

CHAPTER XV.

THE FUNERAL CUSTOMS AND SEPULCHRES OF THE PEOPLE
OF ETRURIA.

“Exiqua ingentis retinet vestigia famæ:
Et magnum infelix nil nisi nomen habet.”

“Bene apud majores nostros senatus decrevit quando florebat imperium, ut de principum filiis sex singulis Hetruriæ populi in disciplinam traderentur, ne tanta ars propter tenuitatem hominum a religionis auctoritate abduceretur ad mercedem et questum.”—CICERO DE DIVINATIONE.

“Parlan le tombe ove la storia è muta.”

ETRUSCAN tombs and sepulchral vases have been the subject of much recent investigation, to which the labours and erudition, in an especial manner, of Mr. George Dennis, have been successfully devoted. *

“The internal history of Etruria,” we are told by this author, “is written on the mighty walls of the cities, and on other architectural monuments; on her roads, her sewers, her tunnels, but, above all, in her sepulchres: it is to be read on grave rocks, and on the painted walls of tombs; but its chief chronicles are inscribed on sarcophagi and cinerary urns, on vases and goblets, on mirrors and other articles in bronze, and a thousand *et cetera* of personal adornment and of domestic and warlike furniture, all found within the tombs of a people passed away, and whose existence, until lately, was remembered by few but the traveller, or the student of classical lore. It was the great reverence for the dead which the Etruscans possessed, in common with the other nations of antiquity, that prompted them, fortunately for us of the nineteenth century, to store their tombs with the rich and varied sepulchral treasures which unveil to us the arena of

* The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria, by George Dennis; 2 vols., 1848.

their inner life, almost as fully as though a second Pompeii had been disinterred in the heart of Etruria." *

In very early times the dominions of Etruria are said to have embraced the greater part of Italy, from the plains of Lombardy to the Gulf of Salerno on the one hand, on the other from the Tyrrhene Sea to the Adriatic, and comprising Elba, Corsica partially, and some other islands on the western shores. Etruria proper, which included the modern Tuscan territory, the Duchy of Lucca, and some portion of the Papal States, was the peculiar seat of the Etruscan power. It was one of the three great divisions of the nation, and each of these regions was divided into twelve states, each represented by a city, as in Greece or in Italy in the middle ages, when the principal cities were representatives of so many sovereign states. Such was Etruria in the time of Tarquinius Priscus, when she gave a dynasty to Rome, probably as to a conquered city. But in the course of time Etruria was circumscribed to the narrow limits of the country which was the seat of government, Etruria proper, by the incursions of Gauls, Greeks, Sabines, and Samnites.

It is of that region alone which Mrs. Hamilton Gore, in her work on the sepulchres of Etruria, and Dennis in his researches treat. The chief of the twelve cities of Etruria proper was Tarquinii, the others were Veii, Falerii, Cerce, Volsinii, Vetulanii, Rusellæ, Clusium, Arretium, Perusia, and Volaterræ.

The most densely populated regions of the ancient territory of Etruria, which of old yielded rich harvests of corn, wine, and oil, have merged into wilds and wastes, fens and marshes, regions of pestilence, relapsed into desert tracts of country desolated by malaria, haunts of the wild boar, of noxious reptiles, from which man hurries away as from a plague-stricken land.

Yet this was a country that was once mighty and opulent, that founded colonies which became great nations, was familiar with commerce, the western emporium of the treasures of the east, and vied in the riches of art with the precious produce of Hellenic genius.

"Nothing gives a more exalted idea of the power and gran-

* Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria, vol. i. Introd. p. 14.

deur of this ancient people than the walls of their cities. These enormous piles of masonry, uncemented, yet so solid as to have withstood for three thousand years the destroying hand of man, the tempests, the earthquakes, the invisible yet more destructive power of atmospheric action, seem inclined to endure to the end of time; yet often shew a beauty, a perfection of workmanship that has never been surpassed.

“The health and cleanliness of Etruscan towns were insured by a system of sewerage, vestiges of which may be seen on many Etruscan sites; and the Cloaca Maxima will be a memorial to all time of the attention paid by the Etruscans to drainage.”*

How many ages may elapse before the science, the civilization, the opulence of our land, the spoils of our commerce, the treasures of our East, the monuments of our arts, may be sought for in the ruins, of the cities of Great Britain!

Yet the day will come most surely when her greatness, her wealth, and glory, will be laid in ruins, less enduring indeed, than those remains which the traveller discovers in the pestilential regions, now the haunts of wild beasts and noxious reptiles, that were of old fertile, cultivated and salubrious, centres of civilization of varied origins, seats of cities of great renown, birth-places of men whose names were famous in Greece and Rome, and were familiar with the historians of those countries eighteen hundred years ago. It has been well observed by a recent traveller, who has seen not a little of the ruins of empires, Indian, and Egyptian, Chaldean, Median, Syrian, and Hellenic, that—“The greatest empires on which the sun ever shone — Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Media, Persia, India, Greece, Rome, — all have fallen from the same general causes, though operating with various modifications in form. Conquest, wealth, luxury, selfishness, corruption, depravity, weakness, poverty, degradation: these have been the steps by which they have all proceeded from the highest pinnacle of glory to the lowest point of misery. And yet the nations of the earth, blind to these great examples, seem nearly all pursuing, with different degrees of intensity and ardour, the same mad career.”

* Dennis.

Sterne, in one of his many plagiaries, conjures up a host of classical reminiscences, all indicative of the vicissitudes of states and people of great celebrity in ancient times. He paraphrases, without any reference to the original, a very remarkable passage from a letter of Servius Sulpitius to Cicero (Epist. Tull. lib. 3), thus rendered into English by old Burton, in his "Anatomy of Melancholy" (vol. ii. p. 39, ed. 1826):—"Returning out of Asia, when I sailed from Egina towards Megara, I began to view the country round about. Egina was behind me, Megara before, Pirœeus on the right hand, Corinth on the left, what flourishing towns heretofore, now prostrate and overwhelmed before mine eyes! I began to think with myself, Alas! why are we men so much discomforted with the departure of a friend, whose life is much shorter, when so many goodly cities lie buried before us? Remember, O Servius, thou art a man; and with that I was much confirmed, and corrected myself. Correct, then, likewise, and comfort thyself in this, that we must necessarily die, and all die, that we shall rise again—*jucundior que multo congressus noster futurus, quam insuavis et acerbus digressus*—our second meeting shall be much more pleasant than our departure was grievous."*

The Etruscans in Italy were preceded by the Pelasgi, these by the Umbri or Siculi, and even these were not the original possessors of the soil. The Etruscans came from abroad, but from what country has been a problem as much disputed as any in the whole compass of modern classical inquiry.

Dennis, if he have not solved it, at least has thrown such light on the question, as to leave little doubt that they were of oriental origin. "The concurrent voice of the Greek and Roman historians, geographers, poets, and philosophers, with a solitary exception, marks the Etruscans as a tribe of Lydia, who, leaving their native land, settled in this part of Italy."

Seneca says they were of Asiatic origin—Asia claims the Etruscans as its own—"Tuscos Asia sibi vindicat."

The tombs of Tarquinii, in number, extent, and riches of

* Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, vol. ii. p. 59.

† Cities and Tombs of Etruria, vol. i. Introd. p. 33.

funeral furniture and ornament, excel all the other sepulchres in Etruria. The city which peopled these tombs is supposed to have been the principal one in Etruria in point of magnitude and magnificence. "If such were its sepulchres," says Lanzi, "what must have been its palaces?" The origin of Tarquinii is the origin of Etruria. According to the ancient Greek and Latin historians—"Soon after the Trojan war, Tyrrhenus, son of Atys, King of Lydia, being compelled by famine to quit his kingdom, brought a colony to this part of Italy, and built the twelve cities of Etruria, appointing to that work his relative, Tarchan, from whom the city of Tarquinii, one of the twelve, received its name. From this tradition there is one dissentient voice, that of Justin, who says the Tarquinii was built by the Thessali and Spinambri, or, in other words, by the Pelasgi. Niebuhr also, of the moderns, regards Tarquinii as of Pelasgic origin, but thinks that this Pelasgian colony came from the Lydian coast, thus reconciling the two traditions." He fixes the date of this emigration about the year 200 before the foundation of Rome and 1044 before Christ, which he considers the commencement of the Etrurian era. Gerhard also thinks Tarquinii was Pelasgic."*

Of Etruria it may be truly said, in the words of the prophet—"It is an ancient nation, whose language thou knowest not."

Their mythology was evidently derived from an Asiatic source, and was the origin of that of Rome. Their Penates, Lares, Thunder-bolt hurling gods, Senators of gods, Vertumni, the rites of their Etruscan discipline or system of national divination, the dread powers of the lower world, Mantus and Mania, the Genii of Etrusca, still live in stone in their sepulchres. But, above all, the dread powers of the lower world are brought prominently forward on their tombs. Mania, the mother of the Lares, was a female demon, who delighted in scenes of death and devastation. "She was a fearful deity, and propitiated by human sacrifices."†

In their "Cities of the Dead," as those multitudes of subter-

* Cities and Tombs of Etruria, text and note, vol. i. p. 372.

† Idem, vol. i. Introd. p. 56.

anean tombs congregated on the same spot are called, the analogy to houses holds in every thing but the light of day: paintings on the walls show the internal decorations of their houses, benches and stools, cut out of the solid rock—chambers and cells represent the apartments of dwellings for the living—weapons of war, vases of all kinds, cups and goblets, abound in these sepulchres. The paintings on their vases, for which they are so celebrated, present the styles into which Etruscan art may be divided.

1st. Egyptian with Assyrian analogies.

2nd. Tyrrhene, or early Etruscan art.

3rd. The Hellenic, or Greek, when art in Etruria was in decadence.

Of their works in stone numerous specimens have come down to us on the facades and walls of their rock-hewn sepulchres, in detached statues, but chiefly on sarcophagi (often painted) and cinerary urns. The extant sculpture of Etruria is almost wholly sepulchral.

In the tombs the painting is beautiful in colouring, but in conventional colouring, not intended to imitate the colouring of nature, but only to arrest the eye by startling tints. There is great conventionality in the composition, rudeness, and exaggeration of proportions in the drawings frequently, and the older the tombs the greater is the resemblance to Egyptian and Assyrian art. In other vases traces are found of the happiest and purest period of Hellenic art; the gracefulness of outline is not surpassed by any productions of antiquity, Greek or Roman.

“What use can this multitude of vases have served? Though only found in tombs, it must not be supposed that they were all originally of sepulchral origin.” *

Dennis supposes they formed only a portion of those precious objects of deceased persons which were deposited in their tombs. Some vases were solely sepulchral, it is inferred from their paintings; others, and the majority, were sacred and household vessels.

* Cities and Tombs of Etruria, vol. i. Introd. p. 83.

At Veii, and elsewhere, sepulchres are found like those at Syracuse, full of niches, resembling the Columbarii of the Romans, but without the olla holes of the latter. They indicate the practice of burning the dead at some period, probably a very remote one, for the practice of depositing dead bodies in the tombs was that which prevailed generally in Etruria. But cremation, even among the Greeks, is considered by Dennis to have been confined to the wealthy, as the expense of the pyre must have put it out of the reach of the community. Both methods of burial, however, were practised coevally. De Jorio says burial among the Greeks was, to burning, as one to ten; among the Romans, as ten to one. The practice of the Romans in the earliest times was to bury, not to burn, their dead; the latter practice having been generally adopted only when it was found that in protracted wars the dead were disinterred.

Burning at first was confined to heroes and wealthy people, but under the empire it became general; subsequently, cremation went out of fashion, and in the fourth century after Christ (Macrobius, Sat. vii. 7) it was wholly superseded by burial. In all the civilized nations of antiquity, both methods seem to have been adopted contemporaneously; though, in certain times and countries, one or the other mode was most prevalent.

A leading feature of the sepulchres of the Etruscans is their subterranean position. In this they resemble the Asiatic rather than the Roman usage. They are hollowed in the living rock, either beneath the surface of the ground, or at the foot of a cliff shaped into a monument, and inscribed with an epitaph.

Sometimes tombs were constructed, in such positions, of masonry, and heaped over with earth into the form of a tumulus. There are no tombs in Etruria, like those of the Romans, built above the ground. Like those of Egypt and Asia Minor, the Etruscan tombs generally show an imitation of the abodes of the living; more or less obvious, either externally or internally. All the tumular sepulchres bear a resemblance to the huts of ancient Phrygia, as Vitruvius has observed.

In various tombs throughout Etruria most singular mythological scenes are depicted. "They represent numerous souls, in

the form of men, robed in white, conducted into the other world by genii of opposite characters ; the good being depicted red, or flesh-colour, the evil, black, like the furies of Grecian fable. Sometimes a good and evil spirit seem as contending for the possession of a soul, as where this is pursued by the malignant demon, and hurried away by the better genius ; sometimes they are acting in unison, as where they are harnessed to a car, and are driven by an old man, who may possibly represent the Minos or Radamanthus of the Etruscans. In another instance, a similar pair of antagonist spirits are dragging a car, on which sits a soul shrouded in a veil. We may conclude they are attending the soul to judgment.”* The office of these genii was to conduct souls to the other world ; and when they were arraigned before the infernal judge, to watch their pleadings, and confirm or contradict the truth or falsehood of their statements.

The good demons, or genii, are usually represented with a rod or wand in their hands ; but the malignant ones have generally in theirs a heavy hammer or mallet, as an emblem of their castigative or destructive power. The latter are sometimes represented, probably after condemnation, with their horrid implements uplifted, preparing or threatening to mallet “wretched souls, who are imploring mercy *on their knees*.”†

“The knees of the soul” is not therefore a mere metaphor in Etruria.

Sometimes the poor soul, already in the clutches of an evil demon, is seen struggling to get away, and, in one painting, seizing hold of the wing of a good genius, who is moving away from it.

The beautifully-designed paintings at the tombs of Tarquinii represent scenes of banquetting and revelry, of the most incongruous character with the purpose of the place, and the object they are intended to effect—namely, to show respect to the dead. “Figures of each sex are represented reclining in pairs, on separate lecti, or couches, attended by a female servant with a pot of ointment, and a boy with a wine-jug ; while a Tubulo

* Cities and Tombs of Etruria, vol. ii. p. 320.

† Ibid.

stands in one corner playing the double pipes, of Lydian origin ; on another couch, a single male figure is painted, whose hand is stretched out in the act of offering an egg to the gentleman next him."

Tables are represented laid out with refreshments, chaplets overhanging them from the ceiling ; dances performed by professional female performers, gorgeously apparelled, their steps regulated by the lyre and pipes, played by male performers, and by the castanets rattled by one of the females. Men, too, move in the dance, as it were mechanically ; but the true Terpsichorean *abandon* of the dancing women, and Asiatic voluptuousness of their attitudes, are depicted with great spirit, and, like our modern Taglionis and Ceritos, their dresses are transparent, representing gauze or other thin material, which shows the form beneath. "The richness of the borders of the garments, and the strange stiffness and regularity of the folds, is quite Etruscan," observes Dennis ; but he might have added—"and equally Assyrian." There is something Jewish in the female profiles. The women are draped, in general, with something more than Greek modesty.

The inappropriateness of such representations in sepulchres is striking ; "but, while we view them from the high vantage-ground of Christianity," observes Dennis, "let us remember the funeral feast was a sacred custom : dances had often a direct religious meaning and application among the ancients. Let us bear in mind, also, the representation of murderous implements of war, the apotheosis of soldiers slain in battle, in our Christian temples of St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey. What appropriateness is there in those sculptures on the tombs of heroes in our churches ; wherein we find scimitars, muskets, artillery, and cannon-balls conglomerated, with the holy place, or the purpose for which people assemble in them ?"

One of the most singular of the Etruscan mounds is the tumulus of *La Cucumella*, at Vulci, standing in the midst of a bare plain, and visible at the distance of many a mile. This cone of earth, according to Dennis, is about two hundred feet in diameter, and forty or fifty in height ; though much lowered from

its original altitude by time and the spade of the excavator. It was encircled at its base by a stone wall, now traceable only by fragments.

The mound was opened in 1830: near the wall several small sepulchral chambers were found, as in the tumuli of Cervetri and Chiusi, probably tombs for the dependants of the great personage or family for whom the vast mausoleum was constructed. The rudeness of the masonry is remarked upon by Gerhard. He supposes the walls may have been faced with metal, of the structures within the mound, as marble was not used by the Etruscans. The supposition Dennis considers unnecessary, as those structures were not intended to be seen; but their rudeness might be more reasonably ascribed to the remoteness of their origin, and the evident design of perpetuating the style of Lydian sepulchral monuments in a colony that emanated from Lydia, by a people in the rude state of the first stage of colonization.

“In the heart of the mound, or Cucumella,* two towers were discovered, one square, the other conical; both between thirty and forty feet in height, of horizontal, uncemented masonry, but extremely rude and irregular, and so loosely put together as to threaten a speedy fall. The conical tower appears to have been hollow; but neither this nor the other has—and, perhaps, never had—any visible entrance.

“At the foot of these towers is now a shapeless hollow; but here were found two small chambers, constructed of massive masonry, and with door-ways of primitive style, arched over by the gradual convergence of the horizontal courses. They were approached by a long passage, leading directly into the heart of the tumulus; and here, on the ground, lay fragments of bronze and gold plates, very thin, and adorned with ivy and myrtle leaves. Two stone sphynxes stood guardians at the entrance of the passage, and, with sundry other quaint effigies of lions and griffins found within this tumulus, now mount guard at the palace at Musignano. No other furniture, sarcophagi, urns, or

* “Cucumella, probably a *cacumine*, is the term commonly applied, in central Italy, to a mound, hillock, or barrow.”—*Dennis*, vol. i. p. 412.

vases, was brought to light: whence it was evident the tumulus had been rifled in former ages."* Everything discovered here bespeaks a very high antiquity.

This tumulus, Dennis states, bears a striking analogy to that of Alyattes, King of Lydia, and father of Croesus, which had a basement of huge stones, surmounted by a mound of earth, and had five termini (probably of a conical form) on the summit, was 3842 feet in circumference, and 1314 in diameter, according to the measurement given by Herodotus in stadia and plethra. It was about six or seven times as large as that of the Etruscan Cucumella of Vulci, which Dennis considers is to be regarded as the type of Lydian tombs.

The Etruscan tomb of Porsenna, at Clusium, bore a close affinity to the only Lydian sepulchre described by the ancients—the square merely taking place of the circle; for it is said to have had “five pyramids rising from a square base of masonry, one at each angle, and one in the centre.” And the curious monument at Albano, commonly called the tomb of the Horatii and Curatii has a square basement of masonry, surmounted by four cones and cylindrical tower in the midst. Five indeed seems to have been the established number of cones, pyramids, or columnar cippi, on tombs of this description; whence it has been suggested that three other towers are probably buried in the unexcavated part of the *cucumella*.

Several other tumuli, but much smaller, are found in the neighbourhood of the latter “warrior tombs,” as they are termed by Dennis, which are “not unfrequently scattered indiscriminately among those of men of peace.”

In one, “in the middle of the chamber, stretched on the ground, lay the skeleton of a warrior, with helm on his head, ring on his finger, and a confused mass of broken and rusted weapons at his feet. Against the wall of the tomb, depending from a nail, which, from rust, could hardly support it, hung a huge brown shield lined with wood. In an adjoining chamber, however, were articles of jewellery strewn on the ground, indicating a female occupant, and also some beautiful painted vases.”

* Dennis, vol. i. p. 414.

In others are found "arms of various descriptions, the iron generally much oxydized, the helmets frequently bearing marks of the battle fray, 'in good old blows' of sword or lance, and sometimes circled with chaplets of ivy, myrtle, or oak leaves, in pure gold, of the most delicate and exquisite workmanship, as if to shew that the departed had fallen in the moment of victory, or it may be to typify *the state of triumphant bliss* into which his spirit had entered."*

In other of the warrior tombs the bones are found in a perfect state, but more frequently the arms and armour alone remain; the bones have crumbled away, and nothing of the warrior is to be found on the rocky bier, where he was "left alone with his glory" some twenty-five or thirty centuries ago, but his helmet battered, cleft or uncloven, as the case may be, and his breast-plate, and his greaves, his signet ring, his rusty weapons, and his crumbling shield.

Think of this, all ye great warriors of our days! Napoleon, of all the hundred fields of fight of Italy; Wellington of Waterloo; Picton, and Davoust—all ye renowned military heroes—Ney, of Moscowa, "beau sabreur;" Cavaignac of the red sword; Haynau of the ruthless hand, subjugator of Hungary, butcher of the brave, scourger of women, thou latest victor, and man of greatest military genius of our "Times!"—think of the skeleton of the warrior in the sepulchre at Vulci, stretched on the ground in the middle of the dismal chamber, with the helm on the dry bones that composed his head, the ring on the fragment of the hand that is called a finger, the rust-eaten sword, the greaves, and the breast-plate, and the flesh of this renowned fighting man gone away from its armour, and traceable only in a little dust, darker than the rest around it!

Is this to be the end of all your martial glory?—the exceeding great reward of all your achievements? Can honour save your sepulchres from the ravages of that arch-devastator—Time, or of that other great spoiler of the dead—the antiquarian robber of the tomb? You stand upon your honour—will it cleave to your mould in the charnel? Alas!" said the fair Jewess to the

* Dennis, vol. i. p. 417.

young aspirant after military glory, "and what is all your chivalry, valiant knight, save an offering of sacrifice to a demon of vain-glory, and a passing through the fire to Moloch.

"What remains to you as the price of all the blood you have spilled—of all the hardships you have endured—of all the tears which you have caused, when death has broken the strong man's spear, and overtaken the speed of his war-horse. Glory, indeed! Is the rusted nail, which hangs as a hatchment over the champion's dim and mouldering tomb—is the defaced sculpture of the inscription, which the ignorant monk can hardly read to the inquiring pilgrim—are these sufficient rewards for the sacrifice of every kindly affection—for a life spent miserably—that ye may make others miserable? or is there such virtue in the rude rhymes of a wandering bard, that domestic love, kindly affection, peace, or happiness are so wildly bartered, to become the hero of these ballads, which vagabond minstrels sing to drunken churls over their evening ale?"*

At Bieda, on the high-way to Cornelo and Civita Vecchia, a regular Etruscan necropolis exists. "Here are rows of tombs, side by side, hollowed in the cliff, each with its gaping door-way. Here they were in terraces, one above the other, united by flights of steps carved out of the rock. Here were masses, split from the precipices above and hewn into tombs, standing out like isolated abodes; shaped, too, in the very form of houses with sloping roofs, culminating to an apex, overhanging eaves at the gable, and a massive central beam to support the rafters. . .

"On entering any one of them, the resemblance to houses was no less striking: the broad beam carved in relief along the ceiling; the rafters, also in relief, resting on it, and sinking gently on either side; the inner chamber, in many, lighted by a window on each side of the door in the partition wall, all three of the same Egyptian form; the triclineal arrangement of the rock-hewn benches, as though the dead, as represented on their sarcophagi, were wont to recline at a banquet.

"These things," continues Dennis, "were enough to convince me that, in their sepulchres, the Etruscans, in many

* Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*.

respects, imitated their habitations; and sought to make their cemeteries, as far as possible, the counterparts of the cities on the opposite heights.”*

There is also a rock-hewn tumulus at Bieda, resembling, in its conical truncated form, the great mound-tombs of a high antiquity in other countries. “It is hewn into steps, or a series of circular bases, tapering upwards; of these, four only remain, and the cone is truncated; but whether this was its original form it is hard to say. Like the conical tombs of Vulci and Tarquinii, it was probably surmounted by a sphynx, lion, pure cone, or some other funeral emblem, or by a *Cippus*.”

“The rock around it is cut into a trench and rampart. Within the cone is the sepulchre, which is double-chambered, entered by a level passage; not lying beneath the surface, as in the conical tombs of Tarquinii.”†

At Veii, a pictured sepulchre has been found, with all its funeral furniture intact, of great antiquity: Dennis says, the most ancient he has met with.

“The wall within the door-way is built up with masonry of a very rude character, uncemented, belonging to an age prior to the invention of the arch; for the door is formed of blocks, gradually converging towards the top, as in the oldest European architecture extant, in the style of the Cyclopean gateways of Greece and Italy—those mysteries of unknown antiquity.”‡

This masonry, Dennis says, indicates a very high antiquity. The masonry of a corresponding kind of the tomb beneath the tumulus of New Grange, near Drogheda, indicates probably a higher antiquity. Both sepulchres have many striking analogies, and any person who has visited New Grange, and read the description of some of the Etruscan tombs, those especially found beneath tumuli, must be struck with the evidence of the identity of design and execution that exists in those most ancient Etruscan and Irish tombs.

In the tomb at New Grange, no vestiges of the dead, their weapons, ornaments, idols, or of vases, have been found. The

* Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria, vol. i. p. 261.

† Idem, vol. i. p. 272.

‡ Idem, vol. i. p. 55.

ravages of barbarians, infuriated bigots, and rapacious soldiery, have spared in Ireland neither tombs nor temples.

In Etruria, on the contrary, tombs, at least occasionally, are found unplundered; and when they are spoiled, it is in the name of science, by antiquarians and *enlightened* travellers. In the painted tomb of Veii, lions, panthers, horses, chimærae dire, sphynxes reared on their hind legs, departing altogether from their conventional Egyptian attitude of repose, most strangely devised, and still more grotesquely devised figures of men and monsters, beasts and divinities, of most quaint appearance, more approaching to the Assyrian than the Egyptian style, and bearing no resemblance at all to Greek or Roman art.

On either side of the principal chamber in this tomb is a bench of rock about two feet and a half high; on each of which, when the tomb was opened, a skeleton was found, but on exposure to the air it soon crumbled to dust. A helmet, a breast-plate, a spear, rest in the positions in which they would be found, were the corpse buried with the helmet on the head, the plate on the breast, and the spear laid by the side. Another skeleton was found on an opposite bench, without weapons or armour; and some large jars were ranged on the floor, containing human ashes. In another chamber was found a low ledge of rock round three sides of the room, and as many cinerary urns or chests of earthenware stood on it; these chests were about eighteen inches long and twelve high, covered with an ornamental lid representing a man's head, probably intended for a portrait of him whose ashes are stored in the urn. The walls of this chamber are unpainted, save opposite the doorway, where six discs are represented as suspended. They are fifteen inches in diameter, and are painted with a mosaic work of various colours, without any determinate design. There is no inscription in this tomb, and Micali observes, in the older tombs no inscriptions are to be found. In this double-chambered tomb there is evidence that burial and cremation were practised in Etruria at a very ancient period, and to all appearance at the same time. And this I believe to have been the case also in India, Assyria, Greece, and Rome. Different ranks were distinguished by dif-

ferent modes of disposal of bodies after death, and at different epochs those modes changed ; so that it is impossible to say with any accuracy when the practice of burying the body entire began, or that of cremation replaced it.

In the tombs of many other Etruscan cities, the remains of bodies are found that had been deposited on those ledges of as rock, already referred to—or placed in niches, or small side-cells, those had been in the New Grange sepulchre ; or inhumed in sarcophagi, some placed in the tombs, but most beneath the surface, or under tumuli, in coffres of masonry built in the ground, and covered over with slabs similar, in all respects, to those so frequently discovered in Irish cairns, and the kistvaens of England. And in the same tombs, vases with calcined remains of human bodies, cinerary chests, and other evidences of the practice of cremation are also met with. One of the tombs of Tarquinii is of rare excellence for its decorations, the tomb of Mercareccia. This tomb has no aperture of any kind, but a sort of funnel through the rock for twenty feet, till it opens in the surface of the plain above. In the sides of this chimney or funnel, which served for door and window, are the usual niches for hands and feet. The art used here to conceal art is remarkable. There may be a door-way below the present surface, but as yet the cliff has not been broken away to determine.

“It is worthy of remark, that in its roof this tomb, which is unique in this particular, represents that sort of *cavædium* which Vitruvius terms *depluviatum*, or that description of court, the roof of which slopes from within, so as to carry the rain outwards, instead of carrying it into the *impluvium* or tank in the centre of the Atrium.”

On the western coast of Africa, a few miles in the interior, in the vicinity of Accra, I was not a little astonished, a few years ago, to find the roofs of the houses constructed precisely as those in ancient Italy described by Vitruvius ; there being an aperture in the roof in the centre of the building, and a great funnel extending downwards and carrying the rain into a reservoir or tank in the centre of the house, round which tanks benches and raised platforms were fixed, and a few small cham-

bers were placed opening into this atrium. I have seen nothing similar to this in any other part of the world.

In various tombs at Tarquinii "not a few bas-reliefs represent the *præficæ* or hired mourners wailing over a corpse, beating their breasts, and tearing their hair, while a *subulo* chimes in with his double pipes." *

At Cervetri, one of the most ancient tombs yet discovered was opened in 1836. It is situated in a low bank, in the middle of a field. It is of a truncated conical shape, with a rude attempt at an arch, formed, like the sepulchre at New Grange, by the convergence of horizontal strata, hewn to a smooth surface, and slightly curved, so as to resemble a gothic arch. "This is not, however, carried up to a point, but terminates in a square channel covered by a large block of stone (*neufro*). The doorway is the index to the whole tomb, which is a mere passage about sixty feet long, constructed on the same principle, and lined with masonry. This passage is divided into two chambers, communicating by a door-way of the same Gothic form, with a truncated top. The similarity of the structure to the cyclopean gallery at Tiryns is striking. The masonry, it is true, is far less massive, but the style is identical, shewing a rude attempt at an arch, the true principle of which had not yet been discovered." †

Dennis observes, this tomb must be considered "coeval at least with the earliest days of Rome, prior, it may be, to the foundation of the city," as the Cloaca Maxima was the earliest known instance of the perfect arch in Italy, which dated from the days of the Etruscan Tarquins.

Tombs of a passage-form, like this of Cervetri, are generally of high antiquity. "They bear," says Dennis, "an evident relation to the treasuries of Mycenæ and Orchomenos, and to the nurhags or nuraghe of Sardinia, and the talajots of the Balearies, in as far as they are roofed in on the same principle. And they are probably not of inferior antiquity. Like the nuraghe, they may, with good reason, be regarded as the work of the Tyrrhene Pelasgi. The druidical barrows of our own country sometimes contain passage-formed sepulchres like those of Cervetri.

* Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria, vol. i. p. 295. † Idem, vol. ii. p. 46.

“Stephens, in his account of Yucatan (page 429, *et seq.*), shews the remarkable analogy between the American pseudo-vaults and those of ancient Europe. The sides of the arch are hewn to a smooth surface, as in the tomb at Cervetri (the regolini), and terminates not in a point, but in a square head, formed by the imposition of flat blocks. The peculiarity consists in the courses being often almost at right angles with the line of the arch, shewing a near approach to the cuneiform principle.”

Cavalier Canina refers the construction of this sepulchre to the Pelasgi, and assigns to it and its contents an antiquity of not less than 3000 years. He thinks, in its original state, it was surmounted by a small tumulus, but after the arrival of the Lydians another tumulus of much larger size was constructed about it, of which it formed a part; traces of such a second tumulus having been found in an encircling basement of masonry, and several chambers hollowed in the rock below the original tomb.

The great antiquity of this sepulchre is likewise inferred from the Egyptian-like character of its contents. No painted pottery was found here, but an abundance of little earthenware figures, some thirty or forty, probably the lares of the deceased, articles of bronze, silver and gold, beautifully wrought weapons and vessels suspended by bronze nails from the sides of the roof.

In the outer chamber lay a bier of bronze, but the corpse that had been laid on it had crumbled into dust; a small four-wheeled car of bronze with a basin-like cavity, in form and size much resembling a dripping-pan, but richly ornamented; on one side of the bier the numerous lares, and at the head and foot a small iron altar on a tripod; and at the foot also a bundle of darts and a shield, and against the opposite wall several shields. Nearer the door stood a four-wheeled car, which, from its size and form, might have served to bear the bier to the sepulchre. Within the entrance to the tomb were found two cauldrons on iron tripods, a pair of bell-shaped vases united by a couple of spheres.

Dennis describes the sepulchres of Saturnia as “tombs like cromlechs.” “These tombs are sunk but little below the surface, because each is enclosed in a tumulus; the earth being

piled around so as to conceal all but the cover-stones, which may have been also originally buried.

"In many instances the earth has been removed or washed away, so as to leave the structure standing above the surface. Here the eye is startled by the striking resemblance to the cromlechs of our own country.

"Not that one such monument is actually standing above ground in an entire state; but remove the earth from any one of those with a single cover-stone, and in the three upright slabs, with their shelving over-lapping lid, you have the exact counterpart of Kit's Cotty House, and other like familiar antiquities of Britain; and the resemblance is not only in the form, and in the unhewn masses, but even in the dimensions of the structures. We know, also, that many of the cromlechs or kistvanes of the British isles have been found inclosed in barrows, sometimes with a circle of small upright slabs around them; and from analogy we may infer that all were originally so buried.

"Here is a further point of resemblance to these tombs of Saturnia.

"In some of the cromlechs, moreover, which are enclosed in tumuli, long passages lined with upright slabs, and roofed in with others laid horizontally, have been found; whether the similar passages in these tombs of Saturnia were also covered in, cannot now be determined.

"The shelving or dip of the cover-stone in the cairns or cromlechs has induced antiquaries to regard them as druidical altars, formed with this inclination in order that the blood of the victims might more easily run off. But it is now generally agreed, from the remains found within them, that they are sepulchral monuments; and there can be no doubt that these structures of Saturnia are of that character, though nothing, beyond analogy and tradition, now remains to attest it." *

It is very certain, however, from the researches of all Etruscan travellers and antiquarians, that the practice of human sacrifice prevailed throughout Etruria. Dennis has described numerous paintings found in Etruscan tombs representing human victims

* Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria, by Dennis, vol. ii. p. 315.

being led to the place of sacrifice, of wine being poured on their heads, and of festivals, funeral and religious, being celebrated with those infernal rites. Of these rites prevailing among the Canaanites, we have the best authority, scriptural and profane. The Lydians, from whom the Etruscans sprung, inhabited a country which was included in the country of Canaan. It is not unreasonable to suppose the practice of human sacrifice, which prevailed in Etruria, Iberia, and Celtic Gaul, Germany, Britain, and Hibernia, was of Canaanitish origin.

Of these savagely rude structures at Saturnia, Dennis remarks they cannot be of a later date than other monuments certainly known to be of Pelasgic origin. "In the case of Saturnia," he observes, "moreover, we are particularly entitled to ascribe those walls to that people, with whom polygonal masonry was the rule, rectangular the exception, rather than to any subsequent race; for the doctrine of the material having alone determined the character of the masonry, is here utterly at fault."*

"Be it remembered," elsewhere he remarks, "that the masses are wholly unwrought; not even hammer-dressed, but simply split off from the luminous rock; the principal difficulty lying in the transport of them to their present sites. If not of Etruscan construction, to whom can they be attributed? The prior occupants of the land, as we learn from ancient writers, were first the Umbrians or Siculi, and then the Pelasgi. As the antiquity of these monuments is connected with that of the city walls, we will consider both, in reviewing the few notices we find of Saturnia in ancient writers. Dionysius mentions Saturnia, together with Agylla, Pisa, and Alsium, as one of the many towns either built by the united Pelasgi and aborigines, or taken by them from the Siculi, the original inhabitants. Beyond this there is little mention of it."†

The tombs of Saturnia, though found amidst Pelasgic monuments, Dennis thinks, however, "more like the structures of a ruder people, such as we may conceive the Umbri, or Siculi, the earliest possessors of the land, to have been. We learn from

* Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria, by Dennis, vol. ii. p. 318.

† Idem, vol ii. p. 319.

Dionysius that the Aborigines, who joined the Pelasgi in expelling the Siculi from Etruria, had cemeteries of tumuli like this; but of the internal structure of their tombs we know nothing.* . . .

“Yet this form of sepulchre can hardly be indicative of any one race in particular. The structure is so rude and simple, that it might have suggested itself to any people, and be naturally adopted in an early state of civilization:—it is the very arrangement the child makes use of in building his house of cards. This simplicity accounts for the wide diffusion of such monuments over the Old World; for they are found in different climates and widely distant countries, from the mountains of Wales and Ireland to the deserts of Barbary, and from the western shores of the Iberian Peninsula to the steppes of Tartary and the eastern coasts of Hindostan. They are found in mountains and in plains, on continents and in islands, on the sea-coast and far inland, by the river and in the desert, solitary and grouped in multitudes. That in certain instances they may be the work of the same people in different countries, is not to be gainsaid; but there is no necessity to seek for one particular race as the constructors of these monuments, or even as the originators of the type.” †

Of the Etruscan Tumular Sepulchres, Dennis thus speaks, in describing the very ancient mounds at Tarquinii:—

“Those tumuli are probably the most ancient description of tomb in Etruria. Such, indeed, was the form of sepulchres among the primitive nations of the world. It varied in different lands: the Egyptians, Assyrians, and Hindoos, assumed the pyramid; while in Asia Minor, and by the early races of Europe—Greeks, Italians, Scythians, Celts, Scandinavians, and Germans—the cone was preferred. The ancient tribes of America also adopted the same mode of sepulture, and the vast pyramids rising from the plains of Mexico and Yucatan, rivaling those of Egypt in dimensions, and the conical mounds of

* Dennis's *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, vol. ii. p. 320.

† *Idem*, vol. ii. p. 321.

Peru, attest a remote relation between the people of the Old and New World. Tumuli, we know, were in use among the Lydians, the traditional colonizers of Etruria, and the sepulchre of Alyattes, the father of Cræsus, described by Herodotus—‘*magna componeri parvis*’—was very like the ‘*Mausoleo*’ of the Montarozzi, ‘the basement being composed of huge stones, the rest of the monument being a mound of earth.’ The description given by Dionysius of the Necropolis of Orvinium, a city of the Aborigines, a most ancient people of Italy, long prior to the foundation of the Etruscan state, answers so strikingly to the Montarozzi, that we might imagine he was writing of Tarquinii. His words are:—‘The foundations of its walls are visible, and certain tombs of manifest antiquity, and enclosures of cemeteries lengthened out, and lofty mounds.’” *

The Tumulus of Alyattes, in Lydia, is thus described by Herodotus:—

“The territories of Lydia have nothing admirable and deserving mention, like other countries, unless some particles of gold, brought down from the mountain Tymolus. But the Lydians show one building, which in greatness much surpasses all others, except those of the Egyptians and Babylonians; I mean the sepulchre of Alyattes, father to Cræsus, the basis of which is composed of stones of extraordinary dimensions, and all the rest is a terrace. This terrace was built by artificers and mercenary labourers, with the assistance of young maids; and on the uppermost part of the sepulchre five monuments are placed for boundaries, with inscriptions, seen to this day, certifying the measure of their labour, and showing that the maids did more work than the men. The daughters of the Lydians are accustomed to acquire their dowries by prostitution, and are then permitted to marry as they please. This sepulchre is six stades and two plethrons in circumference, and thirteen plethrons in breadth; standing near a spacious lake, which the Lydians say is fed by perpetual springs, and derives its name from Gyges. The customs of the Lydians differ little from

* Dennis’s Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria, vol. i. p. 352.

those of the Grecians, except only that they prostitute their daughters. They were the first of all the nations we know who introduced the art of coining gold and silver to facilitate trade, and first practised the way of retailing merchandise. They pretend to be the inventors of divers games, which are now common to them with the Grecians, and, as they say, were found out about the time they sent a colony to Tyrrhenia, on this occasion. During the reign of Atys, the son of Manes, King of Lydia, a scarcity of provisions spread over the kingdom, which the people, for a time, supported with patience and industry. But when they saw the evil still continuing, they applied themselves to find out a remedy; and some inventing one game, and others another, they gradually introduced dice, balls, tables, and all other plays, chess only excepted, of which the Lydians do not challenge the invention; and to bear this calamity better, they used to play one whole day without intermission, that they might not be disquieted with the thoughts of food; eating and drinking on the next day, without amusing themselves with any kind of game. After they had continued this alternate manner during eighteen years, and found their wants rather increasing than abating, the king divided the people into two parts, and ordered them to determine by lot which division should relinquish the country, and which should remain in possession; he himself designing to reign over those who should have the fortune to stay, and appointing his son Tyrrhenus to command that part which should be obliged to remove. Those who by lot were constrained to depart, marched down to Smyrna, where, having built a sufficient number of ships, and put all things necessary on board, they set sail in search of food and of a new habitation, till, having passed by many nations, they arrived in Umbria, and built divers cities, which they inhabit to this day. There they changed their ancient name, and were no longer called Lydians, but Tyrrhenians, from their leader Tyrrhenus, the son of their king.”*

I have given at length the account of Herodotus of the colo-

* Herodotus, Clio, i. p. 39.

nization of the Lydians of Asia Minor, in Umbra, on account of the connexion with Etruria, and correspondence of the type of the sepulchral monuments of the Lydians, Tyrrhenians, and Etrurians.*

* The Lycian Sculptures in the British Museum consist of the remains of ancient cities in Lycia, one of the south-west provinces of Asia Minor, inhabited by a mixed population of an aboriginal race, called Solymi and Termilæ, and by the Greeks, who had colonized it at an early period, before the epoch of the Trojan war. These monuments were removed from that country by two expeditions undertaken by her Majesty's government in the years 1842—46, under the direction of Sir C. Fellows, by whom the greater part of them were discovered. They consist of sculptured remains, ranging in date from the subjugation of the country by the Persians, B.C. 545, to the period of the Byzantine empire.

CHAPTER XVI.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS OF THE ETHIOPIANS, LIBYANS, CARTHAGINIANS,
AND AFRICAN NEGROES.

"Clariora fuere Æthiopibus; nam ditiorum monumenta ex auro fiunt: tenuiorum ex argento; inopes autem conduntur fictilibus."

ALEX. AB ALEX. lib. vi.

"THE Ethiopians," says Diodorus Siculus, "have a peculiar way of burying their dead; for, after they have embalmed the body, they pour round about it melted glass, and then place it upon a pillar, so that the corpse may be plainly seen through the glass, as Herodotus has reported the thing. But Ctesias of Cnidus affirms that he tells a winter tale, and says that it is true, indeed, that the body is embalmed, but that glass is not poured upon the naked body, for the bodies thereby would be so scorched and defaced that they could not possibly retain any likeness to the dead; and that, therefore, they make a hollow statue of gold, and put the body within it, and then pour the melted glass round upon the statue, which they set upon some high place; and so the statue, which resembles the dead, is seen through the glass, and thus, he says, they used to bury those of the richer sort; but those of meaner fortunes they put into statues of silver; and for the poor they make statues of potter's clay, every one having glass enough, for there is abundance to be got in Ethiopia, and ready at hand for all the inhabitants."*

"They have laws different from all other nations about their funerals. Some throw their dead into the river, as looking upon that to be the best sort of burial; others, by pouring upon them melted glass, keep them in their houses, because they think it not convenient or decent that their countenances should not be known by their kindred, or that they should be

* Booth's Diodorus, book i. p. 61.

forgotten by their posterity. Some bury them in earthen coffins, about their temples ; and to swear by their names is considered the most sacred oath.”*

Mela Pomponius, in his second book, speaks of the extravagant burial customs practised by the African Troglodytes, who used to strip the dead body, bind up the feet to the head, and, having thus given it the appearance of a round bundle, exposed it upon some high place, turning the ceremony of disposing of the dead into a ridiculous proceeding, and, instead of mourning and lamentation over the remains, indulging in unseemly merriment, while they covered the corpse, finally, with a heap of stones, on the top of which they placed a goat's horn.

WATERY BURIALS.

“ Though the custom,” says Muret, “ of casting the dead into the water† be no less barbarous than the former, yet has it been practised by several nations, as the Hyperboreans, or those who inhabit near the Arctic Pole, the Pannonians, some inhabitants of Ethiopia, called Ichthyophagi, because they lived altogether upon fish, as also they of Chios ; who, nevertheless, differed among themselves as to the place, for some of them flung their dead into lakes, others into running waters, and others, again, into the sea, every one of them having, for his so doing, particular reasons.

“ They that cast them into the sea, did it that they might the longer be preserved by the salt and sharpness of that water.‡ Those that flung them into rivers would thereby intimate, that as by the current of the water they were carried into the vast ocean, so by the whole course of their lives they had been passing towards eternity, into which they were now at last launched by death. And they who committed them to lakes, which are standing waters, intending thereby to express the rest and repose the dead meet with in the other world, after all the tempests and traverses of this, which is nothing else but a boisterous and raging sea.

* Booth's Diod. book iii. p. 88. † Diod. l. 5 ; Plin. l. 4. ‡ Laert. l. 9.

“ Besides those particular reasons, they had some that were more general and common ;* the first of which was, that seeing the dead turn to corruption, and become very loathsome and filthy, they persuaded themselves they could make no better provision against the said noisome putrefaction than by casting them into the water, because that washeth and cleanseth every thing. Another reason, as Clemens Alexandrinus relates it, was,† because the water being accounted a sacred element, they thereby thought to hallow and consecrate the dead. A third was, that since, according to Thales’s opinion, who was one of the seven wise men of Greece, all things were made and consisted of water, the bodies of men were by this means resolved into that first principle from whence they had their beginning. And lastly, because being for the most part people that inhabited the sea coasts, and fed generally upon fish, they conceived it but reasonable that their bodies should, after their death, be the food of fishes, as during their lifetime they had made them their nourishment.‡

“ And so sweet and easy did many of them fancy this way of burial to be, and had so much respect for it, that not being able to wait for their natural death, when in an orderly way they might be made partakers of it, after having made themselves merry by excessive eating and drinking, they went and cast themselves, of their own accord, either into the sea, or some river, thereby to antedate their conceited bliss and happiness.”§

Diodorus Siculus affords much curious information respecting the funeral customs of the Carthaginians, and the barbarities connected with them. In the relation of one of their most signal defeats by the Romans, he says :—

“ The Carthaginians, concluding that their miserable misfortune was brought about them by the gods, they all betook themselves to prayers and supplications to the deity ; especially thinking that Hercules, the tutelar god of their country, was angry at them, they sent a vast sum of money and many other rich gifts to

* Mela, l. 3.

† Clem. Alex. in protrept.

‡ Cic. l. i. De Nat. Deor. Agath. l. 1 ; Arist i. Metaph. iii.

§ Muret’s Funeral Customs, pp. 167 *et seq.*

Tyre. For inasmuch as they were a colony which came out from them, they used in former ages to send the tenth part of all their revenues as an offering to that god. But after that they grew wealthy, and their revenues very great, they began to slack in their devotion, and sent thither but a small pittance to their god. Being, therefore, brought to repentance by this remarkable slaughter, they remembered all the gods in Tyre; they sent likewise out of their temples to the images of golden shrines in order to supplications, supposing they should prevail the more in averting the anger of the god by sending sacred gifts to pacify him. They gave just cause, likewise, to their god Saturn to be their enemy, for that, in former times, they used to sacrifice to this god the sons of the most eminent persons, but of later times they secretly bought and bred up children for that purpose. And upon strict search made, there were found amongst them that were to be sacrificed, some children that were changed and put in the place of others. Weighing these things in their minds, and now seeing that the enemy lay before their walls, they were seized with such a pang of superstition, as if they had utterly forsaken the religion of their fathers. That they might, therefore, without delay, reform what was amiss, they offered, as a public sacrifice, two hundred of the sons of the nobility; and no fewer than three hundred more (that were liable to censure) voluntarily offered up themselves; for among the Carthaginians there was a brazen statue of Saturn putting forth the palms of his hands, so bending towards the earth, as that the boy that was laid upon them in order to be sacrificed should slip off, and so fall down headlong into a deep fiery furnace. Hence it is probable that Euripides took what he fabulously relates concerning the sacrifice in Taurus, where he introduces Iphigenia asking Orestes this question:—

“But what sepulchre will the dead receive? These shall the gulf of sacred fire then have! The ancient fable, likewise, that is common among the Grecians, that Saturn devoured his own children, seems to be confirmed by this law among the Carthaginians.*

* Booth's Diodorus, book xxi. chap. i. p. 662.

“When the dead body of Sempronius Gracchus was sent by Mago to Hannibal, the soldiers, seeing it lie upon the ground, cried out to have it cut in pieces, and to be hurled away piece by piece out of slings. But Hannibal, having an object before his eyes to instruct him in the uncertainty and inconstancy of fortune, and honouring and admiring, likewise, the valour of the man, said it was an unworthy thing to wreak a man’s anger upon a speechless carcass; and afterwards celebrated his funeral with all the marks of honour and respect, and civilly sent his bones and ashes to the Roman camp. . . .

“The Carthaginians, after they had made an end of the Libyck war, severely punished the Micatanian Numidians, with their wives and children; for they crucified all their captives, in so much that their posterity, ever since remembering the cruelty executed upon their forefathers, are most implacable enemies to the Carthaginians.*

“The Carthaginians,” elsewhere observes Diodorus, “have a strange custom about the burying of their dead; they cut the carcass in pieces with wooden knives or axes, and so put up all the parts into an urn, and then raise up a great heap of stones over it.”†

The Abyssinians are said to have been converted to Christianity in the year 333 A.D.

They are accounted a branch of the Coptic or Jacobite sect of Upper Egypt, and with the latter have been regarded as Euty-chians and Monophysites. Their Abuna is subordinate to the Coptic patriarch. Their rites are a mixture of Catholicism, Greek and Latin, not without some tinge of Judaism in their ceremonial rites, which makes it probable their conversion to Christianity is of a much earlier period than that commonly assigned to it. Circumcision prevails amongst them, and more superstitions and fanatical practices than are to be found in any form of Christianity in the east. African Christianity, as far as the coloured races are concerned, is now confined to Egypt and Abyssinia, with the exception of some of the Aborigines on the

* Booth’s Diodorus, book xxvi. p. 754.

† Idem, book v. p. 187.

south and west coasts, who have been converted of late years by European and American missionaries.

Africa, like the Roman empire in Asia Minor and Byzantium, under the successors of Constantine, had its divisions of Christians; the Egyptians, or Copts, were chiefly under the rule of the patriarch of Alexandria; the Ethiopians were subject to the patriarch of Ethiopia; the Christians of the northern coast of Africa, though infected at various times with Arian and Nestorian heresies, were never separated as Catholic communities while Christianity endured there, from the church of Rome.

I have witnessed some of their funeral customs in Upper Egypt on the occasion of the death of Salt, the Abyssinian traveller, then attended by some people of that nation. Their general customs, and those of the Nubians, seemed not to differ materially. The moment that death took place a great lamentation was made; a boy from Abyssinia, who was present, distinguished himself by the violence of his sorrow, raising up his long white garment as high as his hands could reach, shaking it, and shrieking fitfully, and in the intervals stooping down, grasping the dust and ashes, and letting them fall slowly on the head.

The Abyssinians are exceedingly superstitious and credulous with respect to the agency of evil spirits,—consequently, a host of absurd practices are observed in preparing for burial, and in following the remains to the grave.

The custom of burying the dead in the earth prevails in every part of Africa. I have been in many countries, north, east, south, and west, of that great continent, and have never known cremation practised by the African negro races. The burial of men, heads of families, in their own dwellings takes place among some of the Fantee tribe on the western coast of Africa. The practice of solemnizing the death of a man of any influence by several days feasting, drum-beating, dancing, drinking palm wine, pistol-firing, in and about the house of the deceased, is common in every country on the Gold Coast. This funeral carousing ceremony is called *custom* by the Cape Coast and Accra natives, among whom I have seen it. On one occasion, I *assisted* at the mournful entertainment of a merry widow, in commemoration of her deceased husband, at Cape Coast Castle. The

quantity of gold worn on the person of the jolly widow (a woman of extraordinary obesity), and also on several of the attendants at this custom, in neck-chains, armlets, anklets, rings of admirable workmanship, was surprising.

This was an anniversary death *custom*, and merriment predominated over the melancholy of the hostess and her sable household.

It is usual, after funerals, to place little images of the Fetish divinity, like wooden dolls of an extremely rude fashion and exceedingly hideous—with various shreds of cloth, fragments of pottery, eggs, and other *sacred* objects, near the grave, or between it and the former dwelling-place of the deceased. I have frequently observed locks of hair nailed to trees in the vicinity of graves; but whether these are placed there in honour of the dead, or the devil of a Fetish, whose wrath is deprecated by all sorts of strange offerings, I cannot say.

Park, in his Travels in the interior of Africa, says, that on one occasion among the Moors, a child died in one of the tents, “and the mother and the relations immediately began the death-howl. They were joined by a number of female visitors, who came on purpose to assist at this melancholy concert. I had no opportunity of seeing the burial, which is generally performed secretly in the dusk of the evening, and frequently at only a few yards’ distance from the tent. Over the grave they plant one particular shrub, and no stranger is allowed to pluck a leaf, or even to touch it.” Speaking elsewhere of the negroes, he says: “When a person of consequence dies, the relations and neighbours meet together, and manifest their sorrow by loud howlings.”

Bowdich relates several instances of a more ferocious custom.

“The decease of an Ashantee, person of consequence,” he says, “is announced by a discharge of musketry; and in an instant slaves are seen bursting out of the house, and running towards the bush, in order to escape, if possible, the being sacrificed. The body is handsomely drest in silk and gold, and laid on the bed, with the richest cloths beside it. One or two slaves are then sacrificed at the door of the house.

“At the death of the mother of Quatchie Quofie, and Odu-

mata, another of the great men, each sacrificed a young girl the moment the lady breathed her last, that she might not be without attendants in the other world, till a proper number could be dispatched to her. The king and the adherents and retainers of the family sent contributions of gold, gunpowder, rum, and cloth, for the custom. This custom was an economical one; yet the quality of powder amounted to nearly twelve barrels.

“I set out to be a spectator of the ceremony, and passed two headless bodies scarcely cold, with vultures hovering over them: several troops of women, from fifty to a hundred in each, were dancing along, in a motion resembling skating, praising and bewailing the deceased. Other troops carried on their heads bright brass pans, with the rich cloths and silks of the deceased twisted and stuffed into cones, crosses, globes, and other forms. The faces, arms, and breasts of these women were daubed with red earth to look like blood. Now and then a bleeding victim was hurried by; the exulting countenance of his persecutors forming a striking contrast with the apathy of his own. Quatchie Quachie passed me, plunging from side to side like a bacchanal, and regarding the victims with a savage eye bordering on frenzy, while they looked at him with indifference.

“I followed to the market-place of Assafoo, one of the suburbs of Coomassie, where the king and the chiefs, in their usual splendour, and attended by their various retinues, were seated; a semicircular area of half a mile was left open.

“Thirteen victims, surrounded by their executioners, stood near the king; rum and palm wine were flowing copiously; horns and drums were sounding their loudest notes; when in an instant there was a burst of musketry near the king, which spread round the circle, and continuing without ceasing for an hour. The greater the chief, the greater the charge of powder he is allowed to fire. On the death of his sister the king fired an ounce.

“The firing over, the libations of palm wine followed and the ladies of Quatchie’s family came forward to dance. Many of them were elegant figures, and very handsome; most of them were clad in yellow silk, and had a silver knife hanging from a chain round the neck. A few were dressed fantastically as fetish-women. The Ashantees dance elegantly, a man and a woman

together, and the figure and movement approximate closely to the waltz.

“ I saw the first victim sacrificed. His right hand was lopped off, and his head was severed from his body. The twelve other victims were dragged forward ; but the funeral customs of the Ashantees were not to my taste, and I made my way through the crowd, and retired to my quarters. Other sacrifices, principally females, were made in the bush, where the body was buried.

“ It is usual to ‘ wet the grave ’ with the blood of a free man. The heads of the victims being placed at the bottom of the grave, several of the unsuspecting lookers-on are called upon in haste, by the retainers of the family, to assist in placing the coffin or basket ; and just as it rests upon their heads, a stone from behind stuns one of these assistants with a violent blow, which is followed by a deep cut in the back of the neck. The unfortunate man is then rolled into the grave, and it is immediately filled up.

“ Blood and gunpowder are lavished at a funeral in proportion to the rank of the deceased, and the estimation in which he is held. On the death of a king, every funeral custom that has been made during his reign must be repeated, human sacrifices included, to add to the solemnity of his own. The brothers, sons, and nephews of the king, affecting a temporary insanity, rush forth with their muskets, and fire promiscuously among the people. Few persons of rank quit their houses during the first two or three days ; but they drive out their slaves and vassals, as a composition for their own absence. The king’s favourite slaves, to the number of a hundred or more, and many of his women, are murdered on his tomb.

“ I was assured that the custom for Sai Quamina, the late king, was celebrated weekly for three months, and that two hundred slaves were sacrificed, and twenty-five barrels of powder fired each time. But the custom for the present king’s mother, who was regent during his absence while in the Fantee war, was the most celebrated. The king himself devoted three thousand victims, upwards of two thousand of whom were Fantee prisoners ; five of the principal towns contributed one hundred slaves and twenty barrels of powder each, and most of the smaller towns ten, and two barrels of powder.

“The kings, and the kings only, are buried in the cemetery at Bautama, a village in the vicinity of the capital; and their bones are afterwards deposited in an opposite building. To this is attached a large brass pan, five feet in diameter, which receives the blood of the human victims, who are frequently sacrificed to ‘water the graves of the kings.’ This blood, mingled with a variety of animal and vegetable matter, fresh and putrid, produces invincible fetish.”*

The notions of Ashantee aristocracy go beyond the grave. Their kings and nobles, in virtue of their exalted station in this world, are entitled to heaven in the next, but the poor are held sufficiently blest by a cessation from labour in eternity. Some of the South Sea islanders are taught by their nobles and their priesthood to believe that the former only have souls, and that the people, having none, were born to obey and reverence their chiefs. The Brahmins virtually reserve heaven for themselves and their princes by the perfections they require for absorption into the divine spirit, it being morally impossible for a poor man to comply with their requirements for this purified condition.

THE INHABITANTS OF GUINEA. THEIR FUNERAL SOLEMNITIES.

“In regard to their funeral solemnities,” says Picard, “they wash their dead, and lay them afterwards in a kind of coffin, made either of oziers, the bark of trees, or bulrushes. This coffin is, properly speaking, no better than a large basket. The relations, friends, and neighbours of the deceased repair to his house, and there, with sighs, sobs, and tears, beg of him to declare the true cause of his departure. After that, they dance and sing several doleful ditties; then take a solemn tour round his house, and make a hideous noise with their frying-pans and kettles. During this ceremony, a female friend goes begging from house to house, in behalf of the deceased, and purchases, with the voluntary contributions so raised, an ox or a sheep for the priest who attends on this occasion, in order to oblige and gratify the particular Fetiche who is to usher the deceased into the other world. The priest, after he has sacrificed the

* Bowdich’s Travels in Africa.

beast thus presented to him in the behalf of the deceased, sheds its blood in honour of all his Fetiches, which are after this ranged all in order, close by one another, the largest in the centre, each furnished with his bumper, and adorned with corals, beans, and feathers. At the same time his nearest relation kills a hen, with the blood of which the priest sprinkles all these Fetiches. His wives or relations dress this fowl, and serve it up to them in form. After this, the priest puts on a collar, composed of particular herbs and begins his magical incantations by muttering a parcel of obscure mystic terms; then he takes some water, or palm wine, in his mouth, and spurts it upon the Fetiches. In the next place, he takes a small quantity of those herbs of which the collar is composed, and moulds them into the form of a little ball, which he passes and repasses twice or thrice together through his legs. During the performance of this ceremony, he pays his respects to the old Fetiches, and after a solemn manner takes his leave of them. He continues to squeeze and mould the residue and remainder of the herbs between his hands, and after he has mixed them with the tallow and grease of the old Fetiches, throws the whole into one large mass or lump, which he dashes against his own face, and afterwards divides it into small parts or parcels, which he strings upon the bark of the sacred tree, and distributes amongst the company; the remainder of the mass is interred with the deceased, and looked upon as the guardian Fetiche, that attends him on his journey to the other world.

After all these preliminary ceremonies, the deceased is exposed for half a day to public view, having his head muffled up, and his hands spread open. Afterwards the women convey him to the grave, the burial of the dead being their peculiar province. All his female neighbours follow the corpse; the men never attend the funeral, unless the party deceased is to be conveyed to some other town; for they are extremely ambitious of being buried where they were born; and in that case the men wait on him rank and file. As soon as the corpse is arrived at the burying ground, they make a grave for it, of about four or five feet deep. There they lay him, and cover him up so closely and so

carefully with wood, that not the least dust of earth can possibly touch him. His favourite wife throws his Fetiches over him lays the greatest part of the implements or tools of his trade or occupation by his side ; and if there were any thing besides for which he had a peculiar regard, that is generally added, to oblige him. All things being thus adjusted, the assistants walk in procession round the grave, and with hideous lamentations take their last farewell of him. When the corpse is deposited in the grave, the women who interred him crawl over it backwards and forwards ; after this, they rise and return home, when they spend the remainder of the day in junketing and other agreeable amusements.

“ Over the tomb they erect a little pent-house. No one ever offers to meddle with the provisions or presents which are made the dead, and laid with them in their graves, except their sextons, and those persons who are employed in their interment, and who are allowed to take from thence their customary fees. They furnish their dead with a new stock of provisions once a year.

“ When their king dies, they expose him to public view for several days successively ; and during all that time they wait on him with the same attention and respect as if he were alive ; but when he begins to decay and be offensive, some of his slaves convey him away, and inter him in some secret place, with all his Fetiches, his fire-arms, and other warlike trophies, and such provisions as they see most convenient. Whilst these slaves are thus privately employed in the interment of his majesty, the populace make it their business to murder several women, maids, boys, and slaves, to accompany their deceased monarch in his journey to the other world. They are cut off, however, according to custom, by surprise, that their untimely death may seem the less terrible and shocking to them. The bodies of these his new attendants are buried with him, and their heads are stuck upon poles all round his mausoleum. Two guards stand sentry, to secure his funeral properties and provisions.”*

“ In the more remote parts of Guinea, beyond the kingdom of Benin, there is nothing very remarkable in the funeral

* Picard, p. 791.

solemnities of the negroes, except that after the decease of one of their commanders of great note, they hollow a tree, and impale a youth alive in it, in order to be his slave and attendant in the other world.

“Those who die at Benin are always accompanied by a considerable number of slaves. As soon as the corpse is laid in the grave, they dance and sing over it for seven or eight days together; and sometimes take the body up again, in order to honour it with a fresh sacrifice of beasts and slaves.

“As to their king, when he dies, they dig a grave for him of an uncommon depth, in the centre of the court, and there inter him; but that honour is reserved only for his peculiar favourites. When they have selected their complement, they bury them alive along with him, and afterwards a large sepulchral stone is rolled over the grave. The first of these favourites who dies is always commemorated with the most reverence and respect. To conclude, the new king orders an elegant entertainment to be made for the populace upon the monument, which is the ceremony of his coronation, and is often attended with the massacre of several of his subjects, in honour of his happy accession to the throne.”*

NATIVES OF CAPE MOUNT. THEIR FUNERAL SOLEMNITIES.

“The negroes of Cabo de Monte in the first place weep and lament over a dead friend, and mingle the commemoration of some of his most laudable actions with their tears. After this testimony of their respect, they wash his body, curl his hair, dress him, and, in order to make him stand upright, tie him fast behind, and under his arms. They furnish the deceased with a bow and arrow, and adorn him with all the gayest things of which he was possessed in his life-time; and in that attitude, each of them makes him some suitable present. The relations and friends sit on their knees all round about, with their backs turned towards him, having their bows in their hands, drawn with such violence, that they seem in danger of being broken. This ceremony, they say, declares that they are prepared to take revenge on those who might in any manner have been in-

* Picard, p. 795.

strumental to his death. When they put him in the grave, they bury not only the presents that are made him, but some of his most valuable effects along with him. If a prince or a nobleman dies, they bury a sufficient number of slaves with him, to attend and wait on him in the other world.

“ Their mourning consists in making a solemn vow, and binding it with an oath, to fast about eight or ten days together. If some very valuable friend happen to die, whose loss is a more than common concern to them, they sometimes fast for a month. During that time they wear no coloured clothes; they shave their heads, and lie upon the ground. When the term of their fasting is expired, they discharge themselves of their vow, by repeating the same ceremony they observed at first, that is to say, extending their hands in presence of a Fetiche. After this, they make a sumptuous entertainment in honour of the deceased.

“ When any one is suspected to have died an unnatural death, they neither weep over the corpse, nor wash it, nor dress it, till their jealousy be removed, and the fact cleared up. For, they say, should we mourn over it first, it would be impossible to find out the unhappy cause; since the spirit whom we should consult on this melancholy occasion would then be silent, and resolve none of our queries. In order to discover the fact, in such cases, they take a small piece of the deceased's garment, the parings of his nails, and a lock of his hair, all which they bind up together, and cover them over with the dust of some particular red wood. After this, they fasten this little packet to a stick, the two ends of which are laid upon the heads of two men. Then one amongst them, whom they look upon as the best orator, takes two iron implements; as, for instance, two hatchets, or the like, and striking one against the other, conjures the dead person to disclose whether his death were the result of violence, or a decay in nature: if the latter, the spirit who actuates or influences the two men compels them to bow down their heads; if the former, to shake them. They continue in the same manner to ask him further, in order to be fully satisfied what he died of, if the dose or potion that was given him was too strong for his constitution? if he were poisoned?

who administered it? and the like. In short, when they have discovered, as they imagine, the malefactor, they charge him with the fact, and make him swallow down, fasting in the morning, the quantity of three or four cupfuls of a very strong liquid, extracted from the bark of some particular tree. This draught, they say, infallibly kills the party accused, if guilty; if innocent, he instantly throws up every drop of it. Sometimes there is a spell or charm laid upon the spirit, which prevents him from giving an answer to all their interrogatories. In that case, they apply themselves to some magician, to remove the fascination, and then they proceed to the experiment above described.

“After the decease of a father, the eldest son takes possession as heir of all his effects; and in case he has younger brothers, undertakes to be their tutor.

“Those who are afflicted either in mind, body, or estate, resort to their solitary retreats, and there most humbly implore their aid and assistance. For the rest, they have neither temples, chapels, nor congregations. The wood that is adjacent to their town is all the temple of which they can boast. There they offer up their sacrifices, perform their libations, and make their presents to the spirits. Their own wives and children, and all strangers, are excluded from these acts of devotion: for, according to their notion, the spirits would inevitably destroy them.

“Although the natives of Adra have no congregation nor place set apart for divine service, yet each of them has his particular Fetissero, or sacred person. Whenever a negro happens to be sick, he sends for his Fetissero, who offers up some sacrifice on his behalf, and sprinkles the Fetiche belonging to his family with the blood of the victim. They have no particular assembly nor place devoted to the service of the Deity; for which reason, every family constitutes a congregation of its own, once in six months, at which their Fetissero, or father-confessor, acts always as principal, or superintendent. There they sacrifice to the Fetiche, which lies concealed under a pot with three holes. There they consult this oracle, and if the sacrifice prove an acceptable service, it pronounces a gracious answer; or, more properly speaking, the priest performs that office for it.

“In regard to the dead, none but those who die in battle, according to their notion, ever rise again. They are fully satisfied, they say, by long experience, that those who die in the act of fighting are never confined to their graves for two days together. But this is all artifice, and a stratagem of their Fetisseros to animate their courage.

“The natives of Biafara offer up all they have, even their most darling infants, to the devil. They are extremely addicted to the study and practice of the magic art, and all magical incantations; flattering themselves, that by those mysterious operations they can influence the element, and all the products of nature.”*

NATIVES OF LOANGO. THEIR FUNERAL SOLEMNITIES.

“Of all the prejudices and prepossessions,” says Picard, “espoused by these people, there are none of more fatal consequence than the notion so generally received, that there is no such thing as a natural death, and that the decease of all persons whomsoever, is the pure result of the charms and fascinations of their enemies. The magician, in their opinion, raises the party deceased, transports him to some solitary desert, and there makes him work like a slave. He takes peculiar care to feed him with fresh meat only; for should the dead man taste the least grain of salt, he would grow outrageous, and pursue the murderer with the utmost rigour. By virtue only of this groundless and foolish persuasion, the death of one man is generally accompanied with the untimely fall of many that are innocent. The natives of Loango begin their inquiries relating to their dead with spells and incantations, which consist principally in leaning hard upon a knife, in the presence of one of their Gangas, and in rubbing their hands together with all their might. During these operations, they enter upon their interrogatories. ‘Such a person,’ they say, ‘is dead and buried; was he bewitched? or did his Mokissos take away his life?’ If upon this query the person that makes the experiment has not power to command his hands, it is accounted an incontestable

* Picard, p. 794.

proof that his friend's death was the result of some malicious enchantment; and from this interrogatory they run on to another, and the inquiry always concludes with the trial by the Imbondó.

"These natives of Loango are very much divided in their opinions, in regard to the state of the human soul after its departure from the body. Those who are of the royal family maintain a kind of metempsychosis, and imagine that the souls of those who depart this life enter into the bodies of their children; others believe them mortal; but the majority of them think they become their tutelar gods; in the firm belief of which they erect little chapels, contiguous or adjacent to the places where they died; thither they resort to pray to them, and make an oblation before they sit down to their meals, both of what they are to eat and what they are to drink.

"Chicocka, of whom we have already made mention, is the guardian of their dead. His statue, composed of wood, is erected at some small distance from their burying ground. He takes effectual care that no magician clandestinely removes the deceased, or insults them, or compels them to work, hunt, or fish.

"These people bury their dead with all their clothes on. The poorer sort apply themselves to those who are men of some property, to assist them in the defraying of the necessary expenses of their funerals. At the decease of the king of Congo, all persons are strictly enjoined not to mourn for his loss, notwithstanding the melancholy news is solemnly proclaimed by the sound of a kind of cornet throughout the whole kingdom. In regard to the rest, the pompous funeral of a prince is solemnized after the manner of the Roman Catholics; but those who never were proselytes to Christianity, or are only such in outward appearance, strictly follow the rites and ceremonies of their ancestors. They inter with the dead a considerable part of their effects, several very valuable presents, and various sorts of goods. At the decease of a grandee, his favourites, clients, and slaves, carry their extravagance infinitely beyond what is practised in common. Independently of the costly presents and

foreign commodities which are buried with him, they furnish him with domestics to attend his royal person, and with several young ladies for his amusement in his journey to the other world, who, either through compulsion, or the prepossession and artifice of their priests, are strenuous rivals, and contest the honour of being buried alive with their deceased monarch.

“There are several religious customs likewise observed at Loango, which are equally remarkable. Their funeral solemnities are always accompanied with floods of tears and incessant wailings. As soon as they have carried the corpse out of the house, they dance all round about it, and during that solemn ceremony weep most bitterly, and fill the air with most hideous lamentations. At proper intervals they very demurely ask the deceased a thousand impertinent questions, such as whether he departed, or removed his quarters for want of the conveniences of life, and the like. And, although the deceased never obliges them with any answer, they always ascribe his decease to some dissatisfaction of one kind or another. This funeral concert, and these melancholy interrogatories, continue for some hours; after which they collect every individual thing the deceased is to carry along with him; and when his bag and baggage are all packed up and ready, they remove both the corpse and his effects with as much precipitation as if they had stolen them. A portion of his aforesaid effects is allotted to be buried with him; the rest is hung up, and exposed to public view on poles planted round his sepulchre; but to prevent any clandestine conveyance of them away by necessitous pilferers, they either cut the goods (of small value) which are thus exposed into rags, or tear them to pieces. In the evening they renew their weepings and wailings, and continue these outward demonstrations of sorrow and concern every evening, for six weeks together, without intermission.

“Their degree of mourning varies in proportion to the quality of the person deceased. When a grandee dies, their lamentations are more vociferous and noisy than ordinary, and their attendance to the grave more solemn and numerous, for the people assemble from all the adjacent towns on such a public

occasion. The magicians exert their skill to the utmost, and leave no charm, no enchantment whatever unpractised, with the hope of restoring a sick grandee to his former state of health; not but the people also use their utmost endeavours to prolong his days, but there, as well as here, it is his grandeur that is the principal attraction, and it is out of a self-interested view of being well rewarded for their pains, that they are thus diligent and attentive.

“They hover round the corpse, which is either extended on a couch, or supported in a sitting posture, by one of the company. Sometimes, indeed, he is raised by proper supporters, artfully disposed under each arm. In one of these situations, his head is shaved, his nails are pared, his body is washed, anointed, and painted red. His nearest kindred, that is, his male relations, seat themselves at a small distance from the corpse; for the women, who have their tears always at command, and are by nature qualified to excite the passions, are employed, by their violent transports and agitations, to affect the whole assembly. They dance, or rather fly about, like persons distracted, from right to left, in the utmost confusion; but in their intervals they sing encomiums on the deceased, recite all his virtuous actions, and trace his genealogy. This, in short, is his funeral harangue. To conclude, they bury some part of his property along with him, and all the other effects which his relations and friends have collected together for his more commodious settlement in the other world. The usual place appropriated for the burial of these blacks is generally called the *Kienga*, where on each respective grave are ranged, in decent order, the bow and arrows of the deceased, his wooden platter, his cup, or rather calabash, for the convenience of his drinking, when he thinks proper, and a sufficient number of pipes and tobacco for his smoking.

“The same solemnities are observed for their king, but with much greater pomp and magnificence. They embellish the body of the deceased with the usual regalia, according to the dignity of these black princes. He is seated in a chair of state, placed in a rude vault, reserved for the peculiar reception of such

illustrious personages, with the representations, in wood or clay, of those who were his favourites when alive. Before him are ranged a sufficient quantity of kitchen furniture, or utensils, which were made use of at his majesty's table, likewise cloths, ornaments, &c. A considerable number of slaves are sacrificed, or rather murdered, for his peculiar service, who are buried near him, or in some separate vault, in order to revive with and wait on his majesty in his journey to the other world; for they entertain some idea, though a very confused and imperfect one, of the resurrection of the dead.

“There is but very little difference between the funeral solemnities observed at Angola, and those of Loango and Congo. They wash their dead, comb them, shave them, wrap them up in a kind of shroud, and afterwards lay them on a small earthen bier. The deceased is always dressed in the most elegant manner they can possibly devise, and several beasts at the same time are sacrificed, and their blood spilt in honour of their departed friend.

“In the kingdom of Matamba, the corpse is covered over with rosin; and thus embalmed, or, more properly speaking, besmeared all over, it is deposited in a deep grave, and guarded by slaves till perfectly reduced to dust and ashes. This precaution is taken against the natives themselves, who are inclined to plunder these graves, and mangle the bodies of their dead countrymen, in order to carry away their limbs clandestinely, and hoard them up as sacred relics, which are more or less valuable, according to the reputation of the deceased.

“The relations and slaves, when they go into mourning, shave their heads, and besmear their faces with oil, and various kinds of powder, which serve instead of glue, to fasten the various feathers which at that particular time they stick about them.

“The widows of Congo entertain the notion that the souls of their departed husbands re-animate their bodies, unless due care be taken to keep them at an awful distance, and such a re-animation would be an absolute bar to any new alliance. To prevent, therefore, so direful a disaster, they make their applications to one of their priests, who plunges them several times

in some rapid stream ; after which, as they lie under no fearful apprehensions of the return of their husbands, they boldly venture on their second nuptials." *

THE FUNERAL SOLEMNITIES OF THE HOTTENTOTS.

"On the decease of any person, they devote one quarter of an hour only to their lamentations; but they are so extravagantly clamorous and noisy, that they may be distinctly heard at a prodigious distance. The whole kraal sob, groan, and howl to that excessive degree, and, moreover, their expressions of sorrow are accompanied with such extravagant distortions, and such a violent clapping of their hands, that a man must stop his ears, or be stunned with the tumultuous noise. It is one very happy circumstance, that this excessive sorrow continues but a quarter of an hour; for every one contributes towards the speedy interment of the dead, and cheerfully makes use of any thing that he has in his own house that will be serviceable, and testify his last respects to his departed friend. In the first place, the principal, or head of the kraal, despatches several Caffres to prepare his last lodgings for him, and particularly to take care so to order matters, that when he is laid in the ground, the wild beasts shall not be able to grub him up, and devour his remains. Whilst these are performing their good offices abroad, those at home bend the corpse double, lay his arms across his breast, and his head upon his knees. In this attitude they wrap him up tightly in the very skin which he wore in his life-time and always bury him within six hours after his decease. Three or four bearers, who are nominated and appointed for that purpose by the principal of the kraal, take him on their shoulders, and convey him directly to the place of his interment. They have one custom with relation to their dead, which is very remarkable, and that is, they never carry the corpse out of the house through the usual door-way; but break down a passage for that particular purpose backwards, directly opposite to it. Kolben is of opinion, that this ceremony owes its rise to the awful ideas they entertain of departed souls. For they imagine that they are mischievously

* Picard, pp. 804, 805.

inclined, and apt to injure the living as they go along, destroying their cattle that are left all night on the spacious green, which is situated in the centre of the kraal. In order, therefore, to prevent any such disaster, they cause the deceased to be carried out of that part of the house which fronts the fields. Whilst the corpse is thus upon the removal, the relations of both sexes form themselves into two circles, and, according to custom, as near the door-way as possible. The men howl on one side, and the women on the other. Every one gives vent to his sorrow, and it is difficult to determine whether the male or female circle be the most extravagant. As soon as the corpse is carried away, they immediately shut the house up close, and abandon it for ever, for fear any who come in should accidentally meet with the soul of the deceased. The whole kraal attend the funeral to the place of interment, but without any regularity or decorum. After that, they deposit the corpse in a vault, which they either cover with large, cumbrous stones, or entire trees, to prevent the beasts of prey from coming near it. As they return home, they repeat their noisy lamentations, their extravagant gesticulations and grimaces, and the name of the deceased without intermission, as if they would recall him from the grave. At their return to the kraal, they seat themselves round about the house of the deceased, and renew with some regularity their weepings, wailings, and grimaces. Sometimes they set apart eight days successively for this mournful solemnity ; especially if the deceased were well beloved by his friends and relations. About an hour after the return of the company, the principal, or elder of the kraal, rises, and very gravely obliges them all with a certain aspersion, for their good offices to their deceased townsman. This venerable old gentleman strews the ashes, which he has collected with his own hands out of the house of the deceased, over the heads of the whole assembly.

“The day after the interment the whole kraal decamps ; every one packs up his baggage, and pulls down his tent, or little cottage. There is not one single edifice left standing, but that of the deceased, which they leave behind them ; as also the furniture, and other appurtenances thereunto belonging, in order that

if he should accidentally think proper to return, he may find his own apartment ready for his reception ; without which precaution, he might possibly resent his ill treatment, and seize upon their new habitations. But before they decamp, they take care to purify themselves, by offering up some animal, great or small, for a sacrifice, according as their circumstances will permit. Being arrived at the place appointed and agreed on for pitching their tents again, and settling at least for a while, they purify themselves a second time. The flesh of the victims is made use of for an entertainment, as it is on all the other public occasions before-mentioned. The nearest relations to the deceased—as for instance his children—are obliged to wear the caul of the victim, especially if it be a sheep, for a collar, round about their necks. That is their usual mourning for one so near akin.” *

* Picard, pp. 809, 810.

CHAPTER XVII.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS OF THE SCYTHIANS AND TARTARS.

"Tellure (ut perhibent) is mos antiquus Iberâ,
 Exanima obscœnus consumit corpora vultur.
 At, gente in Scythica, suffixa cadavera truncis
 Lenta dies sepelit putri liquentia tabo."—SILIUS, lib. xii.

THE Scythians, by whom the customs of many nations of the east were transmitted into Northern Europe, were a settled people, possessing something like civil government, powerful kingdoms, and mighty armies, before most of the other nations of antiquity. Iberia and Albania,* those adjoining regions of Colchis, lying between the Euxine and the Caspian, contained many cities of great note, and, in the times of Alexander and Pompey the Great, were flourishing warlike nations, mentioned by Strabo, Pliny, and Ptolemy.

Iberia, now Georgia, adjoined the Euxine, Albania was adjacent with the Caspian; the latter country is now known by the name of Schirwan and East Georgia. Colchis (now Mingrelia), lying between both, was one of the most powerful nations of antiquity. Herodotus says, the Colchians were originally Egyptians, Sesostris having left part of the army with which he invaded Scythia in Colchis. And he further argues, that the Colchians are undoubtedly of Egyptian descent, from their personal similitude to the Egyptians; being, like the latter, swarthy, and of frizzled hair, and especially from the conformity of their customs; as, for instance, the rite of circumcision, many other Egyptian practices; and likewise the affinity of both languages, which left no doubt of a common origin. He admitted, however, an affinity between the two nations before the time of

* The Spanish chroniclers and antiquarians derive their own Iberia, and our Ibernian and Albania, from those nations.

Sesostris ; he says, that Colchis was peopled, and powerful in its people, before the arrival of the Egyptians in those parts. Bochart takes the Colchians and Casluhim of Moses, from whom the Philistines were descended, to be the same.

Pliny tells us, that Sesostris, King of Egypt, was overcome in Scythia, and put to flight by the King of Colchis, and that the whole region of Colchis, Iberia, and Albania abounded in mines of the precious metals.

Justin speaks of the Scythians as the most ancient of all people ; Herodotus, on the other hand, mentions their own admission of being of a later origin than some other Asiatic nations.

The words of Justin, however, are very explicit :

“ Scytharum gens antiquissima semper habita : quanquam inter Scythas et Egyptios diu contentio de generis vetustate fuerit.”—*Justinus in Hist. Trog. Pomp. lib. i. cap. 8.*

“ His igitur argumentis superatis Egyptiis, antiquiores semper Scythæ visi.”—*Ibid. lib. i. cap. 8.*

The Scythians are looked upon by the early fathers of the church, and some of the most eminent modern antiquarians, as the most ancient people that was congregated into a nation after the dispersion at Sinnaar, as the posterity of Japhet, by his son Magog, whose dominion extended over the regions included in Colchis, Albania and Iberia.

The eldest son of Japhet, Gomer, according to Josephus and Bochart, was the father of the Gomerites, called by the Greeks Gallatians, who were the Gauls of Asia Minor, inhabiting the northern parts of Phrygia. The Cimri, Cumeri, or Cimbri, are said to be derived from the Gommerians ; and from the Gauls of Asia Minor thus called, the Welsh antiquarians derive the name and origin of their people.

Solinus Polyhistor (cap. iv. p. 243) has the following remarkable reference to the Gallatians :

“ Gallatiam primis seculis priscae Gallorum gentes occupaverunt : Tolistobogi, et Veturi, et Ambitati, quæ vocabulæ adhuc permanent : quavis Gallatia unde dicta sit ipso sonat nomine.”

The second son of Japhet, Magog, is supposed by Josephus, St. Jerome, and many of the fathers, to be the founder of the

Scythian nations about the Caucasus. His plantation adjoined that of Tubal, as may be gathered from two passages in Ezekiel, relating to Meshech and Tubal.

The custom of the people of Meshech and Tubal, of constructing vast sepulchral mounds and monuments, which is referred to in one of those passages, and burying with their distinguished dead their weapons of war and insignia of honour, is one of the most ancient sepulchral customs that prevailed in the world. It extended from Asia Minor to Scythia probably at an early period after the dispersion of Sennaar, and continued to prevail in that region to the time of Alexander. From Scythia and Gallacia it is said to have passed with the tide of Asiatic population into the northern parts of Europe, and from thence into Gaul, the Iberian peninsula, and Hibernia.*

Mr. Bremner, a recent traveller in Russia, in his highly interesting account of the Scythian barrows or sepulchral mounds of the Ukraine, known to the natives by the name of Kourgans, says:—"The first of them began to appear soon after we entered the government of Pultava: but similar objects also occur throughout the whole country for at least three hundred miles to the south of that point, and, with a frequency truly remarkable, of a conical form.

"They are usually placed in irregular groups of three or four miles, which have the appearance of so many encampments of miniature hills, raised to break the monotony of a country which by nature is extremely flat.

"The feelings of curiosity excited amongst us by the first view of these singular objects were always renewed by each fresh cluster. Many and contradictory were our first conjectures regarding them. Are they ancient fortifications? Irish barrows? Scotch cairns? or Greek tombs? were a few of the questions which they suggested, when they first appeared, and which were still far from being satisfactorily answered when we saw the last

* The Gallacia, on the borders of the Euxine, is supposed by old Spanish writers to be the country whose name is connected with all the derivatives that have blended down into Celt, Gael, Cale, Gaul, Gallia, &c.

of them. Our difficulties concerning them are by no means diminished by the fact, that similar monuments are to be met with in so many countries which, whatever bond of union may have once existed between them, have for many centuries had no tie in common. Mounds, precisely similar to those which we saw in these Scythian wilds, are to be met with in the most classic spot. Those tumuli, for instance, which stand near the site of Troy, and round which Alexander and his heroes did honour to the memory of Achilles and his beloved Patroclus, are exactly similar to the kourgans of Russia. Passing to a very different and distant region, we find them also in Sweden: for the little mounds at Old Upsala are in shape and size exactly the same as those which we saw on the plains of Troy.

“ Similar monuments, it is well known, are found in England* also; as on the downs of Wiltshire. Even on the remote mainland of Orkney corresponding structures are to be seen; for the ‘barrows,’ or mounds, which stand near the celebrated standing stones of Stennis, are exact copies both of those of Asia Minor and of the Ukraine.

“ What, then, shall we say of these kourgans? Are they the monuments of a time when a similar religion and similar usages prevailed over the whole of the different regions where they still exist—the only, but also the imperishable records of a history which it is now vain to attempt to explore? In fact, after all the labour which the learned have bestowed in clearing up the history of these monuments, their origin and objects still remain very obscure. The most probable theory regarding these wonders of the Ukraine is, that they are the burial-place of some great and numerous race which once flourished in these rich regions, but have left no other trace of their grandeur.

“ Some authors think that the people who raised them must have been of Mongolian descent. This opinion is founded on the rude stone images by which the mounds are often surmounted; and of which, the features, as well as the shape of the head attire, resemble those of the people now named; a theory which we can neither contradict nor affirm, as neither stone nor image

* The author cited might have added America.

of any kind was to be seen near any of the many hundreds which we passed. We were assured, however, that on digging into some, which have been opened, coins of gold and silver have been found, with gold rings, buckles, and other ornaments of value; discoveries which lead us to what probably is the only true account history contains of the origin of these monuments." *

"Herodotus, treating of Scythia, in which the country referred to by Bremner was included in ancient times, would seem to have alluded to the same monuments that are now called kourgans, in his account of the customs and sepulchral monuments of the Scythians:—

"The Scythians, in their alliances and contracts, use the following ceremonies with all men. They pour wine into a large earthen vessel, and mingle it with blood taken from those who are to swear, by making a slight wound in their flesh with a knife or sword. When they have done this, they dip a scimitar, some arrows, a bill, and a javelin, in the vessel; and after many imprecations, the persons appointed to conclude the agreement, with the most considerable men there present, drink off the liquor. The sepulchres of the kings are in the country of the Gerrhians, where the Borysthenes is first known to be navigable. When their king dies, they dig a great hole in the ground of a quadrangular form, and having received the body covered with wax, they open and cleanse the belly, filling the space with bruised cypress, incense, seeds of parsley, and anise; and after they have sowed up the belly again, they carry the body in a chariot to another province, where those who receive it imitate the royal Scythians in the following custom:—They cut off part of one ear, shave their heads, wound themselves on the arms, forehead, and nose, and pierce the left hand with an arrow. Having done thus, they accompany the chariot to another district; and this manner is observed in every province, until, having carried the dead body of the king through all his dominions, they bury him in the country of the Gerrhians, who inhabit the remotest parts of the kingdom. Here they lay him in the sepulchre, upon a

* Bremner's Travels.

bed encompassed on all sides with spears, which they cover with timber, and spread a canopy over the whole monument. In the spaces that remain vacant, they place one of the king's concubines strangled, with a cup-bearer, a cook, a groom, a waiter, a messenger, certain horses, and some of all things necessary. To these they add cups of gold, because silver and brass are not used among them. This done, they throw up the earth with great diligence, and endeavour to raise the mound as high as possibly they can. After a year is expired they perform these things farther: they choose such servants as they judge most useful out of the rest of the king's household, which consists wholly of native Scythians; for the king takes those that please him best, and is never served by men bought with money. These officers, being fifty in number, they strangle, and with them fifty beautiful horses; and after they have emptied and cleansed their bellies, they fill them with straw, and sow them up again. Then they lay two planks, of a semicircular form, upon four pieces of timber, placed at a convenient distance, with the half circle upwards; and when they have erected a sufficient number of these machines, they set the horses upon them, spitted with a strong pole quite through the body to the neck: and thus one semicircle supports the shoulders of the horse, the other his flank, and his legs are suspended in the air. After this they bridle the horses, and, hanging the reins at full length upon posts erected to that end, mount one of the fifty young men they have strangled upon each horse, and fix him in the seat by driving a straight stick upwards from the end of the back bone to his head, and fastening the lowest part of that stick in an aperture of the beam that spits the horses: then placing these horsemen quite round the monument, they all depart. And this is the manner of the king's funeral. But when any other Scythian died his nearest relations carry him about in a chariot among his friends, who receive and entertain the whole company in their turn, setting the same things before the dead man as before the rest. In this manner all private men are carried about forty days before they are buried; and those who have assisted at these funerals purify themselves thus. When they have

cleansed and washed their heads, they set up three pieces of timber leaning to each other, and laying a good number of woollen bags close together, throw burning stones into a hollow space left in the midst of the wood and bags."*

In a note to this passage Major Rennall says, "It has not come to our knowledge that any of these monuments have been found in the Ukraine, where the sepulchres, described by Herodotus, should have been:" but from what has been stated above it will have been seen that this objection is now completely without foundation, for these kourgans occur on the region referred to by the historian, and indicated by his able commentator.

It may also be added, that in addition to the objects above enumerated, some of the kourgans which have been opened were found to contain human bones, skeletons of horses, ancient weapons, and domestic utensils. The human bones often occur in such large quantities as could have been produced in no other way than by such barbarous hecatombs as those described by the historian.

The human sacrifices of the Scythians are minutely detailed by Herodotus:—

"They likewise sacrifice to this deity every hundredth man of the prisoners they take from their enemies; but in a different manner from the offerings they make of other animals, for after they have poured a libation of wine on the head of the prisoner, they cut his throat over a bowl, and then, ascending the heap of faggots, wash the sword with his blood. This they do at the top of the altar; and below, after they have killed the man on the sacred place, they cut off his right arm by the shoulder, which they throw into the air, and leave on the ground where it falls. Thus the body lies in one part, and the arm in another. When they have performed these and other ceremonies, they depart; and such are the sacrifices instituted by the Scythians. They make no use of swine, nor will suffer any to be kept in their country."†

This people, of whose superior civilization over that of adjoin-

* Herod. Melpom. iv. p. 239.

† Idem, iv. p. 233.

ing nations Justin speaks, thus disposed of the remains of their captives :—

“They flay these heads by cutting a circle round the neck, close under the ears, and stripping off the skin, as they would do that of an ox; then they soften the skin with their hands; and these skins, thus prepared, serve instead of napkins, hanging on the bridles of their horses when they ride. He who has the greater number of these thinks best of himself, and is accounted the most valiant man. Many Scythians clothe themselves with the skins of men sewed together, as others with the skins of beasts; and frequently stripping the right hands of the enemies they have killed, extend those skins with their nails, and use them for coverings to their quivers, for the skin of a man is thick, and of a brighter white than that of any other animal. Many take off the skins of men entire, and carry them about on horseback, stretched out upon a board. These usages are received among the Scythians; yet they are not accustomed to use all heads alike, for those of their greatest enemies are treated in the following manner:—They cut off the whole face from the eyebrows downwards, and having cleansed the rest, if they are poor they content themselves to cover the skull with leather; but the rich, besides this covering of leather, gild the inside with gold, and these serve instead of cups for their drink. They do the same to their familiar friends if, upon any dispute, they conquer them in the presence of the king.”

Of the funeral rites of the Scythian Issedonians, Herodotus thus speaks:—

“The Issedonians are said to observe these customs. When a man's father dies, all his relations bring him sheep, which, when they have sacrificed and divided into pieces, they likewise cut the body of his dead parent into like portions, and, having mingled all this flesh together, sit down to feast. Then taking off the hair, and cleansing the head, they gild the skull, and annually celebrate magnificent sacrifices to this relic. Every son performs these funeral rites to his father, as a Grecian solemnizes the day of his nativity. They add, further, that this nation is likewise accounted just, and that the women are not inferior in

fortitude to the men. These countries are not unknown; but the Issedonians affirm that the regions beyond them are possessed by men who have only one eye, and by griffins that guard the gold. The Scythians repeat these things from the Issedonians, and we have them from the Scythians, who give the name of Armaspians to the people above mentioned, 'because *Arima*, in the Scythian language, signifies one, and *Spou*, an eye.'*

The customs of the people of Taurus are spoken of in his account of a Scythian assembly, convoked to frustrate the plans of Darius:—

"This assembly consisted of the kings of Taurus, of the Agathyrsians, of the Neurians, of the Androphages, of the Melanchlæniæns, of the Gelones, of the Budians, and of the Sarmatians. Of these, the Taurians observe the following customs:—all those who suffer shipwreck, and the Grecians they seize upon their coast, they sacrifice to a virgin in this manner. After many imprecations, they strike the man on the head with a club, and, as some affirm, precipitate the body from a hill, on which their temple is built, reserving only the head to be fixed on a pole; whilst others, acknowledging this to be the way they use in disposing of the head, yet pretend they never throw the body down from the hill, but bury it under ground. The inhabitants of Taurus say that the demon they worship with these sacrifices is Iphigenia, the daughter of Agamemnon. Those who fall into their hands in time of war are treated in another manner, for every one cuts off the head of an enemy, which he carries home, and fixes to a long pole erected on the top of his house, and, for the most part, over the chimney, which, they say, is done in order to guard the house. This people live by war and rapine."†

Of the Massagetæ, on the confines of Scythia, Herodotus says:—

"But after a man has attained to old age, all his relations meet and sacrifice him, with cattle of several kinds; and when they have boiled all the flesh together, they sit down as to a

* Herod. Melpom. iv. p. 223.

† Idem, p. 245.

feast. This death they account the most happy, for they never eat the bodies of those who die by sickness, but bury them in the earth, and think it a great misfortune that they did not attain to be sacrificed. Their drink is milk, and they sow nothing, contenting themselves with the flesh of animals, and fish, which the river Arexis yields in abundance. They adore the sun only of all the gods, and sacrifice horses to his deity, judging it most proper to offer the swiftest of all animals to the swiftest of all the gods." *

"The territories of Thrace lie extended along the borders of Scythia, and descended to the sea in the form of a bay. Above these countries Scythia begins, and the Ister falls into the Euxine, with his mouth turned towards the east. . . . The Trauses differ in nothing from the rest of the Thracians, except in the manners observed at the times of their nativity and death. When a child is born, his relations, sitting in a circle about him, deplore his condition, on account of the evils he must suffer in the course of life; enumerating the various calamities incident to mankind. But when a man is dead, they inter him with exultation and rejoicings, repeating the miseries he has exchanged for a complete felicity. Among the Crestoneans, who inhabit the highest part of Thrace, every man has many wives; and at his death all these women, strongly supported by their several friends, contend fiercely who shall be accounted to have been most dear to the husband. In the end, she who is adjudged to have merited that honour, having received great commendations both from the men and the women, is killed upon the grave by the nearest of her relations, and buried together with the man: which is a great mortification to the rest, because accounted the utmost disgrace. The rest of the Thracians sell their children for transportation, and take no care of their daughters; but suffer them to entertain as many men as they like. Nevertheless they keep their wives under a strict guard, and purchase them of their relations at a great rate. To be marked on the forehead is honourable; and a man without such marks is accounted ignoble. Idleness is esteemed decent, husbandry un-

* Herod. Clio i. p. 83.

becoming ; and to subsist by war and rapine is thought glorious. These are the most considerable customs of this nation. For their gods, they worship only Mars, Bacchus, and Diana. But their kings, besides the national deities, adore Hermes with great religion ; swearing by his name alone, and pretending to be descended from him. The funerals of eminent persons are celebrated in this manner. They expose the corpse to public view during three days ; and after they have performed their lamentations, they sacrifice all kinds of animals, and apply themselves to feasting. Then they either burn or bury the body in the ground ; and having thrown up a mound of earth over the grave, celebrate all manner of agonistical exercises round the place : appointing the greatest prizes for those who fight single combats. And such are their funeral rites. Concerning the northern parts of this region, no man can certainly affirm by what people they are possessed. But those beyond the Danube are wild and impracticable.” *

Of the Tartars, Paul the Venician speaks in the following terms :—

“ Ferocissima Tartarorum natio insigni hac in re animi moderatione, majorum suorum Scytharum insistens vestigiis, tantam sepulcris deferre venerationem consuevit, ut cùm aliquando urbem Mien in India ultra Gangem vi cepissent, nihilominus sepulcrum cujusdam regis illius regionis, quod inæstimabili suo pretio vel cunctam indigentissimam Tartariam locupletare potuisset, intactum omnino reliquerint, nefas existimantes quicquam attingere ex iis quæ dicata defunctis essent, haud secus ac quæ religioni sacra. *Paul. Venet. l. ii. c. 44.*

“ Quid, quod fuisse dicuntur (*Ortel. ad fin. Theatri.*) gentes quæ ossibus defunctorum loco nummorum uterentur in emptio-nibus et venditionibus ? ”

AIRY OBSEQUIES OF SCYTHIAN ORIGIN. OF THE COLCHIANS,
TIBARENS, AND SUEVI.

Muret observes, “ It is a strange thing, that the gallows, which by us is looked upon as the most infamous of punishments,

* Herodotus, *Terpsichore*, v. p. 282.

should with some people be esteemed so honourable, that they give no other sepulchres to their dead friends; and which, amongst others is had in such veneration, that they grant this advantage only to their sovereign princes and great lords.

“ I know that woods have been formerly had in great reverence,* and that they were accounted most sacred places: not only from the testimony of profane authors, who give this character of them; but this truth is also by several texts of Scripture confirmed to us. For we read in Genesis, that Abraham planted a wood in Bersabe, where he called upon the name of the Lord; and that Jacob thought he could not give a more decent grave to Deborah (nurse of his wife Rebecca) than by burying her under an old oak.

“ Indeed, this veneration for woods and solitary places is in a manner natural; for the Pagans themselves, which were led only by the light of nature, have acknowledged this verity; and, amongst others, Virgil speaks of all woods and forests, as so many temples: in these our Druids erected altars for their sacrifices; and here, also, it was all antiquity believed the gods made their usual abode.† For besides the oreades, or nymphs of the mountains, the dryades, those of the woods, and the fauns and satyrs, or gods of the fields; we read that some of them were consecrated to Apollo, others to Diana, and such like pretended divinities. Whereupon Pausanias tells us that persons of the highest quality, in ancient times, had their sepulchres in woods; and Plato was of opinion that none but men of great worth and excellence ought to be interred there: Cicero, in his defence of Milo, takes the woods to witness, as being holy places, and the usual cemeteries of great and virtuous men.

“ But if we ought to commend this custom of burying the dead in the woods, which were formerly accounted very sacred; we must needs abhor the practice of those that profaned and polluted them,‡ by making them serve for gallows, and thereby exposing them to the character of the most § infamous places imaginable. Thus, the inhabitants of Colchos and the Tibarens,

* Sil. l. 3. Ælien. l. 4.

† Apol. l. 3. Nicol. ap. Stob. serm. 122.

‡ Var. l.

§ Olans. l. 16.

a people of Scythia, made a piece of religion of it, to hang the dead bodies of their relations upon trees, for an horror to spectators, and for a prey to the fowls of heaven ; and the ancient Goths and Swedes could think of no better way to shew the veneration they had for their princes after death than by fixing them to a gibbet.” *

LIVING SEPULCHRES AND CANNIBALISM, COUPLED WITH
FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

“ We need not have our recourse to fables, to find out instances of living graves or sepulchres ; nor with the poets, to advance here the story of Saturn’s eating his own children ; neither is it necessary to go as far as Caria in search of the famous Arthemisa, who, being not able sufficiently to express the love she had for the king Mausolus, her husband, did not content herself to erect him a most magnificent tomb after his death, which has been accounted for one of the wonders of the world, and from which the stateliest monuments of all succeeding ages have derived their name, but, moreover, mingled his very ashes with her drink. There are so many historians that relate a thousand instances of greater cruelty than these, that the truth of them can scarcely be questioned.† Herodotus, Strabo, Mela, and Solinus, tell us of several nations of Asia, that would have thought themselves guilty of the greatest impiety, should they have let their dead corrupt in their graves, and become a repast for worms ; wherefore, as soon as any one was dead amongst them, they did cut the body to pieces, and, mixing it with their usual meats—mutton, beef, or the like—they ate it with a singular gust and devotion. Yea, the nearest relations of the dead made this a matter of much joy, and with a great deal of ceremony invited one another to these feasts, to eat the body of such a one, much in the same manner as we invite our friends to attend the funeral of a deceased friend or relation. In a word, to devour the dead was to pay him their last duty, and the highest mark of the affection and respect they had for him, in which they outvied the doctrine of Pythagoras ;

* Muret. p. 174. † Herodot. l. iv. Strab. l. xi. Mela. l. ii. Solin. c. xix.

that philosopher maintaining only a metempsychosis, or the transmigration of souls into other bodies, whereas these put in practice the transmigration of dead bodies into living ones. Horace,* tells us, in his poems, that the old Irishmen and Britains used this inhuman cruelty only on the bodies of strangers; but Tertullian† assures us that this monstrous piety was universal among, and exercised by them upon all sorts of men; and, as they used neither interments nor burnings, they devoured the bodies of their own countrymen as well as those of foreigners, when they were dead. So that what those fore-cited historians do relate only of the inhabitants of Pontus, of the Massagetes, Hyrcanians, Derbices, and several other Asiatics, we find confirmed in Europe,‡ to demonstrate, that, however barbarous this custom seems to be, yet it cannot well be doubted but that such there have been practised.” §

“The Hyrcanians, which I have above mentioned, made some distinction between men and women, for they did eat the former, whereas they buried the latter, as thinking them unworthy to have their stomachs for their graves.”

FUNERALS OF THE TARTARS.

“These people, which were formerly called Scythians, and are still in our days accounted barbarous, by reason of their rude, savage, and wandering way of living, having no home or settled dwelling-place as others, but herding together|| in woods and fields, like brute beasts, sometimes in one place and sometimes in another, according to the variety of seasons and conveniency of pasture—I say these very people, all wild and brutish as they are, have, notwithstanding, excelled many other nations in the piety they have shown, and duty they have paid to the dead.

“I know that some accuse them of cruelty in this matter, saying that they either hang the dead on trees in the remotest

* Horat. l. i. Od.

† Tertul. Cont. Marc.

‡ The Greeks and Romans ascribed, commonly, all the monstrous customs they could think of to nations that were called barbarian.—R. R. M.

§ Muret, pp. 148 *et seq.*

|| Relat. Var.

and coldest places, to harden them thereby, or, what is much more horrid, devour them, after they have felled them down with their own hands: though, indeed, the same historians do tell us, that this their cruelty extends only to persons of seventy years of age, and that they bury all that were under those years; yet I do find that anciently the custom of burying the dead was so universal,* that nothing was reckoned more sacred among them. And Herodotus informs us that Darius, son of Hystaspes, having made an invasion into their country with a most puissant army, and seeing that they fled continually from him, resolved to send one of his principal officers to them, to know the reason of their cowardly running away, and whether they would not at length stop somewhere, and stand to a battle, which he had so often fairly proffered them; to which they returned this answer: 'That they had no cities nor lands to defend; but that whenever they should advance so far as their fathers' graves, that then his master would be aware with what courage and resolution they could fight for securing any thing that was considerable or dear unto them.' With which answer (as Valerius Maximus adds)† they for ever cleared themselves of that foul blot of monstrous barbarity, which was before thought to be so natural to them; since a more pious reply could not possibly have been given by the most civilized people in the world. Which passage also proves that they were wont to bury their dead, and that their graves were in remote places, far from the commerce and resort of any that were borderers upon them.

"Some of the most barbarous customs‡ related of them in histories are the funeral ceremonies wherewith they, in ancient times, honoured their kings; of which I find two several accounts, both equally horrid. As soon as any of their princes was dead, they opened his body to take out the entrails, which otherwise might have corrupted it; and, after having washed it well, they poured melted wax all over it, both within and without. Then they filled it with thyme, mixed with chervil, celery, and anniseed, bruised together; and after that, having sewed it up again as neatly as possibly they could, they set it stark

* Herodot. l. iv.

† Val. Max. l. v.

‡ Relat. Var.

naked upon a chariot, which was to carry it not only through all his own hereditary provinces, but those also which he had subdued and made tributary. When they came to the frontiers of any country, those that had conducted and attended it so far thither returned back, and others of that province received and took care of it, thus conveying it from hand to hand till it had gone round the whole kingdom. Now it was lawful for the inhabitants of every province to do what outrage or injury they pleased, to revenge those wrongs which the prince in his lifetime had done them ; so that some cut off his ears, others his hair, others his nose, others struck him on the forehead, others slashed deep and large gashes in his arms, and others pierced his hand with arrows ; every one insulting on that part which he conceived he had been aggrieved or injured by. For example, those that could never obtain a hearing from him, revenged themselves upon his ears, which had always been deaf to them ; they that were scandalised with his debaucheries and luxury, tore off his hair, that was his chief ornament, and, after they had shaved him, to make him look ugly and ridiculous, they made a thousand flouts at him. They that disliked his too great delicacy and effeminateness, slit his nose for him, as supposing that he could never have been such, but because he loved and delighted too much in perfumes and pleasant scents. They that were offended at his government, broke his forehead, the place where all his tyrannical laws and ordinances had been hatched. Those to whom he had done any violence, regarding his arms as the instruments of his strength, and the executioners of their miseries, did with several blows break the very bones of them. And they who had suffered by his covetousness, either because of the heavy taxes and subsidies he had levied upon them, or else because he had not rewarded their services, did slit open his hands, for having been too griping or close-fisted.

“ In the end, when all had thus wreaked their spleen upon him, by punishing him according to their pleasure, and the wrong they had received from him, they brought him back to the place where he died, and, having erected a great wood-pile, they burnt him, with one of the most beautiful of his mistresses, or

concubines, together with his cup-bearer, his cook, his master of horse, and the chief groom of his stable, with some horses; besides fifty others of his servants, all whose throats they cut, whilst his body was a burning, and buried them about the grave wherein they laid his ashes.

“The other solemnity I am to mention is yet more barbarous. When, generally, no complaints were made of the deceased sovereign,* they then took no care to embalm him, because there was no need to preserve his body, in order to the taking a progress about the kingdom. In this case, I say, they erected his tomb in the midst of a vast plain, and raised it upon great pieces of timber, to a very considerable height, after the manner of a scaffold. This tomb was nothing else but a very large bier, or coffin; for, besides the body of the king, it was to contain those of the officers, and others above mentioned, which were flung into it as fast as they were slaughtered; to which they added several ornaments of the deceased prince, with a great store of vessels of gold; covering the whole with a large carpet, upon which they, last of all, laid abundance of earth above three feet high.

“At the year’s end, they met in great numbers at the said tomb, where they killed fifty pages of the late king, with as many horses; both which they stuffed up with straw, after they had unbowelled them; and then they placed these horses upon several wooden stages, as if they had been running a gallop, and fastened the bodies of the pages upon them, which was, in their opinion, the most magnificent pomp they could fancy or think of, wherewith to honour the memory of their kings, which, indeed, suited very well with their barbarous manners, as more becoming beasts than men.”†

FUNERAL CEREMONIES OF THE TARTARS.

“The mourning of children for their parents,” says Picard, “amongst the Tartars, consists generally in weeping over them for several days successively; and during all that time they are obliged to abstain from all manner of amusements, and from the society of women for several months. The child must inter his

* Relat. Var.

† Muret, pp. 139, *et seq.*

father or mother with all the funeral pomp and solemnity of which his circumstances will admit, and pay his annual respects to their respective tombs, which must be attended not only with tears, but loud lamentations. These people, as well as the Indians, Chinese, &c. make provision for their dead, and supply them with variety of apparel.

“The Tunguses hang their dead upon some particular trees, and there leave them till they have nothing but skin and bone remaining; then they inter them. The Jukogaies likewise hang up their deceased relations in the very same manner, and, when their skeletons are perfectly dry, adorn them with coral and little pieces of painted glass. Afterwards they carry them in solemn procession round their houses, and revere them as idols.

The Ostiacs either bury their dead, or hide both them and their bows, arrows, implements of household, and provisions, in the snow, from the very same principle which actuates others, who are habituated to these customs. A widow, to testify her unfeigned sorrow for the loss of her dearly beloved husband, takes an idol, dresses it up in the good man's clothes, lays it in the bed with her, and affects to have it always before her eyes, in order to aggravate her grief, and bring her departed husband to her remembrance. The widows of the Ostiacs kiss the idols of their deceased husbands, and honour them as partners of their beds during a whole year, and then they are looked upon as incumbrances, and thrown neglected into some corner of the house; no more mention is then made of their old companions, for the time of their mourning is then accomplished.

“The Samoides hang their deceased infants, who have not attained the age of one year, upon trees; but they inter, between two boards, those who are of a more advanced age. They drown, or otherwise make away with those relations who are superannuated or infirm, and who have become a burthen to themselves and all about them. Near the place where they bury their dead, they hang up their fire-arms, their hatchets, their hammers, and, in short, all the other implements which they made use of during their lives.

“ All these people in general acknowledge the doctrine of the metempsychosis, but in two different acceptations. Some are of opinion that the very souls transmigrate from one body into another ; others, that there is no other transmigration than that of the operations and faculties belonging to the soul of the deceased. These last, in all probability, imagine, that there is only an emanation of virtues, because they confound the body and soul together.”*

The funeral customs of Aracan are thus described by Picard :

“ When sickness has prevailed in a house, the priests, who are at once sacerdotes and sorcerers, are sent for.

“ They breathe upon their patients, and say some form of prayer over them. If afterwards they find the distemper does not abate, the Raulin directs them to sacrifice to *Chaorbaos*, who is the god of the four winds. The sacrifice consists of such a number of fowls and other animals as the circumstances of the patient can best admit of. This they repeat four times, in honour of the four winds, unless the patient dies in the interim, or is restored to his health. But if, notwithstanding all his pious oblations, the distemper visibly increases, they have recourse to a particular remedy, of which Ovington has given us a full account. A proper apartment is prepared on this occasion, adorned with rich tapestry, and at the upper end an altar is erected, with an idol placed upon it. On the day appointed for this ceremony, the priests and the relations of the patient assemble. There they are sumptuously entertained for eight days successively, and diverted with all manner of music. But the most extravagant and whimsical circumstance is, that the person who undertakes to officiate on this occasion is obliged to dance as long as ever he can stand. When his legs begin to fail him, he takes hold of a linen cloth, which is fastened to the ceiling for that purpose, and with this assistance continues dancing till his spirits are quite exhausted, and he falls down like one in a swoon. Upon this the music strikes up briskly, and every one present envies his happiness, imagining that during his trance he has the honour of a private conference

* Picard, p. 687.

with the idol. This exercise is performed as long as the feast continues ; but if the person who began proves so weak that he cannot any ways hold out, the next a-kin is obliged to supply his place. After this ceremony, which they call *Talagno*, if the patient happens to recover, they conduct him to the pagods, and there anoint him with oil and other odoriferous liquids from head to foot ; but if, notwithstanding all their endeavours, the patient dies, the priest, by way of consolation, assures them that all these sacrifices and ceremonies have been highly acceptable to the gods, and that though they thought fit to deny the patient the blessing of a long life, yet his removal was the result of their infinite goodness and compassion, since they withdrew him for no other reason but to confer on him a crown of glory.

“ These people hold the doctrine of the metempsychosis. It is a custom amongst them to paint the figures of the most noble animals upon their coffins, hoping that by this means their souls may transmigrate into one or the other of them. Sometimes, through an excess of humility, they paint rats, frogs, and other contemptible reptiles, as a receptacle most proper for sinful and polluted souls.

“ When any person dies, he is laid out in the middle of the house, and the priests walk round about the body, mumbling over some short ejaculations, whilst others are employed in perfuming it with frankincense. The servants of the house, whilst the priests are performing their ceremonies, are all upon their guard, and tinkling incessantly on large instruments of copper, to keep the evil spirit, as they imagine, at an awful distance from the corpse, and prevent the misfortune of his passing over it. Such a fatal accident would, in their opinion, oblige the deceased, with shame and reproach, to return to this world, and deprive him likewise of all the happiness which he enjoyed in the other. Before the body is conveyed away, some particular persons are invited to a funeral entertainment ; and if these persons, who are called *Grai*, fail to attend them, all the family belonging to the deceased are disconsolate and in the utmost consternation ; their refusal or neglect being deemed a tacit declaration that the departed soul is consigned to hell, or, as those

pagans term it, the *House of Smoke*. The corpse is conveyed into the fields and there burnt, and the priests set fire to the funeral pile in the presence of the relations, who are then dressed in white, with a black ribbon round their heads, which is their customary mourning.

“Ferdinand Mendez Pinto very accurately describes the pompous funeral rites of the supreme pontiff of Aracan. The moment he expired, the fairs were all ended, the doors and windows of all the inhabitants were closely shut; not a soul was seen throughout the whole city, and the pagods were crowded with penitents. The body of this high-priest was exposed in public, with all imaginable pomp and magnificence. The chapel appointed for this solemn occasion was illuminated with as much religious devotion as it could have been at Rome itself. Above thirty thousand priests stood weeping, praying and sighing round the coffin; not to mention the numerous spectators, who bore an equal share in the mournful solemnity. Above five hundred little children went naked in procession from the temple of Figrau or Pigray, the god of the atoms of the sun, all girt round the middle with cords and chains of iron. Each of these young penitents carried a bundle of sticks on his head, and a knife in his hand. They were divided into two choirs, and sang some most lamentable anthems: in which one choir of the penitents addressed themselves to the holy pontiff deceased, and said, ‘O thou, who art going to partake of the joys of heaven, forsake us not in this our unhappy exile;’ and the other choir answered, ‘That we may be made partakers with thee of those heavenly blessings.’ After this, all the people fell on their knees, and an old venerable priest prostrated himself, and paid his addresses to the deceased, or, to speak in our own terms, made a learned funeral oration. Another made a serious replication in the name of the pontiff, after a Christian-like manner: and all the assembly made this short ejaculation, in the same solemn style, ‘O God, who rulest in the sun, hear us.’ This prayer was followed by a second procession of young men, who paid their homage to the deceased as they marched along, and used a sort of exorcism with their scimitars, fencing, as it were, round about the coffin,

to drive away the devil, and confine him at home to his house of smoke, there to live for ever, and discharge the just debt due to an offended divinity. These exorcists withdrew in their proper order. Several priests, all dressed in purple, and covered with a kind of stole, came next to thurify the body. All these ceremonies concluded with the voluntary sacrifice of six young men of distinction. The bodies of these generous persons were afterwards burnt on a funeral pile, composed of sandal and other odoriferous wood. In the same manner they burnt the body of the pontiff and the throne on which it was exposed, with abundance of other things of considerable value. On the following day another Raulin preached before the king, and made a panegyric on the deceased pontiff; and after the sermon was over, the ashes of that saint were disposed of amongst the people as sacred relics; but notwithstanding such distribution, his monument was illuminated with a thousand silver lamps.

“The Asemites do not burn, but bury their dead. They are of opinion, that after a virtuous and well-spent life, they shall enter into a future state of everlasting bliss; but if they have led a loose and profligate life, if they have overreached or otherwise injured their neighbours, they shall hereafter suffer intolerable torments, but particularly those of excessive hunger and thirst. And as the circumstance relating to the invasion of another’s property is very nice, and as every one ought to be modest and diffident of his own conduct, they constantly, by way of precaution, inter some proper provisions with the party deceased.

“They convey the body of the king into a magnificent vault, with all his most valuable effects, and a large store of provisions. His darling idol attends him; his wives or concubines, and his prime ministers poison themselves, to testify their love and loyalty, and wait upon him to the other world; twelve camels, six horses, an elephant, and several hunting dogs are likewise buried alive along with him.”*

* Picard, pp. 813, 814.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS AND SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS OF THE ANCIENT
GAULS AND GERMANS.

“C’est donc de notre origine Gauloise que je vais m’entretenir avec vous et je m’efforcerai de paraître impartial.”—HISTOIRE DES PREMIERES TEMPS DE LA GAULE, p. 2

“Ille Wodenus legem de mortuis una cum eorum comburendis tulit; monuitque ut eo magis honorificè a diis acciperentur, quo plura bona comburerentur. Mandavit etiam ut optimatibus magnos tumulos in memoriam erigerent, atque ut eorum sepulchris qui egregia patressent, magnos lapides superponerunt. Woden Sigluni obiit (anno 24, ante natum Christi) magnoque honore, cum multo auro et argento crematus est.”—MESSEN. EX CHRON. ANTIQ. SUICO-GOTHICO.

CELTS and Scythians are names which are involved in mystery, and confounded in history perhaps more than any others of antiquity; and even those of their supposed descendants, the Gauls and Germans, are likewise frequently found jumbled together in a very perplexing manner.

Celtic and Scythic, as general names distinguishing those swarms of population that spread over the south and north of Europe, may be admitted as convenient terms for particular migrations, but they will be found frequently applied with little real knowledge of the people. The learned and laborious compilers of the Universal History candidly acknowledge the obscurity in which the early accounts of Celts and Scythians are involved, and the frequent difficulty of discriminating between them. If the Irish hypothesis of Celtic origin be admitted, Spaniards, Germans, and Gauls, lay equal claims to it.—“It may be, and probably is true, that all descended from the same stock; but long before the time that certain history begins, they had branched out into an infinite variety of tribes, retaining perhaps some faint marks of primitive resemblance,

but differing from each other in manners, customs, and language. The Belgæ overrunning the Gauls, or the Gauls the Belgæ, was, according to this opinion, only one Celtic tribe dispossessing another. In a general view of the question, it should seem that those who called themselves Celts in Cæsar's time had no better title to originality than their neighbours. Indeed, if we trace matters to the fountain head, what were the Scythians themselves but a branch of the primitive stock? The authors of the Universal History seem to think the title of Gomerians more appropriate to the Celtic people, as the descendants of Gomer the son of Japhet, from whose brother, Magog, they suppose the Scythians to be derived." *

Whatever may be the priority, in respect to origin, of Gauls or Germans, that the primitive people of each race came from the east is generally admitted,—from that region where we find stone altars, pillar stones, sepulchral mounds, and sacerdotal influence had an early existence. The command of Moses to the children of Israel shews the connexion of sepulchral rites with religious doctrines and opinions.

"Ye shall utterly destroy all the places wherein the nations which ye shall go to possess served their gods, upon the high mountains and upon the hills, and under every green tree. And you shall overthrow their altars, and break their pillars, and burn their groves with fire, and destroy the names of them out of that place."

The service of the gods on the mountains and the hills, and under the green trees, passed from the east with the sepulchral pillars, the tumuli, and the altars, into European countries inhabited by many nations of Celtic origin.

"Cæsar divides entire Gaul (*Galliam omnem*) into three parts—one inhabited by the Belgæ, another by the Aquitani, the third by those called Celts, in their own tongue, and Gauls by the Romans. These last he represents as very superstitious, sacrificing human victims on many occasions, and sometimes with a horrible profuseness. For this purpose they constructed large wicker figures, which they filled with men, and then set on

* Survey of the County Cork, by Rev. H. Townsend.

fire. Culprits were more usually the victims; when they were wanting, the innocent were substituted. They worshipped different gods, but chiefly Mercury, of whom there were many images. They also raised mounds of earth, in which were placed the consecrated spoils. The ministers of those sacrifices were the Druids."

The common origin of the Gauls and Britons (who lived next to Gaul) is contended for by Tacitus. In his *Life of Agricola*, he says:—

"They who live next to Gaul are also like the Gauls; whether it be that the spirit of the original stock from which they sprung still remains, or whether in countries near adjoining, the genius of the climate confers the same form and disposition upon the bodies of men. To one who considers the whole, it seems, however, credible that the Gauls at first occupied this their neighbouring coast: that their sacred rites are the same, you may learn from their being possessed with the same superstition of every sort: their speech does not much vary."*

Diodorus, in his 5th book, chap. xxxii., speaks thus of the Celts and Gauls:—

"The people who inhabit the region beyond Marseilles, and between the Pyrenees and the Alps, are called Celts. But the people who inhabit the country to the south of this proper Celtica, towards the ocean, and those also on the mountain of Hircinia, and who stretch even to the confines of Scythia, are called Gauls. Amongst this people the women yield in nothing to the men in point of strength and stature. The children generally are very fair at birth, but their hair becomes as red as that of their fathers as they advance in age. Those who dwell towards the constellation of the great bear, and near Scythia, are extremely savage. It is said, even, that they eat men, as do the Bretons who inhabit Iris (Hibernia); but they have rendered themselves so celebrated for their military courage and their ferocity, that many think those Cimmerians, as they were then called, who formerly ravaged all Asia by their incursions, and who since have been called Cimbri by a corruption which time

* Gordon's Tacitus, vol. vi. p. 81; 4th Edition, 1770.

in its long course has produced, are the same as the Celts of whom we speak. From the most ancient times this people were addicted to rapine, and given to ravage the countries of their neighbours, and apt to despise all other nations.

“They are, in fact, the people who took Rome, pillaged the temples, and imposed tribute on a great part of Europe, and even Asia. They occupy the country they have conquered, and their mixture with the primitive natives of Greece has caused in time the name to be given to them of Gallo-Greeks.

“They have several times defeated large Roman armies. The ferocity they exhibit in war, they manifest also in the horrible cruelty of their sacrifices, even to their gods. For after they have kept their criminals during five years, they impale them in honour of their divinities, and burn them afterwards on piles of a great height, with other offerings. They immolate also in their sacrifices the captives taken in war, and with them some of these tribes cut the throats, burn, or put to death in some other manner, the beasts even they have taken from their enemies.”* . . .

Of their morals Diodorus gives a revolting account; but when he wrote the Gauls had been vanquished, and the old doom of the conquered—*væ victis*—was likely to be theirs, not only at the hands of successful soldiers, but at those of the scholars and literati, who sympathized with the powerful and the fortunate.

Of the old Gauls, and the condition of their *proletarii*, we have accounts which would do, in some respects, for descriptions of some modern nations of Celtic origin.

Cæsar, in his sixth book of his wars in Gaul, says:—“A spirit of faction prevails throughout Gaul, and that not only in their several states, districts and villages, but almost in every private family. The men of greatest esteem and consideration amongst them are commonly at the head of these factions, and give what turn they think proper to all public deliberations and counsels. This custom is of long standing, and seems designed to secure those of lower rank from the oppression of the powerful: for the leaders always take care to protect those of their party, otherwise they would soon lose all their authority. This equally

* Diodorus Siculus, book v.

obtains throughout the whole continent of Gaul, the provinces being in general divided into two factions."

"Over all Gaul there are only two orders of men in any degree of honour and esteem; for the common people are little better than slaves, attempt nothing of themselves, and have no share in the public deliberations. As they are generally oppressed with debt, heavy tributes, or the exactions of their superiors, they make themselves vassals to the great, who exercise over them the same jurisdiction as masters do over slaves. The two orders of men, with whom, as we have said, all authority and distinction are lodged, are the Druids and nobles. The Druids preside in matters of religion, have the care of public and private sacrifices, and interpret the will of the gods. They have the direction and education of the youth, by whom they are held in great honour. In almost all controversies, whether public or private, the decision is left to them: and if any crime is committed, any murder perpetrated, if any dispute arises touching an inheritance or the limits of adjoining estates, in all such cases they are the supreme judges. They decree rewards and punishments, and if any one refuses to submit to their sentence, whether magistrate or private man, they interdict him the sacrifices. This is the greatest punishment that can be inflicted among the Gauls, because such as are under this prohibition are considered as impious and wicked; all men shun them, and decline their conversation and fellowship, lest they should suffer from the contagion of their misfortunes. They can neither have recourse to the law for justice, nor are capable for any public office. The Druids are all under one chief, who possesses the supreme authority in that body. Upon his death, if any one remarkably excels the rest, he succeeds: but if there are several candidates of equal merit, the affair is determined by plurality of suffrages. Sometimes they even have recourse to arms, before the election can be brought to an issue. Once a year they assemble at a consecrated place, in the territories of the Carnutes, whose country is supposed to be the middle of Gaul. Hither such as have any suits pending flock from all parts, and submit implicitly to their decrees. Their institution

is supposed to come originally from Britain, whence it passed into Gaul; and even at this day, such as are desirous of being perfect in it travel thither for instruction. The Druids never go to war, are exempted from taxes and military service, and enjoy all manner of immunities. These mighty encouragements induce multitudes of their own accord to follow that profession; and many are sent by their parents and relations. They are taught to repeat a great number of verses by heart, and often spend twenty years upon this institution: for it is considered unlawful to commit their statutes to writing; though in other matters, whether public or private, they make use of Greek characters. They seem to me to follow this method for two reasons—to hide their mysteries from the knowledge of the vulgar, and to exercise the memory of their scholars, which would be apt to lie neglected, had they letters to trust to, as we find is often the case. It is one of their principal maxims that the soul never dies, but after one death passes from one body to another, which they think contributes greatly to exalt men's courage, by disarming death of its terrors. They teach likewise many things relating to the stars and their motions, the magnitude of the world and our earth, the nature of things, and the power and prerogatives of the immortal gods."

"The whole nation of the Gauls is extremely addicted to superstition; whence, in threatening distempers, and the imminent dangers of war, they make no scruple to sacrifice men, or engage themselves by vow to such sacrifices, in which they make use of the ministry of the Druids; for it is a prevalent opinion among them, that nothing but the life of man can atone for the life of man, insomuch that they have established even public sacrifices of this kind. Some prepare huge Colossuses of osier twigs, into which they put men alive, and setting fire to them, those within expire amidst the flames. They prefer for victims such as have been convicted of theft, robbery, or other crimes, believing them the most acceptable to the gods; but when real criminals are wanting, the innocent are often made to suffer. Mercury is the chief deity with them; of him they have many images; account him the inventor of all arts, their guide and

conductor in all their journeys, and the patron of merchandize and gain. Next to him are Apollo, and Mars, and Jupiter, and Minerva. Their notions in regard to them are pretty much the same with those of other nations. Apollo is their god of physic; Minerva of works and manufactures; Jove holds the empire of heaven, and Mars presides in war. To this last, when they resolve upon a battle, they commonly devote the spoil. If they prove victorious they offer up all the cattle taken, and set apart the rest of the plunder in a place appointed for that purpose; and it is common, in many provinces, to see these monuments of offerings piled up in consecrated places. Nay, it rarely happens that any one shews so great a disregard of religion as either to conceal the plunder or pillage the public oblations, and the severest punishments are inflicted upon such offenders. . . .

“Whatever fortune the woman brings, the husband is obliged to equal it out of his own estate. This whole sum, with its annual product, is left untouched, and falls always to the share of the survivor. The men have power of life and death over their wives and children; and when any father of a family of illustrious rank dies, his relations assemble, and upon the least ground of suspicion put even his wives to the tortures like slaves. If they are found guilty, iron and fire are employed to torment and destroy them. Their funerals are magnificent and sumptuous, according to their quality. Every thing that was dear to the deceased, even animals, are thrown into the pile; and formerly such of their slaves and clients as they loved most, sacrificed themselves at the funeral of their lord.”*

The funeral customs of the Gauls partook of the inhumanity of their religious worship, and those sanguinary superstitions of theirs which we find thus recorded by Diodorus Siculus:—

“When the Gauls are to consult of some grave and weighty matter, they observe a most savage and incredible custom; for they sacrifice a man, striking him with a sword near the diaphragma cross over his breast, who being thus slain, and falling

* Cæsar’s Commentaries, Duncan’s Translation, book vi. pp. 143—147. London, 1779.

down, they judge of the event from the manner of his fall, the convulsion of his members, and the flux of blood; and this has gained among them (by song and ancient usage) a firm credit and belief."

"The celebrated treatise of Tacitus, on the Manners of the Germans, is divided into two parts. In the first he treats of them generally, in the second severally. The division is thus marked by himself. 'Hæc in commune de omnium Germanorum origine ac moribus accepimus—nunc singularum gentium instituta ritusque, quatenus a se differant expediam.'

"Agreeable to the plan laid down, he gives in the first part the following general and brief account of Germanic worship. 'Their chief god is Mercury, to whom, on certain days, they think it even lawful to sacrifice human victims. Common animals serve to appease Hercules and Mars. Some of the Suevi also offer sacrifices to Isis. How a foreign deity came to be introduced I have not discovered, only that the emblem itself, formed into the shape of a galley, shews it to be an imported religion. But they think it inconsistent with their celestial greatness to confine gods within walls, or represent them by human figures. They consecrate groves and forests, and give the name of divinity to that secret object which is only seen by the eyes of faith.'

Of modern writers who have written of the Gauls, we may cite the following account of funeral customs given by De Lestang, in his *Histoire des Gaules*: "Les Gaulois étoient magnifiques aux sépultures et funérailles, en la solennité desquelles ils bruloient les corps decedez, et jettoient dans le bucher ardent, pour etre consommez, les choses que les defunts avoient le plus cheries, et même des animaux, et aussi des hommes de ceux qui avoient été serfs, ou esclaves, et vassaux des decedez. Mais cette barbarie et cruauté, avoit déjà été abolie lorsque Jules Cesar étoit aux Gaules ainsi l'écrit-il. Et avoient ces anciens Gaulois tant d'opinion et creance de l'immortalité de l'ame, qu'ils bailloient à pret de l'argent pour leur être rendu en l'autre vie: et par cette creance jettoient dans le bucher ardent des fune-

railles, des lettres missives pour être levés de ceux qui étoient déjà decédez.”*

“As to this bloody custom (others observe) of sacrificing human victims, which began so early with the Gauls, and which, as Procopius states, did not end till some centuries after their embracing Christianity, we can only speak of it as it was transacted out of their groves or places of worship ; for as to what was done within them, no stranger being made acquainted with, much less admitted to see it, we must be wholly in the dark about it, as their Druids committed nothing of it to writing. Concerning those unhappy ones that were offered abroad, Cæsar has given us the following account : — When a man’s life is in danger, either through sickness or other accident, they immediately sacrifice, or, at least, make a vow so to do, some human victims ; for, besides that they think them the most perfect and pleasing to the gods, they believe that one man’s life cannot be redeemed but by that of another, without which no satisfaction could be made to them for their goodness to men. And these are the ceremonies established amongst them upon all such occasions. They erect a huge, hollow pile of osier, which they fill with these unhappy wretches, who are quickly suffocated by the smoke, and reduced to ashes soon after. They imagine, however, that criminals of any kind are much more acceptable victims : but, where they are not to be had, the innocent must go in their stead. In their funerals, which are very magnificent, they throw into the burning pile every thing that the deceased delighted in, even to living creatures ; and it is not long since they threw likewise into it all his favourite servants and slaves.

“Some of his near relations,” continues Cæsar, “did likewise fling themselves into the flames, in hopes of living happy with him in the next world.” “This custom was exactly like that of burying the Jewish kings, except the burning of living and human creatures, as the reader may see in a former volume, where we have given an account of that ceremony.”

* Histoire des Gaules, par Messire de Lestang, p. 47, 4to. ; Bourdeaux, 1618.

“ We lately hinted at their imitating, in some measure, the Jewish scape-goat, by devoting some vicarious victims to death, and praying that all the curses due to them might fall upon it. The Massilians, among the rest, are reported to have, in times of pestilence, made choice of some indigent person, that offered himself voluntarily, whom they took care to fatten with the daintiest fare during a whole year ; after which they dressed him with garlands and other rich ornaments, and led him through the streets, loaded with the bitterest imprecations, to his death. We have formerly had occasion to account for this custom, which was likewise common to other nations, as well as the Gauls, and had its rise from the same source. However, if the Gauls, in such calamitous times, could procure any of the handsomer and nobler sort to offer themselves to such a voluntary death, they not only preferred them, but encouraged them by large rewards and encomiums. These were led, like the poorer sort, out of the city, and stoned, and the former thrown down from some high precipice. The common notion among them was, that such a spontaneous death for the good of the commonwealth entitled them to a rank among the gods. In other cases, they either tied or nailed them to some tree or post, and shot them to death with arrows. Others they burnt, with a number of beasts, on a pile of hay. It was also customary among them to reserve their criminals to the fifth year, and to burn them in sacrifice with the first-fruits of their ground. The same author adds, that they threw into the fire an incredible quantity of gold and other rich things, which it was death for any one to meddle with afterwards.”*

“ We have already hinted that their religious groves had some large stones, which were supposed to be the altars on which they offered up their victims. Some of them are still extant in several parts of France, Germany, England, Wales, Ireland, and the Isle of Anglesey, and are of such a monstrous size, that the bringing and rearing of them was thought, by the superstitious inhabitants, to have been the work of those demons that were supposed to attend on that kind of worship, especially

* Univ. Hist. vol. 7, book iv. chap. xi. pp. 334, 335.

considering that, as it is pretended, there were no quarries of such stones within any reasonable distance from the place where these altars stood. Of these, one that is to be seen in the confines of Alsace measures about thirty-six feet in circumference, twelve feet and a half in breadth, and four feet and a quarter in thickness. It is reared on a parcel of other stones, about three feet and a half from the ground. Some of these altar stones were round, others oval, some square, others oblong, and some triangular. Some appear to have been adorned with a kind of ornament, either of bas-relief or inscriptions, others to have been quite plain, but whether originally so, or by time and weather, is not certain. Others there were, which had a kind of hollow, or bason on the surface, supposed to have been designed to receive the blood or entrails of the victims. One of these is recorded to have had a hollow kind of nasty passage under it, through which they made those strangers whom they designed for sacrifice to pass, pelting them all the way with filth and dung; from which that passage is, it seems, called to this day, *cunnus dæmonis*, *duvel's skut*, or *devil's hole*.*

“Among other tenets which the Druids hold, says that author (Pomponius Mela), there is one, which they endeavour to inculcate into every Gaul, in order to inspire them with greater bravery; namely, that of the immortality of the soul, and a future life. ‘Accordingly,’ says he, ‘when they burn the bodies of their dead, and bury their ashes, they bury likewise with them their books of accounts, and the notes of hand of the moneys they had lent whilst alive, that they may be of service to them in the other world. Sometimes, likewise, their near relations and friends have flung themselves into the funeral pile, to go and live with them there. Hath this doctrine of a future life any thing in common with the *Pythagorean* transmigration? Could these account books, receipts, and notes, be of any service to souls which pass into other bodies, either of men or brutes? Can those who affirm it imagine that souls thus transmigrated, into whatever body it be, could be still the same persons whom these accounts concerned? And would those friends have been

* Univ. Hist. vol. vii. book 4, chap. xi. p. 336.

such fools as to choose to die with them, for the sake of living with them hereafter, had they had the least notion of such a transmigration? How could they ever expect that happiness, if they really believed that, upon their going out of this world, their souls were to enter into fresh bodies, of either men, women, brutes, or vegetables, the one, perhaps, in one corner of the world, and the other in another? What likelihood is there that the Gauls, so jealous of their liberty as they were, would, by thus rushing into immediate death, run the risk of passing into the bodies—I won't say of either plants or beasts, but even into those of slaves, or even of women, over whom they had the power of life and death?"*

"Aúcn peuple," says Mons. Cambry, "n'a prouvé plus de respect pour les cendres des morts; nos ancêtres et les leurs, les Celtes et les Gaulois, qui couvrirent le monde de leurs colonies, qui répandirent dans l'univers leurs lois, leurs usages, et leurs idées religieuses, dont la Grèce reçut les lettres, qui furent dirigés par le sublime collège des Druïdes, faisoient à ce qui leur étoit cher les plus somptueuses funérailles. Les morts, revêtus de pourpre, se déposent sur un vaste bûcher dont les arbres et les traverses recevoient le plus beau poli. Les drapeaux conquis sur l'ennemi, des armures de toute espèce, ornées d'émaux, d'élégantes ciselures, d'animaux relevés en bosse et disposés avec art, ornoient ces riches pyramides chargées de fleurs. . . .

"Les traces du respect de nos pères pour les cendres de leurs parents existent encore dans la ci-devant Bretagne: à des profondeurs de 20 à 30 pieds, sur les rivages de la mer, on trouve des tombeaux de brique; ils renferment des ossements déposés dans des urnes d'une terre commune, mais d'une forme assez élégante: des murs revêtus de stuc, des parquets de marqueterie, trouvés dans ces contrées, à de grandes profondeurs, peuvent être les débris de bâtiments ou de tombeaux dont la richesse étoit égale à la somptuosité des funérailles de la Gaule."†

"On nommoit coffres (*arcas*) de terre cuite ou de marbre des sépulcres faits en forme de coffres. On en trouve beaucoup en

* Univ. Hist. vol. vii. book 4, chap. xi. Note, pp. 390, 391.

† Mons. Cambry, Rapport sur le Sepulture.

Champagne: j'en ai vu neuf, entre autres, longs de six pieds, larges de deux, trouvés à six lieues de Reims, dans chacun desquels étoient étendus les os d'un homme avec son épée, et près de son épaule gauche un petit vase de terre plein d'une liqueur huileuse, que les bonnes gens pensoient être de l'eau bénite."
—*Hist. des Gr. Chem. de l'Emp.* p. 267.

References to their rites in other authors.

"En Gaule on étoit dans l'usage de laver le corps des morts du temps de Grégoire de Tours.—*Lib. de Glor. Confes.* cap. civ.

"Ennius a dit:

'Exin Tarquinius bona femina lavit et unxit.'—Virgil. *Æneid.* vi.

'Pars calidos latices et athena undantia flammis
Expediunt, corpusque lanant frigentis et unguunt.'—*Sil. Ital.* lib. xiii.

'At Celtæ vacui capitis circumdare gaudet
Ossa (nefas!) auro; mensis ea pocula servant.'

"La Religion de nos anciens Gaulois," says Montaigne, "portoit que les ames estans éternelles, ne cessent de se remuer et changer de place d'un corps à un autre: messant en outre à ceste fantasie, quelque considération de la justice divine. Car selon les desportemens de l'ame, pendant qu'elle avoit esté chez Alexandre, ils disoient que Dieu luy ordonnoit un autre corps à habiter, plus ou moins pénible, et rapportant à sa condition :

"Mut a ferarum

Cogit vincla pati, truculentos ingerit vrsis,
Prædonésque lupis, fallaces vulpibus addit.
Atque vbi per varios annos per mille figuras
Egit, lethæo purgatos flumine tanded
Rursus ad humanæ reuocat primordi formæ.'

"Si elle avoit esté vaillante, la logeoient au corps d'un Lion, si voluptueuse, en celui d'un pourceau si lasche, en celui d'un cerf ou d'un lievre: si malicieuse, en celui d'un renard, ainsi du reste, jusques à ce que purifiée par ce chastimét, elle reprenoit le corps de quelque autre homme :

"Ipse ego, nam memini, Troiani tempore belli
Panthoides Euphorbus eram.'

“Quant à ce cousinage là d’entre nous et les bestes, ic n’en fay pas grande recepte: ny de ce aussi que plusieurs nations, et notamment des plus anciennes et plus nobles, ont non seulement receu des bestes à leur société et compagnie, mais leur ont donné vn rang bien loing au dessus d’eux: les estimans tantost familières et fauories de leurs dieux, et les ayans en respect et reuerence plus qu’humaine, et d’autres ne recognoissans autre Dieu ny autre diuinité qu’elles.”*

FUNERAL CUSTOMS OF THE ANCIENT GERMANS.

Tacitus, after describing the situation and boundaries of Germany, proceeds to an inquiry into the origin of its inhabitants. “Some,” he observes, “affirm (*vetustatis licentiâ, with the license of an antiquarian*) that the Marsi, Gambrini, Suevi, and Vandals, were the true ancient appellations of the people. That the name of Germany had been recently added by a tribe (in his time) called Tungri, who had crossed the Rhine, and expelled the Gauls. That they were then called Germans, and from them, by degrees, the country called Germany.” . . .

The first German tribe mentioned by Tacitus are the Semnones, who considered themselves as the most eminent of the Suevi.

“They assemble at a stated time, in a sacred” (not a very pure) “grove, where they form leagues, and, having publicly immolated a man, celebrate the commencement of their horrid rites. This grove none dares enter, except bound in token of submission to the deity, and if he happens to fall, he is not permitted to rise, but must roll himself along the ground.”

Having mentioned the names of seven tribes, of whom the Angli (then little conceiving the future importance of their name) are one, Tacitus observes, that the most remarkable circumstance is their worshipping in common, Herthus, or mother earth. “There is in an island of the ocean, a chaste grove, in which is a consecrated car, covered with garments which the priest alone is permitted to touch. He affects to believe the goddess to be here personally present, and with much veneration follows her

* Essais de Michel de Montaigne.

car, drawn by cattle. Scenes of joy and festivity take place; war and arms are laid aside, and peace and repose, then only acceptable, prevail, until the priest reconveys to the temple the goddess, satiated with human conversation. Presently after, the car and garments, and, if you believe them, the goddess herself, are purified by immersion in a secret lake. The slaves, employed to minister at her rites, are instantly swallowed up in the same waters. Hence a mysterious and holy terror, arising from their ignorance of what that being may be, which none can behold and live!" The last he mentions are the "Naharvali, who possess a grove, long sacred to religion. The presiding priest is dressed like a woman, but the gods worshipped are, *according to Roman interpretation*, Castor and Pollux. This is understood from the nature and offices of their deity; the name given to it by them is Alcis. There are no images, nor is there any vestige of foreign superstition, but the adoration is paid as to young men and brothers."

In his treatise, of the Customs and People of Germany, Tacitus says: "In performing their funerals they shew no state or vain glory. This only is carefully observed, that with the corpses of their signal men certain woods be burned. Upon the funeral pile they accumulate neither apparel nor perfumes. Into the fire are always thrown the arms of the dead, and sometimes his horse. With sods of earth only the sepulchre is raised. The pomp of tedious and elaborate monuments they contemn, as things grievous to the deceased. Tears and wailings they soon dismiss: but their affliction and woe they long retain. In women it is reckoned becoming to bewail their loss, in men, to remember it."*

"There is scarcely any one thing in which the Germans, though so nearly allied in most of their other customs to the Gauls, were yet more opposite to them than in their funerals. We have shewn, in the last chapter, with what pomp and profusion the latter performed theirs: those of the former were done with the same plainness and simplicity which they affected in all other things: the only grandeur they affected in them was, to

* Gordon's Tacitus, vol. iv. p. 49; 4th Edition, 1770.

burn the bodies of their great men with some peculiar kinds of wood; but then the funeral pile was neither adorned with the clothes and other fine furniture of the deceased, nor perfumed with fragrant herbs and gums: each man's armour, that is, his sword, shield, and spear, were flung into it, and sometimes his riding-horse. The Danes did, indeed, fling into the funeral of a prince gold, silver, and other precious things, which the chief mourners, who walked, in a gloomy guise, round the fire, exhorted the by standers to fling liberally into it, in honour of the deceased. They afterwards deposited their ashes in urns, like the Gauls, Romans, and other nations; as it plainly appears, from the vast numbers which have been dug up all over the country, as well as from the sundry dissertations which have been written upon them by several learned moderns of that nation, a list and account of which the reader may see in the author last quoted. One thing we may observe, in general, that, whatever sacrifices they offered for their dead, whatever presents they made to them at their funerals, and whatever other superstitious rites they might perform at them, all was done in consequence of those excellent notions which their ancient religion had taught them, the immortality of the soul, and the bliss or misery of a future life." *

BURIAL OF ALARIC.

Jornandes, Bishop of Ravenna, in his treatise, "De Getarum sive Gothorum Origine et Rebus Gestis," published in the collection of histories of the Goths, Longobards, and Vandals, by Grotius, narrates the devastation of Italy by Alaric, king of the Visi-Goths, and the year after the sacking of Rome, in 411 (enriched with plunder), the end of his career in Italy, in the country of the Brutii, where he had gone meditating the conquest of Sicily and Africa. His followers, in the excess of their veneration for his memory, determined to bury his remains in the bed of the river *Barentinus*, near Consentina, which flowed at the foot of a mountain there, to prevent sacrilegious hands being laid on them. They, therefore, with the aid of a multi-

* Universal History, vol. vii. book iv. chap. xii. p. 430.

tude of captives, turned the course of the river, and deposited the body of their great leader there, with much riches—"multis opibus"—and then let back the waters to their old channel, and lest the place of interment should be disclosed to his enemies, they put to death all those who were employed as excavators.*

BURIAL OF ATTILA.

Jornandes, "*de Rebus Geticis*" (cap. l.), gives an account of the death of Attila—"the Scourge of God,"—after the addition of another wife to his "*innumerabiles uxores*," having solemnized his nuptials with great joy:—"Vino somnoque gravatus resupinus jacebat redundansque sanguis qui ei solite de naribus effluebat." In fact, overcome with wine, sleep, and sensuality, he burst a blood-vessel, and died in 433 A.D., in Pannonia. The preparations for his funeral were "solemn and wonderful." The body was laid out in an open plain, under a silken canopy. The principal people of all the Huns came there on horseback, and went round the place after the manner of the Courses of the Circenses, while his exploits were chaunted as they passed along. After he had been mourned for with such lamentations, he was laid on a tumulus, and there honoured with funereal mourning, mixed with rejoicings, and in secret by night he was buried in the earth, his remains being enclosed, first in gold, then in silver, and lastly in iron, the three metals being significative of his qualities. They buried with him arms taken from the enemies he had slain, precious ornaments and ensigns of various kinds; and that so many and so rare objects should be safely preserved with his remains, they put to death those employed in burying him, and thus disposed of the buryers and the buried.*

"The Herules," says Muret, "who in ancient times dwelt along the river Danubius, were burnt after another manner, when they were grown either old or sickly; for, being of a warlike humour, and not able to endure a languishing condition, they were wont to go and beg their nearest relations to rid them

* Jornandes, *de Reb. Get.* p. 654.

† Idem, p. 685. El Amst. 1655.

of a life which was become burthensome to them, and so put an end to their miseries and suffering; which was never denied them, or gainsaid, but, on the contrary, every one commended and applauded them, for having taken that resolution of themselves; because, in that state of extreme old age or sickness, they were looked upon by all with scorn and contempt. Besides, if they had died in that condition, they must have been buried without any ceremonies, as cowardly and base persons. Wherefore, when any thus freely offered themselves, all their relations met with great joy, to appoint a day for the solemnizing of these *living obsequies*, and in the mean time made preparation of all things for it."

"These preparations consisted of a wood-pile (which was made after the fashion of a bed) of divers dishes of such meats as the person to be sacrificed loved most, and in looking for a godfather to take away his life; for it was not lawful for his relations to do him that office, but only to kindle the fire under him when he was dead.

"At last, the fatal day being come,* the party concerned was laid down on his side upon the heap of wood, leaning on his elbow; and then they served before him the several meats he had desired, which, whilst he was eating with pleasure, his godfather took his aim so well, that, running him through the heart, he killed him immediately; which was no sooner done but they made a great noise, hollowing and shouting for joy; and the wood being set on fire on all sides, they in great merriment walked round about it, till all was burnt to ashes, all the while discoursing of the particulars of his life, and extolling this his last courageous resolution to the skies.

"The Thracians were not so cruel in this point, for they let people die of themselves; but they had a most filthy way of heaping great store of putrified carcasses upon the dead bodies before they burnt them. As soon as any one was dead, they carried him to the open fields, where they left him all naked for the space of many days, without taking any care of him;† that is to say, without washing or embalming him, so that within a

* Saxo. Gram. Hist. Dan. l. viii.

† Lact. ii. c. x.

short time he began to stink. On the morrow, and following days, they came to see in what condition the corpse was; and as often as they came to view it, they sacrificed divers creatures, whose bodies they flung upon that of their deceased friend; insomuch that the place became at last so noisome and stinking, by means of all those putrifying carcasses, that there was almost no coming near it. Then the friends and relations of the deceased brought faggots and other combustible matters, and heaping the same upon the fore-mentioned bodies, they burnt them all to ashes, which they afterwards buried in a grave they had to that end digged hard by.

“Some say that the reason why they let them thus putrify, and added to their own corruption that of other stinking and loathsome carcasses, was to show that fire cleanseth and takes away all manner of filthiness and impurity from man, as well as other creatures. But the chief and main reason of all [those who burned their dead, was grounded upon Heraclitus’s opinion, who held the fire to be the principle of all things, so that, consequently, to the judgment of that philosopher, by burning the dead they only returned them to that very original from whence they proceeded at first. Others were of opinion, that because the nature of fire is to mount upwards continually, until it insensibly vanisheth away in the air, it carried the most spiritual and volatile parts of the body with it to heaven.” *

* Muret, pp. 161 *et seq.*

CHAPTER XIX.

SCANDINAVIAN FUNERAL CUSTOMS AND MONUMENTS.

“Frothonis,³ Danorum regis, lex ut si quis vespillonum corpora mortuorum spoliare tentasset, pœnas non solùm sanguine, sed etiam inhumato cadavere, daret.”—SAX. GRAM. l. v.

FROM Mallet's Northern Antiquities, the following account is taken of the funeral rites of the Northmen :—

“Odin is said to have introduced the custom of burning the dead ; but as the arrival of the so-called historical Odin is a mere legendary fiction, all we know with certainty is, that burning the dead on funeral piles seems to have prevailed in the north at a very early period, and to have been superseded by burial, which may, perhaps, have been but the revival of a former custom. Be this as it may, when the body was burnt the ashes were generally collected in an urn, or small stone chest, over which a low mound, not above a yard high, was raised. Burial took place in various ways; sometimes the body was merely covered with a rude heap of stones, but was more frequently placed in a kind of vault formed of loose stones, the outside ones being in regular layers. Such kind of vaults, though found occasionally in Denmark, are more frequently to be met with in Norway, and do not appear to have ever been covered with earth. When the deceased was a person of distinction, a high mound, or barrow, was generally raised over his remains. Most Scandinavian barrows are either long or oblong, and some of them have rows of upright stones set around them. Some oblong barrows have been found to contain two cinerary stone chests, one at each end, occasionally one in the middle. Round barrows were commonly raised over stone vaults, or mortuary chambers, in which the dead body was deposited, either buried in sand, or laid out on a flat stone, and sometimes placed in a sitting posture. Barrows of this description have frequently two or more

vaults, and there is generally a passage in the eastern or southern site, leading to and on a level with the mortuary chambers. Barrows with wooden chambers would appear to be the most recent of all, and to have been raised not long before the introduction of Christianity, and are, therefore, likely to offer the most tempting spoil for antiquaries. Barrows in considerable numbers were often raised on a field of battle, high stone-encircled barrows over the fallen chieftains, and lower mounds over those of their followers. Mention is also frequently made of boats, and even large ships, being drawn on shore and turned keel uppermost, the bodies of the slain deposited under them, and stones and earth superimposed, thus forming what may appropriately be termed ship barrows. A long square-shaped stone, standing two or three yards out of the ground, and called a *Bantastein*, was also frequently erected in memory of a fallen warrior. These rude cenotaphs are very common in Norway and Sweden, but we believe none have yet been found bearing inscriptions.*

“ We are told that the barrows for stone vaults, in which the dead were deposited without burning, belong to the Stone Age, because the objects found in those that have been opened are generally of stone, and very seldom of metal; at most only a few bronze or gold ornaments, and never any thing of silver having been discovered. It is further assumed, that in the next, or Bronze age, burning on funeral piles prevailed, the weapons found in cinerary chests in the mounds and barrows containing them being generally of bronze, and the other objects either of bronze, gold, or amber, and never of silver. The barrows with wooden mortuary chambers are placed by the learned antiquaries in the Iron age, when they suppose that burial again prevailed, although burning on funeral piles continued to be practised. The opening of a dozen barrows would probably upset this specious theory, which, as it seems to be founded on the fictions of the *Yglinga Saga*, we can place no confidence in, even admitting that the statements respecting the objects found in the different kinds of barrows were quite unobjectionable, which, however, is far from being the case.” †

* Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*. Note by Editor, p. 211. Edit. 1847.

† Idem. Note by Editor, p. 210.

Olaus Magnus, Bishop of Upsala, who flourished in the beginning of the sixteenth century, has given a very valuable account of ancient Danish sepulchral monuments, and of those of the Northmen in general, which seems to be less taken into account than some very superficial and trashy accounts of later times. The following passages are taken from the English edition. The same, however, in the original Latin, will be given in the Appendix, on account of their importance in relation to similar monuments in other countries.

OF THE WARLIKE OBELISKS OF THE GOTHs, AND STONE MONUMENTS RAISED.

“It was the most ancient custome of the old Goths and Saxons, that when they had had the sharpest battels in the fields or mountains, they were wont there to raise stones, as it were piramids of the Egyptians; and upon these engraving the famous facts with some short inscription, they supposed that the memory of their deeds should be perpetuall, as the usuall songs composed in verses compendiously, and by succession derived to these daies, have propagated this matter to the memory of posterity. For in the Northern parts there are seen most hard mountains of an ash-colour, that are far harder than marble; these sometimes, by an earthquake or thunder, or other motion of nature, use sometimes to be so shaken that the stones cut forth, and falling downwards, receive the form partly of a pyramis, and partly of square pillars, partly of four corners and obelisks, as if they were made by the excellent work of Nature, and it is useless and vain to add any more to them. But these pyramids or pillars are found among the Henslengi in greater quantity than elsewhere in the North. But obelisks of high stones, raised by the forces of gyants, and champions are seen no where more frequently than in the public highways amongst the Ostrogothi, and Vestrogothi, and Sueones; and almost in vast desarts, which long since have been made desolate of inhabitants, by famine, war, plague, and are not yet reduced to their former condition by reason of the sluggishness and negligence of the indwellers, the land not yet, or very rarely be-

coming fallow ground. And these stones, raised in very many places, are ten, or fifteen, or thirty feet long, and four or six feet broad, singularly scituated but in a more wonderful order, and, with some notable character, for many reasons were placed there; and they signifie by a learned, right long order, the battels of champions; by a square order, troops of warriors; and by a round order, the burialls of families; and by a wedge-fashion, they shew that there, or neere that place, the armies of foot or horse had there fortunately prevailed. But the writings are begun on the right hand at the foot of the stones, end in the top, and then turning about they end in the left foot; or else the letters are in the same order elevated or pressed down within. And every letter hath the thickness and length of the greatest finger of a man. And though many of them, by the injury of weather and dirt, and many at the bottom of the stones, by length of time out of memory are eaten away, yet the like effects of them are clearly read in the same manner. ‘I, Uffo, fighting for my country, killed thirty-two champions, and at last, slain by the champion Rolvo, rest here.’ Moreover, ‘I, Jugolous, that conquered all violent men, and defended the oppressed, being full of scars and grown old, girt about with my sword, am placed here, when as other men fought for glory by wars, I, Halsten, striving for peace, deserved immortal praise.’ ”*

OF OBELISKS FOR SEPULCHRES.

“ But neither the old Goths nor other northern nations wanted a remembrance of their ancestors; but for those they were pleased to lay up in the ground, they set up honourable statutes of high stones, as we see at this day mighty stones wonderfully joined together, like to a most high and broad gate, raised upwards and overthwart by the strength of giants, especially two large miles from the city Scare, as one goes to the church of Kelby, upon a rock. For there are seen in the highway three most huge stones (as I said before), most curiously engraven

* History of the Goths, Swedes, and Vandals, &c., by Olaus Magnus, p. 11, 1658.

with *Gothic characters*. And if any man who is a curious searcher for such like stones, would go over deserts, as well as open fields to search for them, he shall find infinite examples, that I need not be now more diffuse on, by reason that not far from that most ancient city Scare there was a kingly castle called Aaranes, about which in former ages and generations most cruel wars were fought, concerning which, my most dear brother and predecessor John, Archbishop of Upsal, writ wonderful things.

“There are also amongst the Ostrogothi, and the Upper Sueons, castles of great and noble men, built every where in the countries, in places fortified by nature; near whose walls and fields you shall see huge stones of the ancients stuck fast into the ground, in a wedge fashion, round, long, and upright situation; the upper parts whereof, being adorned with some writings of the Goths, do teach, as it were, by the command of some governor then living, what their successors ought to fly from or follow; namely, to embrace virtue and to detest vice, &c. Nor may we doubt but in that age, the like edict was observed in the northern countries against the embalming of the bodies of wicked princes and tyrants, that they should not have a seemly burial. The obelisks of good princes and stone monuments are still plainly seen, many years before the Catholic faith was planted in the northern kingdoms, ‘Signed with the sign of the cross,’ having such like inscription: ‘After that, I, seduced by the fraud of devils, had erred, I, Germundus, dye converted to the God of the Christians, and lie buried expecting his judgment.’ Moreover, elsewhere, on a stone these words are found: ‘I Holmstam, being dead, who had relinquished worshipping of idols, am living in the faith of Christ.’ ”*

OF STONES AND FIGURES.

“Also in other places there are found very broad stone tables, and very high set into the earth by the strength of giants, having the images of dragons, serpents and bears, engraven upon them; against which they observed no less triumph than

* History of the Goths, Swedes and Vandals, &c. by Olaus Magnus, pp. 11, 12. 1658.

against armed enemies, as I shall underneath in the Book of Gyants and Champions. Moreover, there are huge stones set upon the shores of waters which shew in old character: 'That in those places some noblemen, by divers accidents of rivers, tempests, lightnings, whirlwinds, or robbers, were killed.' And from thence the name imposed, endureth to perpetual generation.

"There are also high stones, by the aspect and signature whereof the ancient possessions of provinces, governments, forts, communities of noble and countrymen, are suffered to continue every man in peace, without laws, suits, or arbitrations, giving an example to other nations, that amongst these nations there is more right to be found in these stones, that are bound-marks, than elsewhere in the large volumes of laws, where men think themselves to be more learned and civil. There are also stones on the shores that are very high, without writings, by the industry of the ancients, turned towards unfaithful ports, without any notable sign, informing the mariners that they may avoid shipwreck.

"There is also a huge round stone, having about twelve lesser stones lying near it, with wedge-fashioned stones raised a little from the earth, not far from the metropolis of Upstal, called Morasten; upon which, a new king to be chosen is received by an infinite company of people that are present, and afterwards is confirmed with more solemn ceremonies by the Catholic bishops taking an oath beforehand to defend the faith."*

"The Primæval Antiquities of Denmark," by J. J. A. Worsaae, a Danish antiquary of great celebrity, and a royal commissioner for the preservation of the national monuments of Denmark, translated by Mr. Thoms, has been recently published (1849) in London.

This important work, written by a man who occupies, in his country, the station which Petrie does in Ireland, is entitled to public attention and confidence. It is, indeed, impossible to

* History of the Goths, Swedes, and Vandals, &c. by Olaus Magnus, pp. 12, 13. 1658.

read the latest works of both antiquarians without coming to the conclusion, that the type of our earliest rude ponderous unwrought stones, monuments, cromlechs, cairnes, and barrows, is to be found in Scandinavian remains.

There is an identity of design, use, and structure, in the monuments of both countries, yet the common origin of them is long prior to the date of the incursions of the Northmen in the eighth and ninth centuries, into Ireland and England. They are the monuments of a cognate race, of an early age anterior to Christianity.

It seems impossible to compare the respective accounts of these monuments of Ireland and Denmark, by Petrie and Worsaae, without coming to the conclusion, that instead of seeking, as our old antiquarians have done, to establish a separate system of Pagan superstition and style of monumental structures, distinguishing those of the Dane from those of the Celt, we should endeavour to ascertain the degrees of relationship between Celts and Scandinavians, by the analogies we find in the monuments and the uses of them in both countries, and thus, in all probability, they would be traced up to one common origin. This is the plain common sense view of the question, that Ledwich, Vallancy and their followers have done so much to obscure and to perplex. Mr. Worsaae speaks of three periods in the early history of the Northmen, which he denominates from the material of the primitive monuments and the metal indicated in the working of them, or of which the weapons and vessels found in the tombs are composed:

1. The stone period.
2. The bronze period.
3. The iron period.

It is to be borne in mind that Christianity was established in Ireland in the fifth century, and consequently that primæval pagan monuments extend only to that period, while, as Mr. Worsaae observes, "Christianity was not established finally in Scandinavia until the eleventh century, and the primæval antiquities extend to that period." *

This is a very important point to bear in mind.

* Worsaae, Dan. An. p. 75.

STONE PERIOD.

“ We have seen how the aborigines lived and laboured : let us now briefly consider in what way they interred their dead. The bodies were not burned, but placed in chambers which were formed of large flat stones within elevated mounds or barrows, together with the implements, weapons, and ornaments, which the deceased when alive had most frequently used. The bodies were also occasionally deposited in vessels of burnt clay. These were in general filled with fine loose earth, but in some cases they appear to have contained provisions placed there in order that the deceased might not feel hunger during their journey to the other world. The largest earthen vessels, it is supposed, were originally made for cooking ; what may have been the purpose of the smaller and more finely wrought specimens, which are only found in the tombs appertaining to the stone period, is uncertain. They are for the most part only a few inches high, and are not formed for standing upright, but have near the mouth small holes or handles by which they were probably suspended.

“ Lastly, in the graves, scattered bones, among others those of the stag, elk, wild boar, dog, and often the teeth of horses, have been found, but it does not appear to have been the practice to bury any of these animals, except perhaps occasionally the dog, with the deceased. By this means we learn that, during this period, domesticated animals, dogs and horses at all events, existed in Denmark.

“ Objects of stone very similar to these which we have described in this portion of our work, are found in the north of Denmark, most frequently in the south of Sweden, while they very rarely occur in Norway or the north of Sweden. They are also met with along the southern coast of the Baltic, in Hanover, Holland, England, Scotland, Ireland, and in several places in France, Spain, and Portugal.

“ It is probable also that there has been a period in which civilization had attained a higher point in these countries than it had in Denmark. It would appear that the objects of stone occur more rarely in the south and east of Europe, but upon

this point further information is to be desired. Future investigations will determine whether such objects are confined to certain districts, or whether they are not rather spread over the whole face of the globe. For similar objects have already been found in various parts of Asia, Africa, and America." * . . .

"In tombs, therefore, which decidedly belong to the bronze period, we occasionally meet with wedges and axes, swords, knives and axes, but most frequently hammers, all of stone, and which must have been used at a much later period. A great number of them are very carefully wrought, and also bear evident marks of having been bored through with round metal cylinders. But although implements of stone and bronze were at a certain period used together, yet it is an established fact that a period first prevailed during which stone alone was used for implements and weapons; and that, subsequently, a time arrived when the use of bronze appears to have been the all-prevailing custom." † . . .

GRAVES OF THE STONE PERIOD, OR CROMLECHS,
(STEENDYSSER.)

"The important and highly ancient memorials which are usually termed Cromlechs in England, Steingräber in Germany, and often Urgräber, (ancient graves, or Hünengräber, giants' graves,) are slightly elevated mounds, surrounded by a number of upright stones, on the top of which are erected chambers, formed of large stones placed one upon the other. Although many of them have been removed or destroyed for the sake of the stones, they still exist in Denmark in very considerable numbers. They are most frequently met with on the coast, particularly on the north and west coast of Seeland, on the coasts of Fühnen, in the north of Jütland at the Lümfiord, particularly in the domain of Thisled, as well as along the east coasts of Jütland, Sleswig, and Holstein. They occur more rarely on the west coasts, and still more seldom in the interior of the country. They may be divided into two chief kinds; first the long, and second the small round Cromlechs (Langdysser og Runddysser). The term Cromlech is

* Worsaae, p. 20.

† Idem, p. 25.

here applied not only to the stone chamber, but to the whole monument."

Of sepulchral stone structures, barrows, &c. Mr. Worsaae thus speaks :—

"As to the graves themselves, we know that, generally speaking, they contain both the bones of the dead, and many of their weapons, implements, and trinkets which were buried with them. Here we may, therefore, in general, expect to find those objects together which were originally used at the same period. The barrows serve to explain in various other ways the associations of pagan antiquity.

"The Spanish grave-hills are, like the early antiquities, generally divisible into three classes, namely, those of the stone, of the bronze, and that of the iron period, which last includes the inscribed monumental stones, or Runic stones, as they are termed.

"The long cromlechs are extremely numerous; they are from 60 to 100 feet in length, sometimes they are less. Their breadth is inconsiderable—from 14 to 24 feet at most, and the longest of all from 30 to 40 feet.

"They frequently lie from east to west; they also lie from south to north, and from north-east to south-west. The aborigines do not seem to have confined themselves to any precise rule in the erection of such monuments.

"Peculiar care and industry have been bestowed on enclosing these elevations with large stones. Occasionally one descries above a hundred colossal blocks of stone, set round the foot of a hill in an elongated circle, and this, too, in districts where, not only in the present day, but also without a doubt in ancient times, there was a deficiency of such stones. There are also traces, in some instances, of the hill having been originally surrounded with two or more large enclosures of stone.

"The stone chambers erected on the summit of these mounds are formed of a roofing, or cap stone, which rests on several supporting stones." *

"The most important of these monuments are the long crom-

* Worsaae, Danish Antiquities, p. 79.

lechs, which consist of three chambers, a large one in the middle and a small one at each end. Stone structures with two chambers occur most frequently, and present no particular form. On the other hand, it is very remarkable that in those which have but one chamber, it is usually placed at one end, even when the barrows are of considerable length. Thus at the Clelund field, in the district at Lindknud, in the domain of Ribe, there exists a stone enclosure which is about 370 feet in length, in which, however, the stone chamber is situated only 40 feet from the south-west end.

“A great number of these chambers have been opened and explored, probably in most cases by persons who hoped to find great treasure in them. They are, therefore, frequently found quite exposed, although originally they were, no doubt, covered with earth, yet only in such a manner as to leave a portion of the stones which formed the roof visible. Of these cromlechs there are many still remaining. The chambers formed the regular place of interment, in which several bodies, probably of the same family, were deposited. We are not, however, to conceive that the space was ever left empty. As soon as a corpse had been deposited in it, it appears to have been filled with earth or clay or pebbles, firmly trodden down, and not to have been opened until a new corpse was to be interred. In examining such sepulchral chambers as have remained undisturbed until the present time, it has been ascertained that they always contained the skeletons of one or more bodies, together with arrow-heads, lances, chisels, and axes of flint, implements of bone, ornaments of amber or of bone, and earthen vessels filled with loose earth. Even in the chambers which now remain open, and bear evident traces of having been before explored, we meet, on thorough investigation, with pieces of earthen vessels, single stone implements, and human bones, which plainly show that these chambers do not preserve their original form, but that they were applied to the same purpose as those which are still partially covered with earth.”

Mr. Worsaae rejects the opinion of those cromlechs having

* Worsaae, Danish Antiquities, p. 81.

been either sacrificial altars or places of deliberation and judgment.

GIANTS' CHAMBERS (JÆTTESTEUR.)

“The view here expressed as to the origin and nature of the cromlechs, acquires greater force and clearness from the circumstance that stone chambers perfectly corresponding to these, but on a somewhat larger scale, are frequently discovered, forming places of interment within large barrows of earth raised by the hands of man. These tombs, covered with earth, have perhaps contained the remains of the powerful and the rich. They are almost all provided with long entrances, which lead from the exterior of the mound of earth to the east or south side of the chambers. For this reason it has been proposed to call these structures “passage buildings” (Gang bygningen). The entrances, like the chambers, are formed of large stones, smooth on the side which is turned inwards, on which very large roof-stones are placed. As a single chamber is, therefore, formed of a considerable number of heavy masses of stone, which would be extremely difficult to set up, independently of placing them on one another, it is highly probable that the name of ‘Giants’ Chambers’ may have had its origin in the opinion of the lower classes, that the giants (jætter) who, according to Sagas, could with ease hurl enormous rocks, were alone able to execute such stupendous works.

“The giants’ chambers, like the chambers of the cromlechs, are round or oval. In those tumuli which contain round chambers, two such have several times been found near each other, each with a separate entrance. Those which are circular are from five to eight feet in diameter, and about that height. A grown man can usually stand upright in the apartment, when the earth with which it is filled is removed; for these chambers, and even the entrances, which are from sixteen to twenty feet in length, are filled with trodden earth and pebbles, the object of which, doubtless, was to protect the repose of the dead in their grave. The same objects are discovered in these giant chambers as are found in the cromlechs, namely, unburnt skeletons, which

were occasionally placed in sand on a pavement of flat or round stones, together with implements and weapons and tools of flint or bone, ornaments, pieces of amber, and urns of clay. Skeletons are also occasionally found deposited in the passages leading to the giant chambers; a circumstance which may be explained by supposing that such giant chambers were sometimes family burial-places, which were filled as the members of the family died, and that when the chambers themselves could contain no more bodies, recourse was necessarily had to the entrance. That these giant chambers have been opened, from time to time, is evident from the fact, that in general they are found to contain a quantity of fragments of broken pottery, which had been broken at some remote period.

“The largest and most considerable of the giants’ chambers are the long ones, which are from sixteen to twenty-four feet in length, and from six to eight feet in breadth. *

“With reference to their contents and their general arrangements, they entirely accord with the circular giant chambers, while, as a natural consequence of their increased length, they contain a greater quantity of human remains. Meantime, the manner in which the deceased were interred deserves peculiar attention, because by such means no unimportant light is thrown on the funeral customs which prevailed at the period. Thus along the sides of the stones forming the walls are found the bones of a number of bodies, which certainly cannot have been placed in the usual recumbent posture, for the space would not admit of it. On the contrary, the position of the remains seems to indicate that the bodies were placed in a compressed or sitting posture, by which means the advantage of depositing many of them in a small space was obtained.” †

“An examination of the most remarkable and striking cromlechs and giants’ chambers, cannot fail to excite our surprise that the aboriginal inhabitants of Denmark were able to erect such stupendous monuments. How the large cap-stones were brought to lie on the supporting stones is, indeed, not quite incomprehensible. It might have been effected by forming steep paths or inclined planes composed of earth and stems of trees,

* Worsaae, Danish Antiquities, p. 85.

† Idem, p. 89.

from the upper part of the supporting stones to the surface of the surrounding field, and by forcing the stones up these paths by means of levers. It may also be added that possibly the inhabitants had been able to tame and employ the horse, which must have existed in the country from the earliest period. It is still more remarkable if, being destitute of tools of metal, they were in a situation so to split the large roofing and supporting masses of stone, that they are completely flat on the side which is turned towards the chamber. For it is highly probable that many or most of them have been artificially split. Their number is too great to allow of the supposition that they all possess the natural form, whilst it is quite evident that the small flat fragments which fill up the interstices between the supporting stones have been split by artificial means. Hence it is possible that the aborigines were acquainted with the simple method of splitting large blocks of granite, which is still practised in several countries. Holes bored in a certain direction along the veins of the stone are filled with water. Wedges are then introduced into these holes, and struck with heavy mallets till the rock is split into two flat pieces. . . .”*

TOMBS OF THE BRONZE PERIOD.

“The barrows, cromlechs, and giants’ graves of the stone-period, and the barrows of the bronze period, are totally different from each other. The tombs of the stone period are peculiarly distinguished by their important circles of stones and large stone chambers, in which are found the remains of unburnt bodies, together with objects of stone and amber. Those of the bronze period, on the other hand, have no circles of massive stones, no stone chambers, in general no large stones on the bottom, with the exception of stone cists placed together, which, however, are easily to be distinguished from the stone chambers; they consist, as a general rule, of mere earth, with heaps of small stones, and always present themselves to the eye as mounds of earth, which in a few very rare instances are surrounded by a small circle of stones, and contain relics of bodies which have been burned and placed in vessels of clay with objects of metal.

* Worsaae, Dan. An. p. 92.

“ From the fact that bodies during the bronze period were burned, it may be conceived that the bronze period is later than the stone period, in which it was the general custom to bury the dead without burning. This latter method of interment is peculiar to uncultivated nations, and is unquestionably the most simple and the most natural; the custom of burning the dead supposes a certain development of religious feeling which is only to be found among such nations as have acquired some degree of civilization. It was a totally different matter, however, when, towards the close of paganism in the north, cultivation having attained a higher grade, men once more adopted the custom of interring their dead without first burning them. This fact by no means invalidates the assertion, that the mode of interment of the stone period is the most ancient. That the stone period extends farthest into antiquity, the tombs which belong to it afford the most unquestionable proofs. At the summit and on the sides of a barrow are often found vessels of clay with burnt bones and articles of bronze, while at the base of the hill we meet with the ancient cromlechs or giants' chambers, with unburnt bodies and objects of stone. From this it is obvious that at a later time, possibly centuries after, poorer persons, who had not the means to construct barrows, used the ancient tombs of the stone period, which they could do with the more security, since a barrow which is piled above a giants' chamber had exactly the same appearance as a barrow of the bronze period. To prevent misunderstanding, it must here be observed, that many persons are of opinion, from the appearance of the barrows when opened, that the different modes of interment of the periods of stone and bronze, the placing bodies in cromlechs and the burning them, prevailed universally at one and the same time. This opinion has, however, been founded, in most cases, on very loose grounds, since sufficient attention has not been paid to distinguishing the different modes of interment at the base and the summit of the barrows; for the fact that two kinds of interment occur in the same barrow, by no means proves that such interments belong to the same era. The circumstance moreover that together

with unburnt bodies, vessels of clay have also been found in the cromlechs and giants' chambers, has given rise to error. These vessels contain, as we have seen, merely loose earth ; but formerly it was constantly as erroneously conceived, that all vessels of clay found in barrows were urns for ashes, and had been filled with burnt human bones. We are certainly not justified in positively denying, that burnt human bones have ever been found in a legitimate grave of the stone period, but experience has hitherto shewn us that between the tombs of the stone period and those of the bronze period there exists a difference as great, and, in fact, greater, than that which prevails between the antiquities of the two periods.

“The usual mode of interment in the bronze period appears to have been as follows. A large pile of wood was erected, on which the body was placed. When the pile was consumed, the small bones which remained were collected together with some portion of the surrounding ashes, and placed in an earthen vessel, which was deposited in the midst of the consumed pile, and surrounded with stones. In this vessel, in addition to the bones and the ashes, were deposited different small articles of bronze, such as pins, knives, pincers, &c., and together with these the various weapons and ornaments possessed by the deceased. After this, the vessel was carefully closed with its usual cover, or, more generally, with a flat stone ; the whole was then covered with small stones, which were usually placed in a conical heap, over which the usual barrow of earth was erected. Instead of urns for ashes, very small stone cists about a foot long, formed of four stones placed together, and covered with a fifth, were occasionally used. It is, generally speaking, characteristic of this period, that the remains of burnt bodies were placed in no definite way and in no definite parts of the hill. In the midst of the consumed pile, the sword and the ornaments of the deceased were occasionally placed, covered with a heap of stones thrown over them, while the urn with the ashes was deposited in the earth which was placed upon them. On the floor of some of these barrows the weapons are preserved in small oval cists of stone, and again in others nothing

is found but single portions of bone, while the urns with ashes are placed outside. On the very margin of the hill bronze swords and other weapons, as well as ornaments, are met with, among loose burnt bones, which are not collected in urns, but merely surrounded with small stones. Most of the barrows of this period were family barrows, serving as places of interment for single families. Hence not only may the floor of a barrow be furnished with a great number of urns, or small stone cists filled with bones, but it is also very common, particularly on the east and south sides, and scarcely a foot in depth below the turf, to find numerous urns surrounded with stones which unquestionably have been deposited from time to time. The number of them, often from thirty to seventy, probably results from the circumstance of many poor persons having by degrees deposited their urns in the barrows of the rich. Since cinerary urns are not unfrequently dug up, both in open fields and in beds of peat, the poorer classes have probably been obliged to select this simple mode of interment, because they had no opportunity of placing the ashes of their relatives in a barrow.”*

IRON PERIOD.

Swords, shields, spears, ornaments and trinkets of various kinds, and objects of the latter kind, not only in iron but gold and silver, with characteristic traceries, symmetrical windings, and arabesques of the bactreate kind, particularly of this period, are found in the tombs and barrows of the Northmen.

TOMBS OF THE IRON PERIOD.

“ We may regard as a result of the circumstance that the iron period can have commenced only at a comparatively recent date in Denmark, the fact that there exist but very few tombs which can with certainty be referred to, while of those of the bronze period there exists a very considerable number. Notwithstanding the circumstance that from this cause the knowledge of the Danish tombs of this period is extremely imperfect, it is still very evident, that between the tombs of the iron and those of the bronze period some difference exists, although that difference

* Worsaae, Dan. An. p. 93—96.

is not so marked as that between the tombs of the stone and of the bronze period. The external form, and, in some measure, the internal structure of the tombs, are in particular very similar, while they differ most with regard to the mode of interment; the tombs of the stone period usually containing unburnt corpses, while those in the barrows of the bronze period have, generally speaking, been burnt. It is true it was the custom in Sweden and Norway, in the iron period, to consume the remains of the dead by fire, but of such a practice we find no vestiges, or, at least, very faint ones, in the tombs of Denmark belonging to the same period.

“ With reference to the mode of interment which prevailed in the North during the heathen period, the celebrated Icelandic historian, Snorro Sturlesen, who wrote a chronicle of the Norwegian kings six hundred years ago, remarks that it was at first customary to burn the dead, and this period was termed the age of burning; but at a later period, after the interment of Frej, at Upsala, without the burning of the corpse, many chiefs buried their relatives in barrows, and hence the age of interment took its origin. In Denmark, Dan Mikillati (the Splendid or the Proud) was the first who was buried without being burnt. He caused a large barrow to be constructed, and ordered that, when he was dead, he should be brought and interred there, in his royal pomp and armour, together with his horse and saddle and various other objects. With this occurrence the age of interment commenced in Denmark, yet the age of burning lasted long after among the Swedes and Norwegians. In Denmark, therefore, the age of burning corresponds with that of bronze, and the age of interment with that of iron. It must, however, be remembered, that tradition often refers a remarkable change in certain previously existing customs, to certain prominent personages, and so in this case the change in the mode of interment is ascribed in Sweden to Frej, and in Denmark to Dan. The historical foundation for the interment of Dan Mikillatti may probably be, that in the age of interment the mode of burial may have been far more splendid and costly than in the so-styled age of burning, of which fact the barrows themselves afford very remarkable proofs.

“The greater part of the few barrows of the iron period which have hitherto been examined in Denmark, are distinguished by the circumstance that they contain not only the remains of the warrior, but also those of his horse. Thus in a barrow near Hersom, in the Rhindsharde, domain of Viborg, the skeleton of a man, together with that of his horse, and with these an iron sword, a spear, a stirrup, a bridle with a chain bit, and a cross bar at the ends, were discovered. In the same manner, in a barrow near Hadberg, in the Galtenharde, domain of Randers, portions of the skeleton of a man and a horse were observed; near them lay an iron axe, a pair of stirrups, and a bridle.”*

TOMBS IN OTHER COUNTRIES,
(PARTICULARLY IN SWEDEN AND NORWAY.)

“In order that the Danish memorials may appear in their true light and connection, it will be of importance to enquire in what regions of other countries similar monuments of antiquity have been observed. Without such a general examination it would scarcely be possible to derive satisfactory historical conclusions from the enquiry.

“We first turn then towards the south. Stone chambers, or cromlechs, or low barrows, encircled with stones, which completely accord with the cromlechs of our stone period, occur in Pomerania, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, Hanover, in fact in the whole of the north of Germany, in England, Ireland, Holland, (particularly in the northern part,) and in the west and south of France. Their contents are everywhere the same. Where they have not previously been opened, there occur skeletons with objects of stone and amber; or one meets with stone implements and fragments of vessels of clay, just as in Denmark. Thus in France cromlechs of the stone period, which contained skeletons and implements of flint, have been found, not only on the western coast, but also singly in the middle of the country, even in the southern part itself, in the neighbourhood of the Pyrenees and of Marseilles. They occur also in Portugal and in Spain, while, as far as is known, they never have been discovered in the

* Worsaae, Dan. An. p. 96.

interior parts of Europe, in the south of Germany, Italy, Austria, or the east of Europe. They are very distinct from the tombs of the pagan era of those countries, both in their structure and their simple funereal contents. . . .

“The barrows in the three northern kingdoms differ very much from each other. The cromlechs and giants’ chambers of the stone period, which occur generally in Denmark, meet us only in the south-western part of the present Sweden, particularly in the old Danish country of Skaane in West Gothland, in Holland, and Bahuslehn; but they are not found at all in the north-east and north of Sweden, *nor in the whole of Norway*. The barrows, cairns, and stone circles of those districts have a totally different character; the large and peculiar cromlechs disappear both from the exterior and interior of the barrows. Above all, however, it is to be observed, that the bodies have not been deposited unburnt, except at a much later period; in the more ancient, burnt remains are always met with. Although this mode of interment was prevalent in Denmark during the age of bronze, yet the barrows in Norway and Sweden which lie north and east of the limits of the cromlechs of the stone period, have scarcely any resemblance to the barrows of Denmark of the age of bronze; for these have about the same limited extent in the peninsula of Scandinavia, as the cromlechs and giants’ chambers of the stone period. A short description of the monuments of Sweden and Norway will illustrate the difference of the graves in the three kingdoms of the north.”* . . .

RUNIC STONES.

“Antiquarian remains and barrows would convey much more trustworthy information of the past, if they were in all cases furnished with inscriptions. From the languages in which such inscriptions were composed, we should then be able to form conclusions as to the descent and connection of the earliest inhabitants of the north; since, it is sufficiently clear that men who belong to the same stock, speak languages which are, at all events, allied to each other. But unfortunately inscriptions of

* Worsaae, Danish Antiquities, p. 100.

was inhabited, in ancient times, by two different races, let us seek whether any sufficient explanation respecting the families of mankind, to which those races must be referred, is contained in the most ancient historical records, or whether we must be satisfied with the information which these monuments themselves afford us.

1. THE STONE PERIOD.

“History mentions the Fins and Celts as being among some of the first inhabitants of Europe. The Fins, or Laplanders, as they are called at the present day, now live far towards the north; at a former period, they reached farther to the south, at least over the greatest part of Sweden and Norway, and, in the opinion of many, even over other countries, from which they were driven eventually by the intrusion of later immigrants. The vestiges and remains of the Celts are likewise confined within very narrow limits, in England, Scotland, and Ireland; though, in remote ages, they were the most powerful and the most widely diffused nation in the west of Europe. From this circumstance, historians have hitherto assumed that the Fins and Celts, in ancient times, bordered on each other in the north, and that they here formed the first population of the northern part of Europe.

“Hence it would naturally be believed that the inhabitants of Denmark, during the stone period, were either Fins or Celts. Of the Fins we are told by Tacitus, who lived in the first century after the birth of Christ, that they were extremely rude and poor. They possessed neither weapons, horses, nor houses. They fed on roots, clothed themselves in the skins of beasts, and spread their couch on the bare earth. Their sole resource was their arrows, to which, from the want of iron, they affixed points of bone. Even their children had no refuge from storm and shower; they were merely covered with branches of trees twined in each other. *

“It is therefore not improbable that, thousands of years ago, a nomadic race connected with the Fins, whose existence it is, at this moment, impossible either entirely to deny, or to establish

* Worsaae, Dan. An. p. 127.

satisfactorily, may have wandered about Denmark ; while this much is certain, *that the inhabitants of Denmark during the stone period cannot have been the Fins, whose descendants are the present inhabitants of Lapland.*

“From a conviction of this fact, other writers have argued that the Fins have formed the basis of the earliest population in Sweden and Norway only, but that the Celts were the most ancient inhabitants of Denmark. This view, at the first glance, seems a highly probable one, since it is known that the cromlechs and antiquities of the stone period occur on the coasts of the whole of the west of Europe, as well as in countries which were certainly inhabited by the Celts from the earliest times. But in these countries there also exist barrows, which exhibit a striking similarity to the Danish barrows of the bronze period. We might therefore with equal right maintain that such barrows were constructed by the Celts, since they occur in countries which are known to have been inhabited at a very early period by that people. It is impossible to form any conclusions, in this respect, from the barrows. The Celts, however, according to all historical records, were early distinguished by a certain degree of civilization ; they possessed weapons and ornaments of metal, there were regular towns in their countries, and it has even been ascertained that, in certain districts, they coined money. Since it was their custom mostly to burn the bodies of their dead, and inter them in barrows, it is clear that the Celts must have been a totally different people from the inhabitants in the stone period, who interred their corpses unburnt in cromlechs, and used mere simple implements of stone and bone. . . .

“It will at once be seen that the stone period must be of extraordinary antiquity. If the Celts possessed settled abodes in the west of Europe more than two thousand years ago, how much more ancient must be the population which preceded the arrival of the Celts. A great number of years must pass away before a people, like the Celts, could spread themselves over the west of Europe, and render the land productive ; it is therefore no exaggeration if we attribute to the stone period an antiquity of, at least, three thousand years. There are also geological

reasons for believing that the bronze period must have prevailed in Denmark, five or six hundred years before the birth of Christ.”* . . .

2. THE BRONZE PERIOD.

“The inhabitants of Denmark, during the bronze-period, were the people who first brought with them a peculiar degree of civilization. To them were owing the introduction of metals, the progress of agriculture and of navigation, not to mention that the previously uninhabited districts in the interior of the country were, by them, cleared of wood and rendered productive. This people stood therefore in the same degree of civilization as the Celts, and exercised as important an influence over the civilization of the north, as the Celts over that of the west of Europe. Is it, then, probable that the people of the bronze period must themselves be regarded as a Celtic race? . . .

“It cannot possibly be imagined, however, that the inhabitants of Denmark in the bronze period should have been Celts. If they also, as late as the sixth and seventh centuries, had mixed with the Scandinavian people, which is in the highest degree improbable, we should have reason to expect that the present Danish language would exhibit a considerable number of Celtic words and expressions not to be found either in the Swedish or in the Norwegian language; but this is very far from being the case. The oldest Runic inscriptions in Denmark are as pure Scandinavian as any other in the north. In the very place, in Norway, where Celts are supposed to have lived, tombs and antiquities of the bronze period have never, as yet, been discovered. In fact, there does not exist any historical record of Celtic inhabitants in the north.”† . . .

3. THE IRON PERIOD.

“The numerous remains belonging to the iron period in Norway and Sweden must, without all doubt, be ascribed to the same people as the present Swedes, and Norwegians (*Svear og Nordmænd*); who, according to all tradition, came from the east, and

* Worsaae, *Danish Antiquities*, pp. 133, 134.

† Idem, p. 144.

who on their arrival in the northern parts of Scandinavia, either completely subdued the nomadic Finnic tribes living there, or drove them to the most northern part of Europe, where remnants of them exist to this day. Already, in the first century of the Christian era, Tacitus mentions the 'Sviones' (*Svear*?) as having settlements in the north, on the borders of the ocean. But if it is not to be supposed that the Sviones were the Goths, who in the bronze period seem to have lived along the eastern and north-eastern coast of Sweden, and around the Mœlar Lake, it is clear that there must have been later invasions. Both the oldest traditions and the monuments point to that. The whole civilization of the iron period, which appears so suddenly in Sweden and Norway, that it must have come with a newly invading people, is evidently built upon the Roman civilization; the many Byzantine coins from the fifth and sixth centuries which are found in the north, besides the imitations of them, the gold bracteates, the constant intercourse which, from that time, existed between the north and Byzantium, where the Northmen so frequently served as life-guards of the emperors, all seem, in a remarkable manner, to confirm the statement, preserved by the renowned Icelandic historian, Suorro Sturleson, that Odin and his followers, at the time of the Roman invasions of the countries of the Black Sea, first left their settlement there, and went to the north-eastern part of Sweden, to the country around the Mœlar Lake. It is quite natural that then, about a couple of centuries after Christ, new tribes should have entered Scandinavia, as it was at the time of the great 'migration of people' (Germ. *Völkerwanderung*, Dan. *Folkevandring*), when nearly all the other countries of Europe were filled by new inhabitants.

"The Svear, or, as tradition says, Odin and his followers, came probably from the Norwegians. They appear to have passed from Russia, through Finland, over the Aoland Islands, to the shores of the Mœlar Lake, when they made their principal settlement in Upland, which was afterwards also called Mannheim, or the home of the men, or the people, and where the chief temple, or principal place of worship was at Upsala." *

* Worsaae, Danish Antiquities, p. 146.

In the "Geography of the Northern parts of Europe," according to King Alfred, almost literally translated from the Anglo-Saxon, by Forster, there are some things taken from the relations of Ohther and Wulfstan, concerning the funeral customs of the Northmen, of much interest:—

"There is also a particular custom amongst this nation of *Estum*, in Sweden, that when any one dies, the corpse continues unburnt, with the relations and friends, for a month or two, and the bodies of kings and nobles lie longer (according to their respective wealth), sometimes for half a year, before the corpse is thus destroyed, and it continues above ground in the house, during which time drinking and sports last, till the day on which the body is consumed; then, when it is carried to the funeral pile, the substance of the deceased, which remains after their drinking bouts and sports, is divided into five or six heaps, sometimes into more, according to what he happens to be worth.

"These heaps are disposed at a mile's distance from each other, the largest heap at the greatest distance from the town, and so, gradually, the smaller ones, at lesser intervals, till all the wealth is divided, so that the least heap shall be nearest the town where the corpse lies.

"Then all those are summoned who have the fleetest horses in that country, within the distance of five or six miles from these heaps, and they all strive for the substance of the deceased; he who hath the swiftest horse obtains the most distant and largest heap, and so the others, till the whole is seized upon. He procures, however, the least, who takes that which is nearest the town; and then every one rides away with his share, and keeps the whole of it. On account of this custom, fleet horses are extremely dear. When the wealth of the deceased hath been thus exhausted, then they carry the corpse from the house to burn it, together with the dead man's weapons and clothes; and generally they spend the whole wealth of the deceased, by the body's continuing so long in the house before it is buried; and by what is laid in heaps on the road, and is taken away by the strangers.

"It is also a custom with the *Estum*, that the bodies of all the

inhabitants shall be burned; and if any one can find a single bone unconsumed, it is a cause of anger. These people always have the means of producing very severe cold, by which the dead body remains so long above ground without putrifying; and if any one sets a vessel full of ale or water, they contrive that the liquors shall be frozen, be it summer or winter." *

In 1245, Carpene, a Dominican friar, visited Tartary; he says—"The Tartars acknowledge but one God, the Creator of all things, visible and invisible; who distributes to all mankind rewards and punishments, according to their deserts. But they do not pay any particular worship to him. On the other hand, they have many idols made of felt (called in the Russian tongue Woelocks), which they fix up in their houses; some are even made of silk, and are more honoured than the others. To these they sacrifice some part of what they eat and drink, as also the hearts of the beasts they kill. In short, they seemed to have professed the *Schaman* religion, which is an elder branch of that of the Bramins and of *Dalai Lama*. They were accustomed to leave those that were dangerously sick to themselves, and afterwards, when they died, to return and bury them, which the Calmucks still do at this time. They were polygamists, and had many virtues, but were not without their failings." †

Marco Polo gives the following account of the burial customs of the people of the Tartar town of Tanguth:—

"In it there are some Nestorian Christians, as also Mahometans, and, finally, idolators, who have their own peculiar language. They do not live by commerce, but by agriculture, and the produce of their own country. They have many convents full of idols, which they worship with the greatest devotion; and if they beget a son, they recommend him to one of these idols, in honour of whom they feed a ram at home, which, at the expiration of the first year, they carry to the temple, together with the child, on the day which is consecrated to the above idol; and, after killing the ram, boil the flesh of it, and set it before the idol, while they say their prayers, in which they recommend

* Reinhold Forster's Discoveries in the North, pp. 72, 73. 1786.

† Idem, p. 95.

the son to the idol, and beg of him to keep their son in health ; and they assert that, during this, the idol has extracted all the virtues and taste of the meat ; upon this they take the meat home, and eat it in company of their friends and relations invited for the purpose, but the bones they preserve very carefully in a handsome vessel. The priests of the idol have for their share the head, the feet, the entrails, the skin, and part of the flesh. These idolators observe, also, some very singular customs in the burning of their dead. If the deceased was a man of rank, they go to the astrologer, and tell him the year, day, and hour on which the deceased person was born ; the sage then examines the signs, the planet, and the star under whose influence the defunct was born, and, according to these, determines the day and the hour on which he is to be burnt ; and if the planet does not reign at that time, they keep the corpse for a week, or for even six months together ; now being obliged to keep it in the house, they get a coffin made of boards three inches thick, very closely joined together, and painted over. In this they lay the corpse, together with many fragrant perfumes, camphire, and other spices ; and after filling up all the chinks with pitch and lime, cover the coffin with silk. During the whole time they keep the corpse thus, a table is spread for it with bread, meat, and wine, and left standing for as long a time as it would take a living person to eat and drink his fill. Moreover, the astrologer will sometimes deem it unlucky to carry the corpse through the door ; when, to please the planet, a hole must be broken through the wall, and the corpse carried out that way. Should any one take it into his head to object to all this, and refuse to comply, the ghost of the deceased would certainly be displeased at it, and do him a mischief. When the corpse is carried out of the town, they have little wooden houses built for it in the streets, in which they set it down and place victuals before it.

“ The procession is accompanied with music. Whilst the body is burning, they paint on a paper the figures of men and women, together with the representation of coins, horses, camels, and clothes, and burn these together with the corpse, in the belief that the deceased will have an equal number of

man-servants and maid-servants, money, and cattle, at his disposal in the other world. The music must play during the whole ceremony of the incrimation of the body." *

Mandeville has also noticed these rites.

I find the following account of our marvellous knight in the erudite Danish work, "The Discoveries of the North," by Reinhold Forster:—

"John de Mandeville was descended from an ancient and very noble family in England. He was born at St. Alban's. His inquisitive turn of mind, and his undaunted resolution, prompted him to inquire into all the sciences, and that with equal success. He had studied physics as well as mathematics, with diligence and attention; and likewise, following the fashion of those times, had made great progress in divinity, and written books in all these sciences. He was equally expert in the exercises proper for a gentleman; and thus, in search of new adventures, he set out, A.D. 1332 (1322) on a journey to the Holy Land, by the way of France; and after an absence of thirty-three years, returned to his native country, having travelled nearly over all Asia, and having served in the army of the Sultan of Egypt, Mandybron (Malek el Naser Mohammed, who reigned from 1310 to 1341), and in that of the Great Khan in China (Schun Hoamti, or Tokatmur). He died, at last, on the 17th November, 1371, at Leige, where he also lies interred. He drew up an account of his travels, in Latin, French, and English. The best of these works seems to be that published in London, in large 8vo. 1727, in the old English dialect, for all the others are merely extracts. However, it is with this journey as it used to be with the writers of chronicles in the middle ages—one always copied from the other. The travels of Friar Oderic contain many things which are likewise to be found in the travels of Sir John Mandeville. The copyists seem to have had the intention of completing their copy from another author who had written on a similar subject, and this is probably the reason of the exact correspondence observed between them. Besides the Latin, French, and English editions already men-

* Reinhold Forster's Discoveries in the North, pp. 132, 133; 1786.

tioned, there are also translations of these travels into the Italian, Spanish, and German languages." *

THE LAPLANDERS — THEIR FUNERAL SOLEMNITIES.

"When a man dies," says Picard,† "his whole family leaves the house, for they entertain the notion that the soul of the deceased hovers round the corpse. Those who profess themselves Christians, dress their dead in a linen or woollen shroud; but the pagans dress them in their very best apparel. A particular friend of the deceased performs the last good office for him, and lays him in his coffin. The relations tie a kind of bracelet made of copper or brass about this person's arm, which he wears till he has discharged himself of that voluntary service. This bracelet is looked upon as an antidote or charm against any accidental mischief which he may meet with from the *sites* or manes of the deceased.

"The Laplanders formerly buried their dead in the woods; and those who are pagans observe the same custom to this day. Sometimes they carry them into gloomy caverns, the entrance of which they stop up with stones. These idolators bury a hatchet, and a flint and steel to strike fire with, along with the dead bodies of their friends. The reason they give for the observance of this superstitious custom is, that when the deceased finds himself surrounded with darkness, he will have occasion for light, which, by virtue of his flint and steel, he may furnish himself with at pleasure; and that in case he meets in his way with briars and thorns, and boughs of trees, which may obstruct his passage through the thick forests, he may cut them away with his hatchet; because the dead are doomed, by the irreversible laws of fate, to take heaven by fire and sword. The idolatrous Laplanders seem to be of opinion that the dead never arrive at the realms of light and bliss, until they have first passed through gloomy paths and dark regions. As to those Laplanders who are, or pretend to be Christians, although they observe the customs of the religion they profess, they mix a number of superstitions along with them; for instance, they never throw the

* Reinhold Forster's Discoveries in the North, pp. 148, 149; 1786.

† See Appendix for Extracts from his Travels.

corpse into a grave. They leave the bier on which they carried it in the church-yard, and all the clothes he wore during his sickness, his bed, his quilt, blankets, and every thing that was laid upon him. An entertainment is made three days after the funeral, to which all the relations and acquaintance of the deceased are invited; and then they regale themselves with the flesh of that reindeer which drew the corpse to its place of its interment. They very carefully gather up its bones in a basket, upon which they lay the figure of a man, as well as they are able to express it, either large or little, in proportion to the stature of the deceased, and bury them all together. It is customary there to drink bumpers round, in honour of the deceased, and this they call the *wine of the blessed*. The Laplanders keep an anniversary of their dead, which consists in an elegant entertainment, and the slaughter of several rein-deer, which are offered up, as it were, by way of sacrifice in honour of them.

“They have one more custom with respect to the dead, which is remarkable enough; and that is, they dip one of their fingers in brandy, and smear it over their faces by way of expiation. After that, they carouse and get drunk, and in their wild flights are lavish of their encomiums on the deceased, and enumerate a long catalogue of his good qualities and perfections.” *

* Picard, p. 343.

CHAPTER XX.

“Æternas Druidas apud eos animas asserere, vitamque esse alteram ad manes. Itaque cum mortuos cremant ac defodiunt, acta viventibus olim negociarum ratio, etiam et exactio crediti, defertur ad inferos, erantque qui se in rogos suorum velut una victuri libentur immitterunt.”

POMPONIUS MELA.

“Le Tableau de la situation presente des Americains est pour nous un miroir fidel qui nous reflechit la situation primitive des premieres habitans de notre pays. . . . N’oublions donc jamais que c’est dans la position present des peuples encore sauvages, que nous devons regarder la condition de nos ancetres qui etoient des sauvages.”—HISTOIRE DES PREMIERES TEMPS DE LA GAULE, PAR MONS. URBAIN, p. 17. Par. 1844.

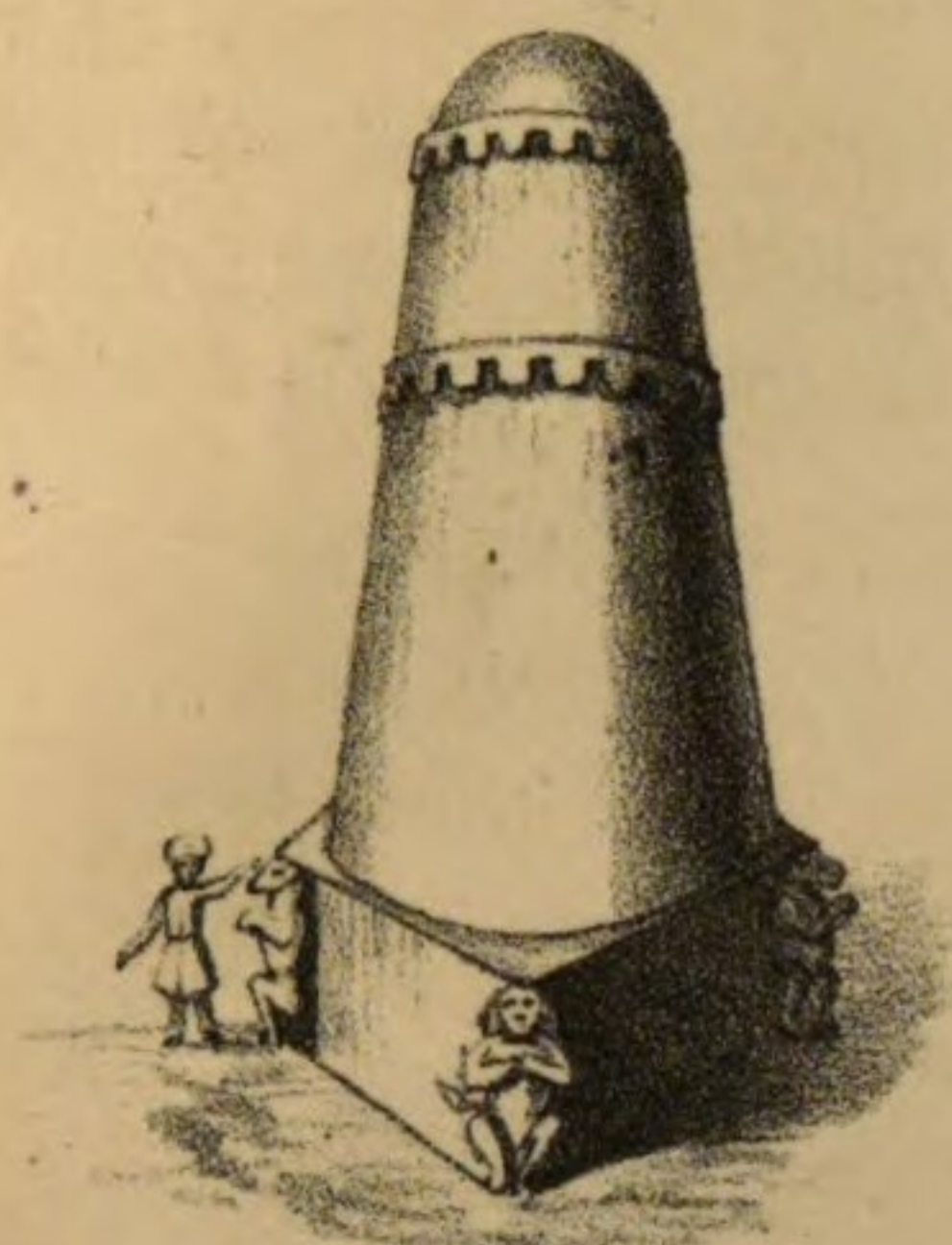
FUNERAL CUSTOMS OF THE HIBERNO-CELTS AND CELTIC DRUIDS.

ANTIQUARIANS, artists, and musicians, are singularly vehement, violent, and virulent in their discussions concerning the merits of persons who have attained to any eminence in their several professions. It is difficult to find any moderation in their estimate of the value of the labours of one and another.

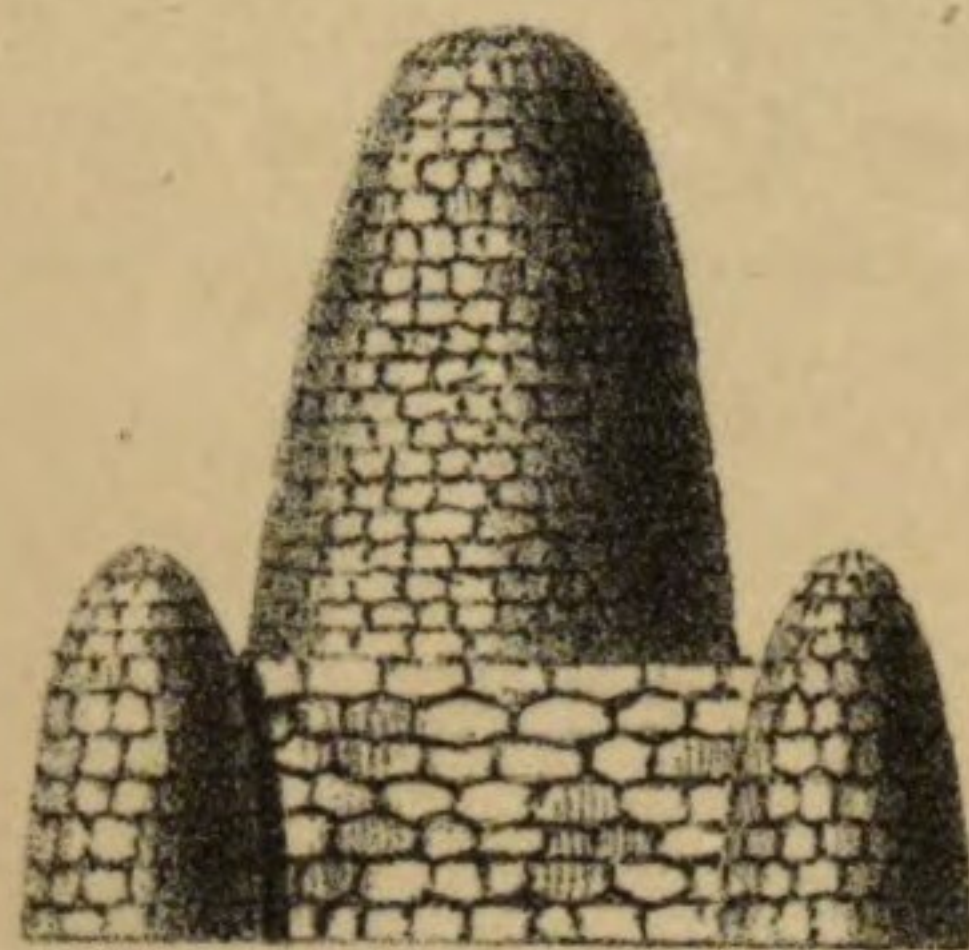
The only possible way of arriving at any thing like a fair judgment and just opinion on the subject of our ancient monuments, is to hear what antiquarians, modern and ancient, the revilers and reviled, the partisans of a pagan origin for those monuments, and those of the present day who can find no evidence of an earlier date for them than of the introduction of Christianity into those countries—have to say for their opinions in their own words.

General Vallancey, of the Hiberno-celtic antiquarians, may be considered as the champion of the Pagan origin party. He thus treats of our ancient monuments in “Collectanea:”—“The various modes of sepulture practised by our ancestors form a pleasing and extensive department in our antiquities. Sir James Ware* has treated it superficially; but Mr. Harris,† with

* Antiquit. cap. xxxii. p. 348. † Edition of Ware, p. 140.



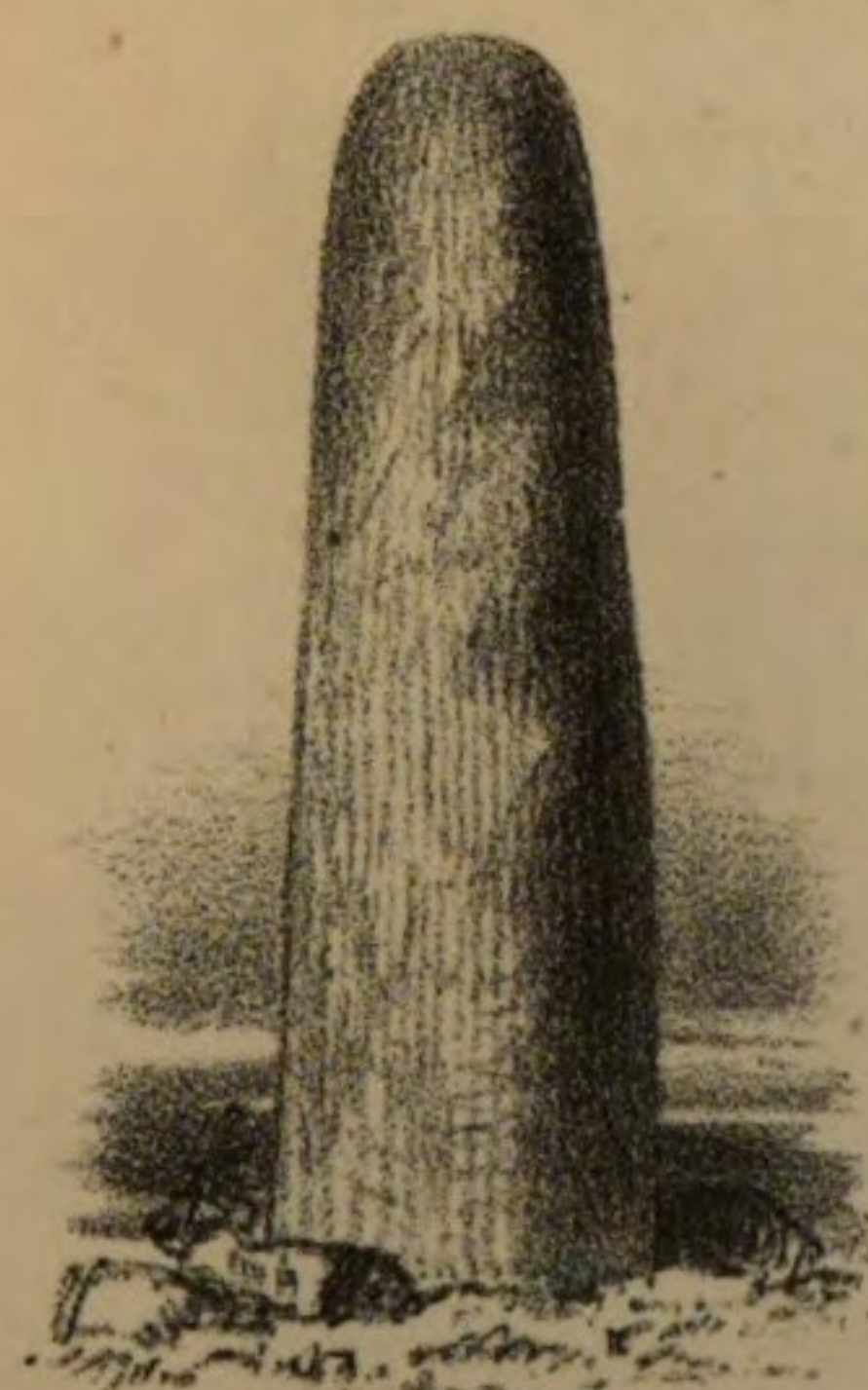
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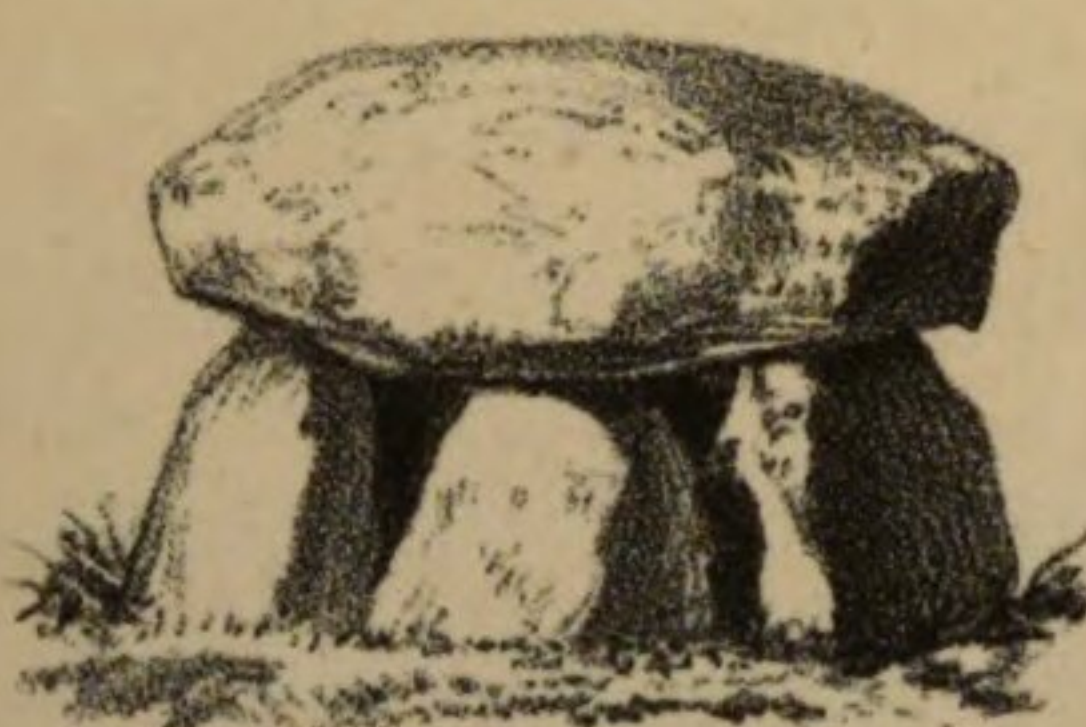
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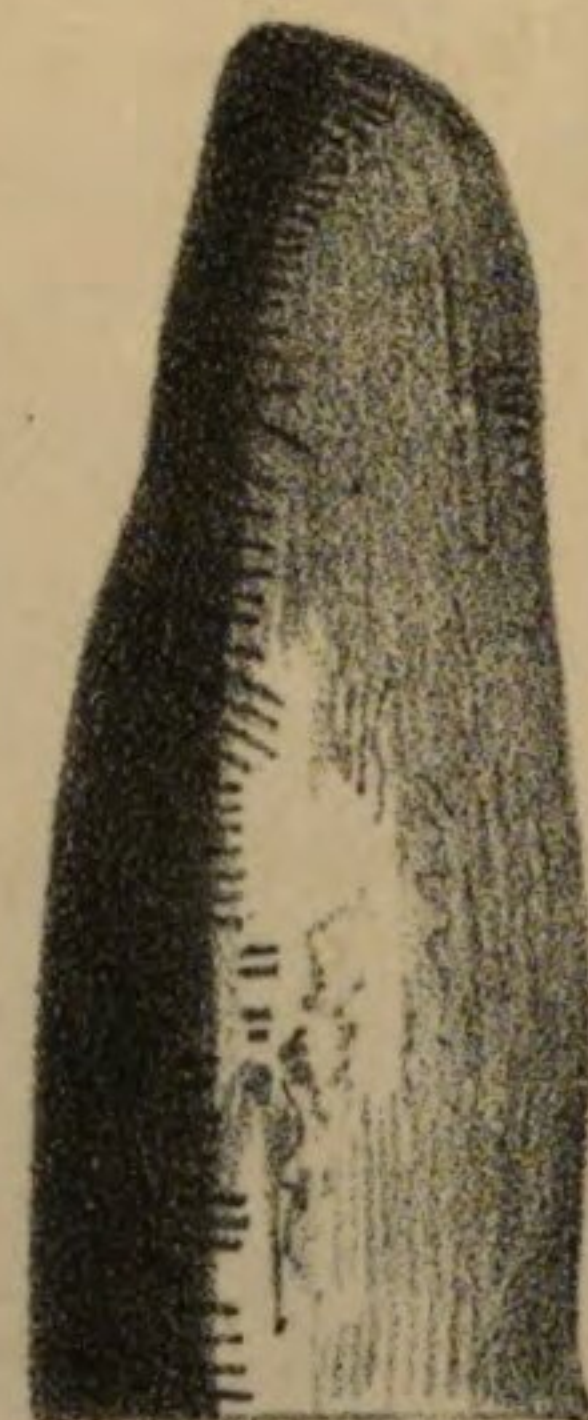
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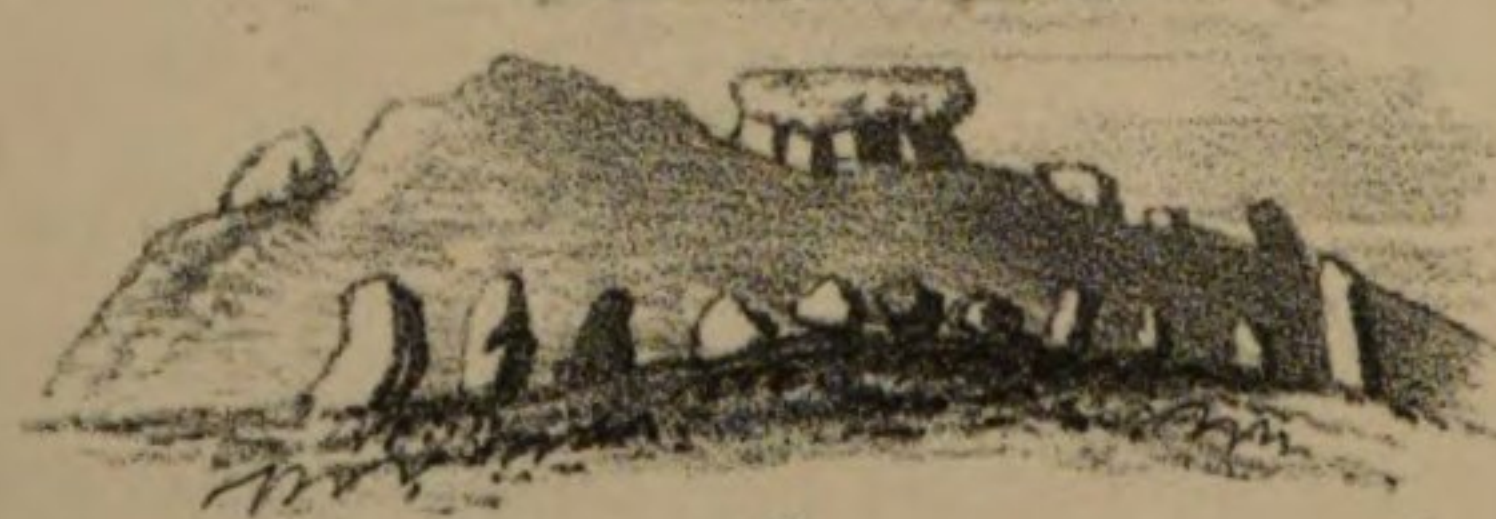
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11.

- 1, Phœnician Monument.
- 2, Sardinian Nuraghe
- 3, Irish Sepulchral Stone.
- 4, The Sea: Fail or Stone of Destiny.
- 5, Danish Cromlee.
- 6, Irish D°

- 7, Ogham Stone Irish.
- 8, Danish Ship Barrow.
- 9, Danish Tumulus K Harrald.
- 10, Danish Pillar Stone.
- 11, Stonehenge.

indefatigable industry, has made many valuable additions. The following remarks are given to excite attention, and as a specimen of what hereafter may be executed on a larger scale.

“*First epoch.*—Wormius has made a triple division of the modes of interment; it certainly is not accurate, but whatever contributes to throw a confused subject into order has its use, and must elucidate it. Cremation he speaks of first. Burning the body after death was universally prevalent in Europe in the earliest ages. It was confessedly so in Ireland.* There is a very concise, but objectionable manner of accounting for this and other Oriental customs, by saying they were introduced by Phenician colonies or Carthaginian traders. We can, in the present instance, recur to other and more satisfactory evidence.

“Odin, the great legislator and deity of the northern nations, arrived in Europe with his Asiatic Goths† twenty-four years before the Christian era; his laws respecting funeral solemnities here follow:‡—‘The bodies of the dead with their goods are to be burnt, and the people admonished, that the gods will receive those sacrifices with more distinguished favour, in proportion to their value and quantity. Great tumuli or barrows are to be raised over chiefs, and large stones to be set up for those who performed illustrious actions. His own body was burnt, and with it much gold and silver.§ Odin’s country was Georgia, on the confines of Persia, where the Sabeian institutes still preserved by the Brachmans were in use; some of the principal of their tenets were the adoration of the sun, the burning of their children and their dead.

“The celebrity of this leader, deified by his countrymen, the

* Harris’s Ware, supra Pomp. Mela, &c.

† In cujus tempora incidit Odinus, Asiaticæ immigrationis factæ anno 24, ante natum Christum, antesignanus Crymog. *Arng. Ion.* lib. i. cap. 4.

‡ Ille Wodenus, legem de mortuis, una cum eorum bonis comburendis tulit, monuitque, ut eo magis honorifice a Diis acciperentur, quo plura bona comburerentur. Mandavit etiam, ut optimatibus magnos tumulos in memoriam erigerent, atque ut eorum sepulchris, qui egregia patressent, magnos lapides superponerent. Woden Sigtuni obiit, magnoque honore, cum multo auro et argento, crematus est. *Messen. ex Chron. Antiq. Sueogothico.* Sturloson to the same purpose.

§ Warton’s History of English Poetry, Diss. 1.

actions and conquests of his heroic Asæ, and the bestowing the alphabetic elements on a rude people, were motives sufficient to excite admiration and establish his laws. They were adopted in part of Germany, in Sweden, Denmark and Norway, and must have soon found their way to the British isles, where numerous vestiges of cremation still remain. This hypothesis is not destitute of authority. Yet we may with confidence ascend higher, and say, that Sabeism was predominant in the East so early as the days of Abraham, and was carried by the primeval colonists of Europe to their various settlements; it is therefore no groundless conjecture to derive many Druidic usages from this source;* they are plainly of eastern origination, let their transit into the western world be settled as it may. Our cromlech, oaken groves, upright stone and coped cars refer to Oriental superstition; nor would the writer have hesitated to say the same of our round towers in the ensuing dissertation, was there any proof of our acquaintance with architecture in the ages antecedent to those assigned for their erection. Odin might then have done no more than give a new sanction to practices long before introduced.

“In Wormius’s age of cremation, the body, reduced to ashes, was placed in an urn and laid in the earth, over which a conical mound was raised, just sufficient to indicate what was under it.† The urn is always of baked clay, and the mouldings round the rim often shew both taste and design. Whatever we may conceive of the barbarism of those ages, they were by no means so rude and ignorant as is generally imagined; we have classical‡ authority that the Celts used earthen dishes at their tables, and pottery seems to have been well understood. Ware, Harris, Molyneux and Smith, give numberless instances of cremation among us, and others daily occur.

“*Second epoch.*—This Wormius calls the age of hillocks, when grandeur and more laboured sepulchres were formed of con-

* Warton, *supra*.

† Rudiores ex sola terra in rotunditatem et conum congesta. Worm. Monum. Danic.

‡ Strab. lib. iv. 155. Athen. Diepnosop, lib. iv. cap. 12.

siderable height,* and surrounded with rows of stones. If the laws of Odin were observed, the practices of the first and second epochs were the same. Wormius grounds the distinction on the bodies being consigned to the earth whole in the latter, which, had it been regular, made a material difference, but skeletons and urns full of burnt bones are frequently found in the same cemetery, which proves the impossibility of defining the duration of a custom when it is fluctuating and about to give way to a new one. The time when burning was exchanged for burying, in Ireland, was, according to our historians, in the reign of Eochadh, fourteen years before Christ. There is reason to believe cremation was not disused for many years after, as Pomponius Mela, who lived in the first century of Christianity, tells us the Druids used both modes of interment. So that probably not before the full establishment of the Christian religion in this isle did cremation entirely cease. It was again revived during the domination of the Ostmen here, in the ninth and tenth centuries, who were then pagans. On account of this last circumstance, it is no easy matter to ascertain the date of those monuments.

“The old Oriental custom becoming unfashionable in this second epoch, a new style in the construction of sepulchres, and disposing of the body, began. While cremation continued, an elegant campaniform, hollow, artificially made in the earth, as the barrows at Stonehenge are, and covered by a light tumulus, seemed a suitable receptacle for an urn and its cineritious contents. This was the idea of the Romans, as appears by their *Columbaria*.† Vast conservations of clay and stones were esteemed proper and graceful for the new mode. The tombs of the greatest leaders at first were humble, ‘but in process of time,’ says Wormius,‡ ‘more labour was bestowed on them.’

* *Arenam et terram exaggerando usque dum in justam monticuli insurgerent altitudinem. Etiam tumulos ipsos tam in apice quam circa casim visendæ magnitudinis cinxere saxis. Secunda ætas, quâ cadavera integra et non cremata cum suis ornamentis in circulo ex grandioribus confecta saxis, locabant. Worm. supra.*

† *Viaggiana. p. 113.*

‡ *Ætatis progressu pius operæ in magnatum tumulis positum videtur. Supra.*

“The splendour of personal valour, of great exploits, and extensive conquests, will ever give brilliancy to the memory of illustrious princes, and create a profound veneration for them. Odin gave the names of his twelve* deified companions to his children, to perpetuate this supernatural respect. From these the northern kings† traced their pedigree. Divine honours were paid to them, and the places of their interment became places of worship. The monstrous obelisks that compose the tomb of Harold Hyledetand, at Leire, in Seland, have an altar-stone, under which he lies, and on which the people annually performed sacrifices.‡ Wormius, Mr. Pennant, the Comte de Caylus, and every other intelligent writer, allow these stone circles to be sepulchral; and that they certainly are sepulchral, appears from a human body being found under each upright stone, in some circles lately opened in Connaught. So that, after all that has been written on Stonehenge, it may be the sepulture of Hengist and the Anglo-Saxon chiefs, the first being buried under the altar, and the others under the trilithons.

“These stone circles, thus dedicated to religious uses, their application to other solemn purposes easily followed. Here kings were elected and inaugurated, and courts of justice and single combats were held. We had formerly in our churches§ plays, feasts, courts-leet, and musters, and at present our kings are anointed there, all remains of ancient usages. As these pyramidal and perpendicular pillars had epitaphs|| expressing the name and rank of the deceased, so Christians imitated such examples by their grave-stones and tombs. Wormius, the two

* Sturlæsun.

† De quo (Wodeno) omnium sere barbarorum gentium regium genus lineam trahit. *Guil. Malmesb.*

‡ “Quotannis sacra peragantur.”—*Worm.* In the Larariums, the Romans preserved the ashes and pictures of their ancestors with their household gods. “Sed quum a prima origine intra suas quisque ædes defossa cadavera haberent, unde Lares in singulis œdibus colendi religio persuasit, in Larario, in quo præter deorum penatium etiam insignium virorum quas venerarentur, effictas imagines habebant.”—*Alex. ab Alexand. lib. vi.*

§ Canons of the Church of Ireland, A. D. 1634, Canon 92.

|| “Grandes cippos patriis literis notatos imposuerunt.”—*Worm.*

Magni, Saxo Grammaticus, and the northern writers, constantly and invariably refer to those lettered monuments for the determination of many important points in their history and antiquities, and with great justice, for our ancient stone crosses, which are the earliest substitutes for the heathen upright stones, contain many curious, authentic, yet hitherto unnoticed memorials; so that credit is due to what Camden reports, of a tin plate, inscribed with letters, being found at Stonehenge; as also to what Speed mentions, of an engraving in Danish characters existing on great stones at Exmore, in Devonshire. Did antiquarians, at home and abroad, carefully examine those stone circles, something worth the labour might be discovered.

“The rule given by Wormius,* of generals and chiefs being buried within a single, double, or triple row of pillars, may be partly true; but we know they were also erected as monuments of victories, and he gives instances of this in his work, so often quoted.

“The cairn as well as the stone pillar came from the east, and Rowlands, Harris, and others, are right in asserting it. Some are surrounded at the base with circles of stones, and some round the top: others have a circlet of smaller cairns on the summit of the larger ones. As they did not require so much of exertion as of perseverance, stones every where abounding, there are a great number and variety of them. These piles, says Mr. Pennant, may justly be supposed to have been proportioned in size to the rank of the person, or to his popularity; the people of a whole district assembled to show their respect to the deceased, and, by an active honouring of his memory, soon accumulated heaps, equal to those that astonish us at this day. Many of them have altars; all of them were places of worship. In these, too, inscriptions have been found; witness that valuable one at New Grange, *soon* to be laid before the public.

“As stone circles and cairns distinguished this second epoch,

* “Ex iis qui una vel multiplici saxorum serie circa basim cinguntur exercituum imperatoribus, aliisque magnatibus dicati creduntur.”—WORM.

so did high mounts ; these the Danes* raised over their kings and heroes, when stones were not convenient. The earliest of these mentioned in our history are those of Eogan and Fræchus,† on the plains of Moglene, in the King's County, A. D. 180. The tradition concerning them is so uninterrupted, that it would be worth while to have them opened ; their contents might furnish matter of curiosity and use.

“Third epoch, was that of Christianity, when the body was inclosed in a sarcophagus, or wooden coffin, and interred.”‡

“According to the Irish Annals, Eochadh Aireamh first introduced burying in this country, instead of burning or inclosing the body in urns ; over the grave, a flat or inclined stone was to be placed, with the name of the person written thereon. This transaction is generally placed in the year of the world 3952, or, according to the computation of Josephus, before Christ 240 ; and according to the present, only 46 years : but, according to the computation of St. Hierom, which was generally followed during the middle ages by the ancient Irish clergy, A. D. 11, about which time a number of the British Druids fled into Ireland, from the terror of the Roman arms. A number of these tombs are yet remaining in different parts of Ireland, several of which are inscribed with Druidic characters, and at this day are called by the natives *Leabana Feine*, that is, the bed, or grave, of the learned or noble people.”§

An English antiquarian has written a work on “The Celtic Druids, or an Attempt to shew that Druids were the Priests of Oriental Colonies,” that may be considered a vast store-house of antiquarian erudition, wherein some very extravagant opinions are to be found, but Celtic lore in abundance, to make ample

* “Sciendum autem, quod Dani propter defectum saxorum pyramides ac obeliscos extruere minime potuerint, in memoriam regum et heroum suorum ex terra coacervata ingentem molem, montis instar, eminentem erigere solebant.”—LINDEBROG. COMM.

† “Extant adhuc eo loci duo colles, quorum alter Eugenii, alter Fræchi Hispani, ibidem occisi, corpus sepultum traditur contexisse.”—O’FLAH. OGYG. p. 316.

‡ Vallancey Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis, vol. ii. p. 94—101.

§ Idem, vol. iii. p. 348.

amends for some speculative fallacies easily detected. This work, by an eminent scholar and a writer of indefatigable research, Godfrey Higgins, Esq., was published in London, in 1829, in 4to.

On the subject of pillar-stones, cromlechs, and cairns, he observes that,—“The first mention in the Scriptures of the setting up of a monumental stone is in Genesis xxviii. 18. ‘And Jacob rose up early in the morning and took the stone that he had put for his pillow, and set it up for a pillar, and poured oil on the top of it.’ ”

The cromleacs, or cromlechs of Great Britain, he states, are of four kinds: the single lithos, or upright stone; the same with a cross-piece on the top; another, consisting of two upright stones fixed in the ground with a third, in a horizontal or sloping position, laid on the upright stones; and lastly, the kistvaens of four stones, three upright and one superimposed. The word cromlech, he states, is derived from the Irish *crom*—to adore, and *leac*, which signifies stone, according to Toland.

Long after the introduction of Christianity, they appear to have been held in reverence and veneration.

By the council of Lateran, the adoration of stones *in ruinosis locis et sylvestris* was prohibited, and so late as 1672.

By the council of Paris, all these ancient monuments, where superstitious observances prevailed, were ordered to be destroyed.

The crosses which are to be found on some cromlechs, Higgins says, were an original and integral part of the old pagan monuments, and were not cut on them in later times by the Christians.

Grotius speaks of the Christian uses of such monuments of paganism:—“Infinite appropriations to various uses have been made of stone circles or stones, but we need only refer to patriarchal ages to shew that it was customary to erect stones upon memorable occasions: that among heathens they were consecrated and worshipped by travellers: that a stone called the mother of the gods was brought from Asia to Rome; and that large pillars of rude stone joined with others in squares and circles, of which some are placed as supporters, or flat stones of a

surprising magnitude, either in an inclined or horizontal position, are of Canaanitish or Phœnician origin." *

These stones were no doubt often sepulchral monuments. They were also set up as trophies of victories, as commemorative of covenants, emblems of power, and idols for worship, or objects of veneration in sacred places. It is to be observed that they resemble the Hindoo Lithoi, "of great size and strength, forming no part of the temple, but standing alone near it."

Cromlechs, then, are not always sepulchral monuments, though human bodies have been found beneath them.

The places where they exist have been made cemeteries on account of their supposed character for sanctity. The precincts of those ancient monuments were holy ground, and Higgins thinks it probable "the practice of burying in our church-yards was derived from this very custom." †

The most ancient of the cromlechs are supposed, by Higgins, to be those which bear the Welsh name of *kistvaens*.

These rude gigantic uninscribed monuments, which bear no marks of the chisel or the hammer, of having been either *taxata* or *perdolata ferro*, he says, "I think are not only druidical sepulchral monuments, but very early ones. But sepulchral, I think, they certainly are."

Borlase observes, "though these monuments greatly exceed the Christian era in all probability, yet it is very rare to find them give way to time, storm, or weight."

The huge incumbent stone is so geometrically placed that the efforts of the Vandals of our times are often insufficient for their destruction. These cromlechs are often found on the summits of tumuli, or surrounded by them. Burnt bones and ashes are often found near them.

The cairns of Ireland were another species of sepulchral monument, which consisted of great heaps of stones raised on the tops of hills or artificial tumuli, some of which, like those of New Grange in the county Meath, covered sepulchral cells or cham-

* Apuleius ii. 62. iii. Hist. Anglic. i. 147. ap. Higgins' Celtic Druids, p. 214.

† Celtic Druids, p. 212.

bers of Cyclopean architecture, or, at least, uncemented structures of large stones erected in Pagan times of a very ancient date, with indisputable evidences of sepulchral uses found in them.

It may not be uninteresting to give an account of one of those monuments described by Dr. Petrie :—

CROMLEACH, AT KNOCKEEN, COUNTY OF WATERFORD.

“The word Cromleach is from the Irish *Cromleac*, a pagan altar, which is a compound of *Crom*, God, and *leac*, a flat stone. The one now about to be described is situate on the gentle declivity of a small hill, as the name of the place, *Knockeen*, i. e. ‘the little hill,’ indicates, and was constructed of eight huge rocks, six of which stood upright, and the remaining two were laid flat upon some of the erect ones. One of the latter stones, which is about sixteen feet in length, and of proportionate breadth and thickness, weighing five or six tons, appears to have been balanced on the top of one of the upright rocks, as on a pivot. At the time I saw it, one end of this stupendous block seemed to be suspended in the air, but the other end was overgrown with ivy, which connected it with the stones beneath, and gave the whole group a very fantastic and grotesque effect. It is to be remarked that this structure lay due east and west, in conformity with the ancient custom, which assigned amongst the cardinal points a religious pre-eminence to the east.

“There cannot be a doubt but that the huge stones now being written of, served formerly as an altar for sacrifice. The kind of altars which, Wormius informs us, were used by the northern nations and Cimbri, is similar to that just described. This amazing pile of ponderous granite presents a specimen of the *Rocking-stones*, or *Baetylia* (i. e. *moving* or *animated stones*), which the late learned Dr. Lanigan finds fault with Bochart for calling *anointed* stones, although perhaps either epithet is equally appropriate. It is worthy of note that Dr. Smith, notwithstanding his acknowledged research, industry, and learning, has omitted to notice this Cromleach at Knockeen, in his able and laborious work on the county of Waterford.”*

* Dublin Penny Mag. 1833.

“Raghery, or the coast of Antrim, has formerly been, as it were, a stepping-stone between the Irish and Scottish coasts, which the natives of each country alternately used in their various expeditions, and for which they frequently fought.

“A number of small tumuli were lately opened in a little plain about the middle of the island, probably the monuments of so many heroes, who in former ages had fallen honourably in this very field of battle. The chief himself in a stone coffin, and beside him an earthen vessel stood, which, by the residuum still visible, seemed formerly to have contained an offering of blood, or some other perishable animal substance. Within the tumuli lay a considerable number of human bones, the remains of more ignoble men, who might have fallen by the like fate of war.

“Brazen swords, and spear-heads of the same metal, found in this plain, bear strong evidence of the bloody scenes which have been transacted here in remote ages. A large fibula was found in one of the tumuli, which is deposited in the museum of Trinity College, Dublin; the workmanship is good, and argues considerable skill in the artist.” *

PILLAR STONES.

In a recent communication of the Rev. Mr. Moore to an Antiquarian Society in Ireland, on the subject of those ancient monuments, it was stated, “that whatever might be the origin of the pillar stones that existed in Ireland, the idea of their erection came from the East, and there could be no doubt of the fact that amongst the early inhabitants of this country they were erected, not so much, if at all, for the purpose of religion, as for sepulchral monuments; though, doubtless as such, they were held in a certain degree of veneration. However strongly inclined persons of a poetic temperament should naturally be to cling to the romantic theories of the defunct school of antiquaries who represented Cromleahs and pillar stones as connected with the mysterious rites of Druidism, yet those speculations should ultimately and entirely give way before the over-

* Letters of the County of Antrim, by Rev. William Hamilton, p. 27.

- whelming proofs which were now brought forward to controvert them. The use of pillar stones to mark the burial places of remarkable personages was clearly shown by ancient records, even independent of the sepulchral remains usually found in connection with them, as in the case of the urns and human bones of that of Ballynoony. The curious Irish manuscript, termed 'The Dinuseanchus,' in describing the Royal Cemetery of the Kings of Tara, records, amongst other sepulchral monuments there, 'the pillar stone of Buidi, the son of Muiredh, where his head is interred.' It is also recorded, in the Book of Lecan, that when the celebrated King Dathi was interred at Rath Croghan, in Connaught, the cairrthe dearg, or red pillar stone, was placed as a monument over his grave. Dr. Wilde, in his 'Beauties of the Boyne and Blackwater,' remarks of this circumstance: 'The cemetery is still to be recognised among the great Rathes of Croghan; and we have often seen the pillar stone alluded to, where it stood in a field near the cross roads of that place, and was used as a 'scratching stone' by the fat cattle that grazed among the raths and upon the fertile plains of Rath Croghan.' Another old chronicler, quoted by Dr. Petrie, in his Essay on the Round Towers, noticed the fact, that upon the burial of Fothadh Airgthech, slain by Caeilte, the foster-brother of Finn MacCoul, at the battle of Olarba, in Antrim, in the year 285, a cairn was placed over the spot, and a pillar stone was there erected, on which was cut an Ogham inscription, stating 'Eochaid Airgthech here.' '*

ANCIENT IRISH SEPULCHRAL URNS.

"The custom of burning the dead, and depositing the ashes in urns, appears to have been general in every part of Europe, and many parts of Asia, in the most remote times. Cinerary urns of this kind are found daily in Ireland, which abounds with sepulchral monuments of Celtic people, to an extent greater than any other country of Europe—and the cairns or tumuli of the Irish are only excelled in grandeur of size and magnificence of construction by those of the ancient Greeks.

* Archæol. Soc. of Kil. Nov. 1849.

“ Sir Richard Colt Hoare, the greatest antiquarian explorer of the English barrows, is obliged to confess that the sepulchral urns of Ireland are superior in ornament to any found in England, and that the ornaments of gold frequently found in them, are richer and more numerous. He endeavours to account for this extraordinary circumstance by supposing Ireland to have been peopled by Gallic tribes, who poured into it at a later, and consequently more civilized period, than that at which they colonized Britain. But be this as it may—and we do not concur in his reasoning—the fact is acknowledged, that the Pagan Irish were superior in the arts of civilized life to their British neighbours.”*

An Irish antiquarian, of great repute in his day, has made some observations on Celtic monuments, which shew a knowledge of the subject not surpassed even in our times by many antiquarians. An autograph letter of this person, Thady O’Roddy, has been published by the Irish Archæological Society in 1846, and edited by Dr. Todd.

The letter is preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin.*

In this letter on the Ancient History of Ireland, referring to its monuments, he says:—“ For the causes of heaps of stones in several parts of Ireland, some of them were heaped as monuments, in memory of battles fought in such a place, some made in memory of some eminent persons buried in such a place, some of them laid over some corpse, as the Romans did. *Aggere cinctus.*”

“ For the forts called the Danes’ forts, its a mere vulgar error. For those forts (called Rathes) were entrenchments made by the Irish about their houses. For we never had any stone works in Ireland till after St. Patrick’s coming, anno Christi 432, the

* Dub. Pen. Mag. p. 108, 1833.

† O’Roddy was a practising lawyer in the reign of James the Second, and was sent to London on some legal business in 1688. He was a native of the county Leitrim, and farmed the monastic lands of Fenagh. He lost all his property at the revolution. He was living in 1702.

fifth year of the reign of Laogary McNeill.* So that all our kings, gentry, &c., had such raths or forts about their houses, &c.

“For the stones supported by pillars, they were the heathen priests’ altars, though vulgarly called Dermot and Grany’s beds,” &c.

Brown, in his quaint, but sagacious way, treats of the sepulchral barrows and cairns of England, in his “Tract IX. of Artificial Hills, Mounts, or Barrows, in many parts of England; what they are, to what end raised, and by what Nations.

“MY HONOURED FRIEND, MR. E. D., HIS QUÆRE.

“ ‘In my last summer’s journey through Marshland, Holland, and a great part of the Fens, I observed divers artificial heaps of earth of a very large magnitude, and I hear of many others which are in other parts of those countries, some of them at least twenty feet in direct height from the level whereon they stand. I would gladly know your opinion of them, and whether you think not that they were raised by the Romans or Saxons to cover the bones or ashes of some eminent persons?’

“MY ANSWER.

“WORTHY SIR,

“Concerning artificial mounts and hills, raised without fortifications attending them, in most parts of England, the most considerable thereof I conceive to be of two kinds; that is, either signal boundaries and land-marks, or else sepulchral monuments or hills of interment for remarkable and eminent persons, especially such as died in the wars.

“As for such which are sepulchral monuments, upon bare and naked view they are not appropriable unto any of the three nations of the Romans, Saxons, or Danes, who, after the Britains, have possessed this land; because, upon strict account, they may be applicable unto them all.

* O’Roddy means that there were no buildings of stone cemented by mortar before the introduction of Christianity. “For,” adds the editor, Dr. Todd, “the Cahers, or Cyclopean stone forts, built without cement, are as old as any of the earthen raths.” Petrie (Round Towers, p. 445) speaks of a Cathair, or stone fort at Fenagh, said to have been built 400 years before Christ.

“For that the Romans used such hilly sepultures, beside many other testimonies, seems confirmable from the practice of Germanicus, who thus interred the unburied bones of the slain soldiers of Varus; and that expression of Virgil, of high antiquity among the Latins—

‘—— facit ingens monte sub alto
Regis Dercenni terreno ex aggere Bustum.’

“That the Saxons made use of this way is collectible from several records, and that pertinent expression of Lelandus,* *Saxones gens Christi ignara, in hortis amænis, si domi forte ægroti moriebantur; sin foris et bello occisi, in egestis per campos terræ tumulis, quos (Burgos appellabant) sepulti sunt.*’

“That the Danes observed this practice, their own antiquities do frequently confirm, and it stands precisely delivered by Adolphus Cyprius, as the learned Wormius† hath observed: ‘*Dani olim in memoriam Regum et Heroum, ex terra coacervata ingentes moles, Montium instar eminentes, erexisse, credibile omnino ac probabile est, atque illis in locis ut plurimum, quo sæpe homines commearent, atque iter haberent, ut in viis publicis posteritati memoriam consecrarent, et quodammodo immortalitati mandarent.*’ And the like monuments are yet to be observed in Norway and Denmark in no small numbers.

“So that upon a single view and outward observation they may be the monuments of any of these three nations; although the greatest number, not improbably, of the Saxons, who fought many battels with the Britons and Danes, and also between their own nations, and left the proper name of barrows for these hills still retained in many of them, as the seven barrows upon Salisbury Plain, and in many other parts of England.

“But of these and the like hills there can be no clear and assured decision without an ocular exploration and subterraneous enquiry, by cutting through one of them either directly or cross-wise; for so, with lesser charge, discovery may be made what is under them, and, consequently, the intention of their erection.

“For if they were raised for remarkable and eminent bounda-

* Leland. in *Assertionem Regis Arthuri*.

† Wormius in *Monumentis Danicis*.

ries, then about their bottom will be found the lasting substances of burnt bones of beasts, of ashes, bricks, lime, or coals.

“ If urns be found, they might be erected by the Romans before the term of urn-burying or custom of burning the dead expired ; but if raised by the Romans after that period, inscriptions, swords, shields, and arms after the Roman mode, may afford a good distinction.

“ But if these hills were made by Saxons or Danes, discovery may be made from the fashion of their arms, bones of their horses, and other distinguishing substances buried with them.

“ And for such an attempt there wanteth not encouragement ; for a like mount or barrow was opened in the days of King Henry the Eighth, upon Barham Down, in Kent, by the care of Mr. Thomas Digges, and charge of Sir Christopher Hales ; and a large urn with ashes was found under it, as is delivered by Thomas Twynus De Rebus Albionis, a learned man of that country : ‘ Sub incredibili terræ acervo, urna cinere ossium magnorum fragmentis plena, cùm galeis, clypeis æneis et ferreis rubigine ferè consumptis, inusitatæ magnitudinis, eruta est ; sed nulla inscriptio nomen, nullum testimonium tempus, aut fortunam exponebant ;’ and not very long ago, as Camden* delivereth, in one of the mounts of Barklow Hills, in Essex, being levelled, there were found three troughs, containing broken bones, conceived to be of Danes ; and in later time, we find that a barrow was opened in the Isle of Man, wherein fourteen urns were found with burnt bones in them : and one, more neat than the rest, placed in a bed of fine white sand, containing nothing but a few brittle bones, as having passed the fire, according to the particular account thereof in the Description of the Isle of Man.† Surely many noble bones and ashes have been contented with such hilly tombs, which, neither admitting ornament, epitaph, or inscription, may, if earthquakes spare them, outlast all other monuments. *Suæ sunt metis metæ.* Obelisks have their term, and pyramids will tumble, but these mountainous monuments will stand, and are like to have the same period with the earth.”‡

The Reverend Horatio Townsend, A.M., in his Survey of

* Camd. Brit. p. 326.

† Published 1656, by Dan. King.

‡ Tract IX, of Tumuli, and of Romans, Saxons, Danes, pp. 151—156.

the County of Cork, treats with ability and candour, and evident love of truth, and good taste and sense, the subject of this chapter. He praises Dr. Ledwich, however, for having removed the rubbish of ancient history after the prevailing fashion, very abundantly: and yet had to devote a considerable portion of his article on Irish Monuments, in removing the rubbish of Dr. Ledwich's criticisms on his predecessors.

Mr. Townsend's views are generally those which lean to the Christian era of our monuments:—

“The most ancient monuments of human labour (for art seems an improper term for works so rude) are stone circles, trilithons, usually called Druids' altars, raths, or circular mounds of earth, caves and stone pillars. Of all these, many are still remaining, raths being by far the most numerous. Tradition, which preserves no memory of the rest, assigns the rath to the northern invaders, whose name it still bears, being commonly called a Danish fort.* Doctor Ledwich, to whose diligence in removing the rubbish of ancient history the curious are much indebted, describes a remarkable mound at New Grange, on the top of which a singular sepulchral monument was discovered. This he looks upon to be Danish, as well from its similarity to such works in the northern parts of Europe, as from some other circumstances. Barrows of this kind, which are also found in England, particularly in the neighbourhood of Salisbury Plain, were, he observes, monumental, erected to the memory of some king or chief, and sometimes, probably, as memorials of a vic-

* “It will be remembered, that I am speaking only of raths found in this county, the form and circumstances of which, differing extremely from those of Salisbury Plain, seem fairly imputable to a different cause. Our raths are never contiguous, and their common position is, not on commanded, but commanding situations. In places chosen for habitable purposes only, the near convenience of water seems to have been invariably attended to. Rathes are frequently found at a distance from it, so that there must have been some circumstance of more importance than even that necessary article to direct the choice of a situation. This was possibly the strength of the position. Another circumstance seems to prove that they are not of very early origin, and that is, their having no apparent connexion with those heaps of burned stones so abundantly found here, with which, in times of remote antiquity, the natives cooked their food.”

tory. The form of our raths seems to indicate a different purpose. The mound, or barrow, properly so called, is high and flat-topped, resembling a sugar-loaf deprived of its apex. The rath is, in fact, a circular fortification, agreeing with the barrow only in the rotundity of its figure. It is formed by a circular excavation, inclosing sometimes more, but generally much less than an English acre. The earth so raised, being thrown inwards, forms a bank or rampart, that conceals and shelters the inner part of the fort, which is seldom much elevated above the surrounding land. It is further protected and secured by the depth and breadth of the ditch, from which the earth of the rampart was taken. There seem to have been sometimes one and sometimes two places of entrance; though possibly one of these may have been the work of later times. The situation of these forts is generally on high ground, and their position such as to command a communication with each other. In most, probably in all of them, is a vault seldom extending more than a few yards, about four feet wide, and too low to be entered, except in a bending posture. . . .

“Of the cromlech, or Druid's altar, religion has always claimed the exclusive appropriation, but circles and upright stones were monumental as well as sacred, sometimes constituting a temple, and sometimes gracing the hero's tomb. This, though it may at first appear to involve some confusion, is perfectly reconcilable with truth and reason. The shrine of departed excellence, considered in all ages as sacred, afforded a fit place for the offering of vows and the invocation of the Deity. Tombs were, therefore, sometimes the origin of temples, and sometimes, in consequence of the connexion, temples became an appropriate situation for tombs. The relation of each to the other originated in the earliest ages, subsists in the present, and will probably continue to the latest. The religious monuments of our pagan ancestors appear to have had another use, serving, as sacerdotal and legislative functions were so often united, for the investiture of chiefs and the administration of justice.

“The upright stones so often found here, appear to have been monumental. In general there are two, within a very short

distance of each other, and of unequal heights. These were obviously intended to mark the grave of some distinguished person.

“The early inhabitants of this country felt a strong predilection for rotundity of form in their public works. Besides barrows, forts and stone circles, a regard to that figure is also seen in the trilithon, the most ancient of all their monuments, the upper stone or impost of which comes as near to rotundity as the rude workmanship of nature would allow. This observation, however, is not, I believe, extensively applicable to the trilithon, which in some parts of Great Britain is represented as of an oblong shape. Here, where it was very easy to have formed an oblong altar, stones of that shape being most abundant as well as most manageable, they seem to have been very assiduous in selecting the roundest.* The general prejudice in favour of rotundity originated probably from a pious desire of imitating the form of the great luminaries, natural objects of wonder and adoration to the untutored mind.

“At Temple Brien, near Cloghnakilty, are the ruins of an old church, placed, as all of them seem to have been, within a small quadrangular inclosure. The dimensions, which may still be traced, shew it to have been very small, and the decayed state of what little wall remains, proves it to be very ancient. On the north side of the church, and within a few paces, stands a curious pillar, consisting of a single stone, from fourteen to fifteen feet in length, near five feet being under ground. It is about four feet in circumference at the bottom, and tapers gradually in rising, approaching almost to a point at the summit. The form is quadrilateral, but it has been rounded off at the angles, and there were formerly four stones indented in such a manner as to fit exactly the four corners of the pillar. One of these is still remaining. On one of its sides is the rude form of a cross, superadded by Christian piety, if, as generally supposed, the pillar itself be of pagan origin. Of this there would be little doubt, but for the appearance of art employed in its formation.

* “By this is not to be understood the roundness of a sphere, but of a millstone.”

Stone circles, altars and other monuments of pagan erection in this county, appear to be the work of a people unprovided with any instrument for stone-cutting. Incapable of gratifying their deities by works of elegance, they endeavoured to make them acceptable by a rude grandeur. For the exertions of art they substituted those of labour. But in this pillar, the present form of which cannot be considered natural, appear evident marks of an artist's hand. The situation of the place has other claims to antiquarian consideration. The quadrangular spot, within which the church and pillar stand, is placed nearly in the centre of a large oval enclosure, containing about four acres. This was once surrounded, like the raths, by a wide ditch, of which some part is still remaining. On the north side is a cave running from east to west, the sides being supported by walls, and covered over with coarse slates or flags, which are so near the surface as to be sometimes disturbed by the plough. As far as one can see, it appears to be low and narrow, and is said, by the country people, to extend much farther than modern curiosity is willing to explore. Human bones are often found within the area of this singular inclosure.

“About four hundred yards south of the old church, is a circle of large stones, thirty feet in diameter, five of which only retain their upright position. A representation of it is given in Smith's History of Cork, as it stood in 1742, when visited by the Bishop of Clogher. His lordship (he adds), who published a dissertation on stone monuments, considered it to have been a heathen temple. The number of stones then forming the circle was nine. . . . In the neighbourhood of Ross, near the village of Newmill, is another circle, composed of similar stones, and nearly of the same dimensions. In this, too, there are five stones still standing, and so close to each other, that, if all were equi-distant, more than nine must have been required to complete the circle. There is no trace of a central stone, as at Temple-brien, nor are they arranged in the same manner, some being placed with their sides, others with their edges towards the centre. This appears to have been a favourite scene of religious exercise, for within a few feet of the circle is a Druid's

altar, and, at the distance of a hundred yards, an upright stone of the same kind as those that compose the circle. The upper stone of the altar, which has three supporters, is very ponderous, and bears some resemblance in its form to a skettle bowl. This is the only instance I know of a connexion between the circle and the altar, which are usually found remote from each other, as if the works of different ages. The point of priority I am disposed to assign to the altar, which, as will hereafter be shewn, appears to be among the earliest efforts of superstition. The direction contained, as Dr. Ledwich observes, in some of the northern codes, enjoining the erection of stone circles in honour of the deceased, is a strong reason for assigning them a later date. It is observable that though many of the early churches were built upon pagan sites, we have no instance, here at least, of any standing near a Druid's altar. Groves, circles, and upright stones, seemed to have marked the sacred spots on which the churches of the first Christian converts were placed. The ponderous trilithon, as of earlier date, might have fallen into some disuse before the introduction of Christianity.

“Near the village of Glanworth, in the barony of Fermoy, is a pagan monument, not more remarkable for its size than its singularity, no similar work being found in any other part of the county. . . .

“This huge sepulchral monument, called in Irish, Labacolly, (*i. e.* the hag's or witch's bed) is composed of two immense stones, supported on each side by a double range of smaller ones. One of the incumbent stones, which is flat underneath, and rises on the upper side like a roof, measures about sixteen feet in length, six and a half in breadth, and three feet in thickness at its middle. This stone covers the west end, and retains pretty nearly its original position. The other, which is about half its size, has been displaced, apparently in consequence of the supporters giving way. Perhaps it may have been disturbed by a search for treasure, which the common people still think is to be found there. The supporting stones, which resemble large flags, are regularly placed, the flat side being turned to the vault, which is still hollow and

very spacious. It is about six feet wide, and in its original state might have been about twenty-five feet long. The vulgar notion of its being a giant's tomb, if not founded in truth, is at least not destitute of probability, from its enormous dimensions. If intended for the repository of a single body, as was usually the case, nothing less than a giant could have occupied so great a space

At a little distance from the monument is a small hill, the regular rotundity of which gives evident marks of artificial conformation. This is further confirmed by its appellation, being called "the hill of Labacolly."

That this singular monument was sepulchral, and may be referred to a very remote antiquity, is all that modern curiosity seems likely to discover.

The purposes of stone circles, trilithons, and pillars are too obvious to be mistaken. The uses of those long and narrow caves, which we sometimes find, are less easily ascertained . . .

Some have considered these caves as the work of pagan priests, who hoped by this gloomy kind of immersion to enhance the sanctity of their character. Tripods and caves were the places from whence oracles were delivered of old, and they bear a striking, though not, as I know, noticed, analogy to our vaults and trilithons. At Ross-carbery, a very old seat of religious worship, are caves of much greater size and extent than that at Temple-brien. In these (at present closed up) were discovered many small chambers, bearing evident marks of fire, and connected by narrow passages. Some of them are very far beneath the present surface, but not having been thoroughly explored, their number and extent is unknown. They certainly are very ancient, and it is difficult to account for works of such construction at so early an age upon any other than religious principles. Whoever, therefore, were the constructors of our stone monuments, we may confidently rank the greater number of them not only among the most curious, but also among the most early relics of pagan antiquities." *

* Survey of the County of Cork, by the Rev. Horatio Townsend, M.A. Second Edition, 1815, vol. i. pp. 107—144.

Dr. Petrie, in his admirable work on "The Origin and Use of the Round Towers" of Ireland, published in the twenty-second volume of the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, in 1845, and likewise in his treatise on "The History and Antiquities of Tara Hill," read before the Royal Irish Academy in April and May, 1837, and published in the transactions of that body, vol. xviii. part 2, embodies the most valuable information that exists on the subject of Hiberno-Celtic sepulchral monuments.

"I shall adduce a few notices from our manuscripts, which will satisfactorily show what the sepulchral usages of the pagan Irish were, and be sufficient to demonstrate that the hypothesis of the South Munster Antiquaries is wholly visionary.

"The first authority which I shall adduce will satisfactorily prove that the Irish in pagan times had regal cemeteries in various parts of the island, appropriated to the interment of the princes of the different races, who ruled as sole monarchs, or provincial kings, or toparchs; and that such cemeteries were well known to the people in Christian times, though no longer appropriated to their original purpose, except in one or two instances, where the localities were consecrated to the service of Christianity. This valuable authority is preserved in one of the most celebrated Irish manuscripts, the '*Leabhar na h-Uidhre*,'—a work compiled at Clonmacnoise, and transcribed by Moelmuiri, the son of Ceileachar, the grandson of Conn na m-bocht, a distinguished writer of that great abode of learning, the *Scoto-rum nobile culmen*,' in the twelfth century, and of which the autograph original on vellum, the property of Messrs. Hodges and Smith, is now before me. The article, which I give entire, is called '*Senchas na Relec*,' or History of the Cemeteries; and I may add, that, judging from its language, its age must be referred to a period several centuries earlier than that in which its transcriber flourished."*

"A great king of great judgments assumed the sovereignty of Erin, i. e. Cormac, son of Art, son of Conn of the Hundred Battles. Erin was prosperous in his time, because just judg-

* Survey of the County of Cork, by the Rev. Horatio Townsend, M.A. Second Edition, 1815, vol. i. p. 97.

ments were distributed throughout it by him; so that no one durst attempt to wound a man in Erin during the short jubilee of seven years; for Cormac had the faith of the one true God, according to the law, for he said that he would not adore stones or trees, but that he would adore him who had made them, and who had power over all the elements, i. e. the one powerful God who created the elements; in him he would believe. And he was the third person who had believed, in Erin, before the arrival of St. Patrick. Conchobor Mac Nessa, to whom Altus had told concerning the crucifixion of Christ, *was the first*; Morann, the son of Cairbre Cinncait (who was surnamed Mac Main), was the second person; and Cormac was the third; and it is probable that others followed on their track in this belief.

“ ‘Where Cormac held his court was at Tara, in imitation of the kings who preceded him, until his eye was destroyed by Engus Gaibhuaiphnech, the son of Eochaidh Finn Fuath-airt; but afterwards he resided at Acaill (the hill on which Scrin Colaim Cille is at this day), and at Cenannas [Kells], and at the house of Cletech; for it was not lawful that a king with a *personal* blemish should reside at Tara. In the second year after the injuring of his eye he came by his death at the house of Cletech, the bone of a salmon having stuck in his throat. And he (Cormac) told his people not to bury him at Brugh (because it was a cemetery of idolaters), for he did not worship the same God as any of those interred at Brugh; but to bury him at Ros na righ, with his face to the east. He afterwards died, and his servants of trust held a council, and came to the resolution of burying him at Brugh, the place where the kings of Tara, his predecessors, were *buried*. The body of the king was afterwards thrice raised to be carried to Brugh; but the Boyne swelled up thrice, so as that they could not come; so that they observed that it was ‘violating the judgment of a prince,’ to break through this testament of the king, and they afterwards dug his grave at Ros na righ, as he himself had ordered.

“ ‘These were the chief cemeteries of Erin before the Faith [i. e. before the introduction of Christianity], viz. Cruachu,

Brugh, Tailltiu, Luachair Ailbe, Oenach Ailbe, Oenach Culi, Oenach Colmain, Temhair Erann.

“ ‘ Oenach Cruachan, in the first place, it was there the race of Heremon, i. e. the kings of Tara, were used to bury until the time of Cremhthann, the son of Lughaidh Raibh-n-derg (who was the first king of them who was interred at Brugh), viz. Cobhthach Coelbreg, and Labhraidh Loingsech, and Eochu Fedhlech with his three sons (i. e. the three Fidhemhna, i. e. Bres, Nar, and Lothor), and Eochu Airemh, Lughaidh Raibh-n-derg, the six daughters of Eochu Fedhlech (i. e. Medhbh, and Clothru, Muresc, and Drebbriu, Mugain, and Ele), and Ailill Mac Mada with his seven brothers (i. e. Cet, Anlon, Doche, *et ceteri*), and all the kings *down* to Cremhthann (these were all buried at Cruachan). Why was it not at Brugh that the kings (of the race of Cobhthach down to Crimhthann) were interred? Not difficult; because the two provinces, which the race of Heremon possessed, were the province of Gailian (i. e. the province of Leinster), and the province of Olnecmacht (i. e. the province of Connaught). In the first place, the province of Gailian was occupied by the race of Labhraidh Loingsech, and the province of Connaught was the peculiar inheritance of the race of Cobhthach Coelbreg; wherefore it (i. e. the province of Connaught) was given to Medhbh before every other province. (The reason that the government of this land was given to Medhbh is, because there was none of the race of Eochaidh fit to receive it but herself, for Lughaidh was not fit for action at the time). And whenever, therefore, the monarchy of Erin was enjoyed by any of the descendants of Cobhthach Coelbreg, the province of Connaught was his *ruidles* (i. e. his native principality). And for this reason they were interred at Oenach na Cruachna. But they were interred at Brugh from the time of Crimhthann (Naidhnar), to the time of Loeghaire, the son of Niall, except three persons, namely, Art, the son of Conn, and Cormac, the son of Art, and Niall of the Nine Hostages.

“ ‘ We have already mentioned the cause for which Cormac was not interred there. The reason why Art was not interred there is, because he ‘believed,’ the day before the battle of

Muccramma was fought, and he predicted the Faith (i. e. that Christianity would prevail in Erin), and he said that his own grave would be at Dumha Dergluachra, where Treoit [Trevet] is at this day, as he mentioned in a poem which he composed, viz. *Cain do denda dena* (i. e. a poem which Art composed, the beginning of which is *Cain do denna den*, &c.) When his (Art's) body was afterwards carried eastwards to Dumha Dergluachra, if all the men of Erin were drawing it thence, they could not, so that he was interred in that place, because there was a Catholic church to be afterwards at the place where he was interred (i. e. Treoit *hodiè*), because the truth and the faith had been revealed to him through his regal righteousness.

“ ‘ Where Niall was interred was at Ochain, whence the hill was called Ochain, i. e. *Och Caine*, i. e. from the sighing and lamentation which the men of Erin made in lamenting Niall.

“ ‘ Conaire More was interred at Magh Feci in Bregia (i. e. at Fert Conaire) ; however, some say that it was Conaire Carpraige was interred there, and not Conaire Mor, and that Conaire Mor was the third king who was interred at Tara, viz. Conaire, Loeghaire, and * * * *.

“ ‘ At Tailltin the kings of Ulster were used to bury, viz. Olamh Fodhla, with his descendants down to Conchobor, who wished that he should be carried to a place between Sleá and the sea, with his face to the east, on account of the faith which he had embraced.

“ ‘ The nobles of the Tuatha De Danann were used to bury at Brugh, (i. e. the Dagda with his three sons ; also Lughaidh, and Oe, and Ollam, and Ogma, and Etan, the Poetess, and Corpre, the son of Etan), and Cremhthann followed them because his wife Nar was of the Tuatha Dea, and it was she solicited him that he should adopt Brugh as a burial-place for himself and his descendants, and this was the cause that they did not bury at Cruachan.

“ ‘ The Lagenians (i. e. Cathair with his race, and the kings who were before them) were buried at Oenach Ailbhe. The Clann Dedad (i. e. the race of Conaire and Erna) at Temhair

Erann ; the men of Munster (i. e. the Dergthene) at Oenach Culi, and Oenach Colmain ; and the Connacians at Cruachan.'

"The preceding document will, I think, be sufficient to satisfy all rational inquirers of the visionary character of the hypothesis of the Round Towers having been erected as places of sepulture, at least in pagan times ; for, though it does not throw any light on the character of the monuments in use preceding Christianity, it refers us distinctly to their principal localities, in many of which we may still examine the monuments themselves.

"Our ancient MSS., in like manner, acquaint us with the localities of the principal battle-fields in Ireland, and with the particular monuments of the most distinguished kings and warriors, from the earliest periods to the establishment of Christianity in the country ; and in most of these localities the monuments still remain. But do we in any of those places discover a Round Tower, or the vestige of one ? Most assuredly not, nor any monument having a characteristic in common with one. We find the stone cairn and the green mound, with their sepulchral chambers within them, and their monumental character indicated by the upright stones, sometimes single, like the *stele* of the Greeks—and sometimes forming a circle, or concentric circles. We find the giants' graves, or beds, as they are called by the Irish—the cromlechs and Druid's altars of speculative antiquaries. And when we explore any of these monuments, we find, according to their age, either the rude *unglazed* sepulchral urn of baked clay, and occasionally of stone, containing bones more or less calcined, or unburned skeletons, or occasionally both, in the same sepulchre. We also find very frequently weapons of stone or metal ; and, in monuments of importance indicating the distinguished rank of the person interred, ornaments of silver and gold. And that such and no other were the varieties of sepulchral monuments in use in Ireland in pagan times, a volume of historical evidences from our ancient MSS. might be adduced to prove ; a few examples will, however, be sufficient for my present purpose. Thus, as an example of the class of monuments in use in Ireland during the

sway of the Tuatha De Danann race, as well as subsequently, I take the two following passages, relative to the monuments at the royal cemetery of Brugh na Boinne, on the banks of the Boyne, as given in the Dinnsenchus, contained in the Book of Ballymote, fol. 190.

“ ‘Of the monuments of Brugh here, viz. the Bed of the daughter of Forann, the Monument of the Dagda, the Mound of the Morrigan, the Monument of [*the monster*] Mata; it is from its *colpa*, or thigh, Inbher Colptha is called; the *Barc* of Crimthann Nianar, in which he was interred; the grave of Fedelmídh, the Lawgiver, the *Carnail* [stone carn] of Conn of the Hundred Battles, the *Cumot* [commensurate grave] of Cairbre Lifeachair, the *Fulacht* of Fiacha Sraiptine.’

“ The second passage enters more into detail, as follows:—

“ ‘Aliter. The Bed of the Dagda, first; the Two Paps of the Morrigan, at the place where Cermud Milbhel, son of the Dagda, was born; the Grave of Boinn, the wife of Nechtan; it was she took with her the small hound called Dabilla, from which Cnoc Dabilla is called; the Mound of Tresc; the grave of Esclam, the Dagda’s Brehon, which is called *Fert-Patric* at this day; [*the monuments of*] Cirr and Cuirrell, wives of the Dagda; these are two hillocks; the grave of Aedh Luirgnech, son of the Dagda; the cave of Buailce Bec; the monument of Cellach, son of Maelcobha; the monument of the steed of Cinaedh, son of Irgalach; the prison of Liath-Macha; the glen of the Mata, i. e. the monster, as some assert; the pillar-stone of Buidi, the son of Muiredh, where his head is interred; the stone of Benn, i. e. the monument on which the monster Mata was killed; it had one hundred and forty legs and four heads; the Mound of the bones; the *Caisel* (stone enclosure) of Aengus, son of Crunnmael; *Rout sula* Midir, &c.’

“As examples of the sepulchral monuments of this Tuatha De Danann race most familiar to the majority of my readers, I may point to the magnificent mounds situated on the Boyne at Drogheda, Dowth, Knowth, and New Grange, which last has lain open to the inspection of the curious during the last hundred

and fifty years. And in connection with these monuments, I may observe, that the occasional absence of articles of value within them, when opened in modern times, by no means proves that such had not been deposited there originally, as the plundering of these very sepulchres by the Danes is recorded in the Annals of Ulster at the year 862 :

“ ‘ A. D. 862. The cave of Achadh Aldai and of Cnodhba [Knowth], and the cave of the sepulchre of Boadan over Dubhad [Dowth], and the cave of the wife of Gobhan, were searched by the Danes, *quod antea non perfectum est*, on one occasion that the three kings Amlaff, Imar, and Auisle, were plundering the territory of Flann, the son of Conaing.’ ”

“ As an example of the monuments of a different race, and of later date, I may refer to the cemetery called Relec na Riogh, at Rathcroghan, the place of interment of many of the kings of the Scotie or Milesian race, and at which was interred the last pagan monarch of this race, — the celebrated Dathi, — who was killed by lightning, according to our annalists, in the year 406.

“ In the ancient MS. from which the preceding tract on the pagan cemeteries of Ireland has been taken, there is also a tract on the deaths and burials of Dathi, the last pagan monarch, and the other princes of this race interred at Rathcroghan, from which I extract the following poem, ascribed to Dorban, a poet of West Connaught, as it will very clearly show the character of the sepulchral monuments in that great regal cemetery.

‘ Niam and Drucht and Dathi,
Three daughters of Rossachi,
His seven brothers,—great his household,—
With Ailell of fair Bregia,
These are *buried* in the great mound
Which is at the Oenach, without doubt,
Three sons of the King of extensive Leinster,
With *his* three beauteous daughters.
To reckon or to tell
The number of heroes under them [the mounds]
Is not in the power of poets,
And it is not in the power of sages.

Fifty mounds, I certify,
 Are at Oenach na Cruachna,
 There are under each mound of them
 Fifty truly-fine warlike men.
 The three cemeteries of Idolaters are
 The cemetery of Tailten, the select,
 The cemetery of the ever-fair Cruacha,
 And the cemetery of Brugh.
 Every hill which is at this Oenach [Cruachan]
 Has under it heroes and queens,
 And poets and distributors,
 And fair fierce women.
 The host of Connaught that was energetic,
 A truly fine warlike host,
 Beautiful the valiant tribe,
 Buried in Cathair Cruachna.
 There is not at this place
 A hill at Oenach na Cruachna,
 Which is not the grave of a king or royal prince,
 Or of a woman, or warlike poet.
 The host of great Meath are buried
 In the middle of the lordly Brugh;
 The great Ultonians used to bury
 At Taltén with pomp,
 The true Ultonians, before Conchobor,
 Were ever buried at Taltén,
 Until the death of that triumphant man,
 Through which they lost their glory.'

"This poem is followed by a prose commentary, apparently written by Moelmuiri himself; and, though it is not wholly necessary to my present subject, I cannot resist the temptation to extract it in this place, as throwing light upon the sources from which the information on this subject was obtained:

"The chiefs of Ulster before Conchobor were buried at Taltén, viz. Ollamh Fodhla and seven of his sons, and grandsons, with others of the chiefs of Ulster. The nobles of the Tuatha De Danann (with the exception of seven of them who were interred at Taltén) were buried at Brugh, i. e. Lugh, and Oe, son of Ollamh, and Ogma, and Corpre, son of Etan, and Etan [the poetess] herself, and the Dagda and his three sons, (i. e. Aedh, and Oengus, and Cermait,) and a great many others

besides of the Tuatha De Dananns, and Firbolgs, and others. The kings of the province of Galian [Leinster] *were buried* at Oenach Ailbi; the kings of Munster at Oenach Culi, in Oenach Colman and Feci. The Clann Dedhadh at Temhair Erann. The kings of Connaught at Cruachan *ut diximus*.

“ ‘There are fifty hills [mounds] at each Oenach of these: fifty hills at Oenach Cruachan, fifty hills at Oenach Talten, and fifty at Oenach in Broga.

“ ‘These were the poets of Connaught, viz. Dorban, and Flaithcius, and Aengus the poet, these were of Gno, (in the west of Connaught, i. e. of Delmna Tiri da Locha); Torna Eiges, Scanlan Mac Eoghain, the poet, and Daithen, the poet, whom the tree killed; whence is Bile Dathen in Tir Maine, at this day called Bili Scathen. All these are buried at Oenach na Cruachna; and there are also buried there the supreme king of the province, i. e. Ailell Mac Mata of Muireasc, and his wife i. e. Medhbh, the daughter of Eochaidh Fedhlech, her body having been removed by her people from Fert Medhbha, for they deemed it more honourable to have her interred at Cruachan. I am not able to enumerate them all. It is here Dathi, monarch of Ireland, was buried, and it is here lie those enumerated by Torna Eiges. Ciarraigi was his reward.

“ ‘It was Flann and Eochaidh Eolach O’Ceirin that collected this account from the books of Eochaidh O’Flannagan at Armagh, and from the Books of the Monastery [Monasterboice], and from other select books, viz. from the Libur Budi, which disappeared from the Carcar at Armagh, and from the Libur Gerr, which was at the Monastery; and this was the book which the student took with him by stealth across the sea, and was never found since. So far the History of the Cemeteries.’

“ ‘In accordance with this description, we find that the monuments within the cemetery at Rathcroghan, which is of a circular form, measuring one hundred and sixteen paces in diameter, and surrounded with a stone ditch greatly defaced,—the *cathair* of the poem,—are small circular mounds, which when examined are found to cover rude sepulchral chambers formed of stone, without cement of any kind, and containing unburned bones.

The monument of Dathi, which is a small circular mound, with a pillar-stone of red sand-stone, is situated outside the enclosure, at a short distance to the east, and may be at once identified from the following notice of it, given by the celebrated antiquary, Duald Mac Firbis, in 1666 :

“ ‘The body of Dathi was brought to Cruachan, and it was interred at Relig na riogh at Cruachan, where the most of the kings of the race of Heremon were *buried*, and where to this day the RED PILLAR STONE remains as a stone monument over his grave near Rath-Cruachan, to this time, 1666.’

“ ‘The following notice of Carn Amhalgaidh, preserved in the Book of Lecan, fol. 247, a, will give a distinct idea of the kind of monuments which the pagan Irish chieftains erected for the purpose of receiving their bodies after death, and will also tend to show that an annual meeting of the people, called in Irish Oenach, was usually held at those regal cemeteries :

“ ‘Carn Amhalgaidh, i. e. of Amhalgaidh, son of Fiachra Elgaidh, son of Dathi, son of Fiachra. It is by him that this carn was formed, for the purpose of holding a meeting of the Hy-Amhalgaidh around it every year, and to view his ships and fleet going and coming, and as a place of interment for himself.’

“ ‘If it were necessary to my purpose, I might also adduce, from the most ancient Irish MSS., several minute descriptions of the modes of interment practised by the pagan Irish ; one, however, which cannot fail to interest the reader, may suffice. It is found in that most valuable MS., the *Leabhar na h-Uidhre*, so often quoted already, and occurs in a very ancient story, written to show that Finn Mac Cumhaill was also sometimes known by the name of Mongan, and which details the circumstances connected with the death of Fothadh Airgtheach, who was for a short time monarch of Ireland, and was killed by the warrior Cailte, the foster-son of Finn Mac Cumhaill, in the battle of Ollarba, fought, according to the Annals of the Four Masters, in the year 285. In this tract, Cailte is introduced as identifying the grave of Fothadh Airgtheach, at Ollarba, in the following words:

“ ‘We were with thee, O Finn, said the youth. Hush ! said

Mongan, that is not good [fair]. We were with Finn, once, said he; we went from Alba, [*recte* Almain]. We fought against Fothadh Airgthech here with thee at Ollarba. We fought a battle here; I made a shot at him, and I drove my spear through him, so that the spear entered the earth at the other side of him, and its iron head was left buried in the earth. This is the very handle that was in that spear. The round stone from which I made that shot will be found, and east of it will be found the iron head of the spear buried in the earth; and the *uluidh* [carn] of Fothadh Airgthech will be found a short distance to the east of it. There is a chest of stone about him in the earth. There are his two rings of silver, and his two *bunne doat* [bracelets?], and his *torque* of silver on his chest; and there is a pillar-stone at his carn; and an Ogumis [inscribed] on the end of the pillar-stone which is in the earth. And what is in it is,

EOCHAID AIRGTHECH HERE.

It was Cailte that was here along with Finn. All these things were searched for by the youth who had arrived, and they were found.'

"I think I have now adduced sufficient evidence to satisfy the reader respecting the real character of the pagan modes of sepulture in use in Ireland, and that the theory advanced by my friends of the South Munster Society of Antiquaries is at variance as well with the ancient Irish authorities as with the existing monuments of known pagan antiquity." *

Of the sepulchres of the Firbolgs and Tuatha de Dananns, Dr. Petrie observes—"I have shewn (elsewhere) that the earlier colonists in the country, the Firbolg and Tuatha de Danann tribes, which our historians bring hither from Greece at a very remote period, were accustomed to build not only their fortresses but even their doom-roofed houses and sepulchres of stone without cement, and in the style now usually called Cyclopean and Pelasgic. I have also shewn that this custom, as applied

* Petrie's Round Towers. Transac. of R.I.A., vol. xx. pp 97 to 108; 1845.

to their forts and houses, was continued in those parts of Ireland in which those ancient settlers remained, even after the introduction of Christianity, and, as I shall presently shew, was adopted by the Christians in their religious structures.”*

Near the ancient stone oratories and bee-hive shaped houses of the early Irish saints, Dr. Petrie states, “graves are found marked by upright pillar-stones, bearing inscriptions in the Ogham character, as found in monuments presumed to be pagan, and in other instances, as at the oratory of Gallerus, with an inscription in the Græco-Roman or Byzantium character, of the fourth or fifth century

“This inscription (in Irish) is not perfectly legible in all its letters, but is sufficiently so to preserve the name of the ecclesiastic, and reads as follows (in English):

“ ‘The stone of Columb, son of . . . Mel . . .’ We have a well-preserved and most interesting example of the whole alphabet of this character on a pillar-stone, now used as a grave-stone, in the churchyard of Kilmalkedar, about a mile distant from the other, and where there are the remains of a similar oratory.*

“The three large letters $\overline{DNI}$, which occur in the middle of the inscription, and which Vallancey supposed to be an Ogham, is nothing more than a usual abbreviation of Domini. As to the object of this inscription, I can of course offer only a conjecture, namely, that it was an abecedarium, cut by one of the early Christian settlers in this place,—either a foreigner, or a native who had received a foreign education,—for instructing his followers in the rudiments of the Latin language; for that it was the practice of the first teachers of Christianity in Ireland to furnish their disciples with the abecedarium, or Roman alphabet, appears quite clear from Nennius, and the most ancient Lives of St. Patrick, as may be seen by reference to Harris’s Ware, Irish Writers, book ii. c. 1. And I may add, as a further conjecture, that this pillar-stone may have been originally a pagan monument, consecrated to the service of

* Petrie’s Round Towers, Transac. of R.I.A. vol. xx. p. 126.

† Idem, p. 133.

Christianity by inscribing on it in the first instance the name of the Lord, before it received its second inscription, as it appears from Evin's Life of St. Patrick that it was not unusual for the Irish apostle thus to dedicate pagan monuments to the honour of the true God. In this work it is stated that St. Patrick, coming to the plain of Magh Selga, near Elphin, found three pillar-stones, which had been raised there by the pagans, either as memorials of events, or for the celebration of pagan rites, on one of which he inscribed the name Jesus, on another Soter, and on the third Salvator. And, though it is not expressly stated, we may conclude that he also marked each of those pillars with a cross, such as is seen on the pillar-stone at Kilmalkedar, and on every other ancient Christian monument in Ireland. The passage, as translated from the original Irish by Colgan, is as follows :

“ ‘ Rebus Ecclesiæ ibi dispositis Patricius se contulit ad locum qui & *Mag-selga* legitur appellari, vbi sex Briani Principis offendit filios, Bognam, cognomento Rubrum, Derthractum, Echenum, Crimthannum, Coelcharnum, & Eochadium. Ibi in loco amœno, vbi circumfusa regio latè conspicitur, vir Dei cum aliquot comitantibus Episcopis moram contraxit inter tres colossos siue edita saxa; quæ gentilitas ibi in memoriam aliquorum facinorum, vel gentilitiorum rituum posuit. In his autem lapidibus, lapidis angularis, qui fecit vtraque vnum, Christi Domini tria nomina tribus linguis expressa curauit incidi; in vno *Iesus*, in altero *Soter*, in tertio *Saluator* nomen impressum legitur.’—*Trias Thaum.* p. 136.

“ In addition to the preceding evidence, I may add also that we are not without monumental inscriptions testifying to the same fact; for example, one which marks the grave of seven Romans interred near the church of St. Breacan, on the Great Island of Aran, and which reads as follows :

UII ROMANI.

“ That this inscription is of very great antiquity the form of the letters sufficiently indicates, and we can very nearly determine their exact age by a comparison of their forms, as well

as the style of cross carved on the stone, with the letters and cross sculptured on the grave-stone of St. Brecan himself, the founder of that monastery, of which an accurate copy will be seen on the next page.

“The inscription to which I allude is, as will be seen, put into a Latin form, like the preceding one, and was, probably, cut by one of the very seven Romans whose grave in Aran was so marked : it reads as follows :

C̄I BRECANI

which, when written in full, would obviously be

CAPITI BRECANI.

“It must interest not only the antiquary, but in an especial degree the numerous progeny of the Dalcassian tribe, to find so curious a monument as this existing of the first and most distinguished ecclesiastic of that race ; for it appears, certain from our historical documents, that this St. Brecan, who was the founder of Ardraccan, now the seat of the bishops of Meath, was the grandson of Carthen Finn, the first Christian prince of Thomond, and the son of Eochaidh Baldearg, also prince of Thomond, who was baptized by St. Patrick at Saingel, now Singland, near Limerick. The year of St. Brecan’s death I have not been able to ascertain, but it must have been in the early part of the sixth century.

“This monumental stone was discovered about forty years ago within a circular enclosure, known as St. Brecan’s tomb, at a depth of about six feet from the surface, on the occasion of its being first opened to receive the body of a distinguished and popular Roman Catholic ecclesiastic of the county of Galway, who made a dying request to be buried in this grave. Under the stone, within the sepulchre, there was also found on this occasion a small water-worn stone, of black calp or lime-stone, now in my possession. It is of a round form, but nearly flat on the under side, and is three inches in diameter, and one inch and a half in thickness. On the upper side is carved a plain

cross, thus +, and around this, in a circle, the following simple inscription :

✠ ΔΜΒΡΑΝ ΠΑΛΙΤΗΡ

This inscription, when written in full, would be as follows :

OROIT AR BRECAN HAIZITHER.

A PRAYER FOR BRECAN THE PILGRIM.*

“The tombs of the early saints present a variety of forms ; as in those on Aran, which are often rude sarcophagi, somewhat similar to pagan cromleacs or kistvaens, while, at other times, they are small cairns, enclosed by a circular or quadrangular wall. But, though the usual practice appears to have been to mark the grave of Christians simply by unsquared flag-stones, marked with a cross, it appears certain that, in many instances, the sepulchres of very distinguished persons were honoured with tombs of a more architectural character, and which, like the coverings of the wells already alluded to, had a striking resemblance, in everything but size, to the small stone oratories. Of such structures, however, I have discovered but few remains, and none in a perfect state but those which are situated in the county of Londonderry—namely, the tomb of St. Cadan, the calanus of Patrick’s lives besides the church of Tamlaght Ard ; the tomb of St. Muireadach O’Heney, near the church of Banagher, of which he is the reputed founder ; and the tomb of the founder of the church of Bovevagh, whose name is now forgotten.

“Of two of these curious monuments the remains are highly interesting ; the first is the tomb of St. Muireadach O’Heney, exhibiting the sculptured *relievo* of this saint, with which it is ornamented. This tomb is wholly faced with ashlar masonry of sand-stone, and measures ten feet in length, four feet nine inches in breadth, eight feet in height to the gable ridge, and four feet to the eaves.

“Respecting the age of this tomb I can only speak con-

* Petrie’s Round Towers, Transac. of R.I.A. vol. xx. p. 138.

jecturally, as I have not been able to discover any historical reference to the ecclesiastic to whom it was raised. But, as his church,—which was a building of considerable architectural beauty,—seems obviously a structure of the latter part of the eleventh century, or the commencement of the twelfth, we may fairly assign this monument to that period.

“The next illustration presents a west-end view of the tomb of the reputed founder of the church of Bovevagh, which is faced with ashlar-stone like that of St. Muireadach.

“The tomb of St. Cadan is also built of ashlar masonry, and is obviously of much higher antiquity, but it is so covered up with earth by the adjacent interments that no sketch of it could be obtained.

“Remains of similar tombs are found in other parts of Ireland, some of which would appear to have been of greater size and importance, but they are usually in a state of great dilapidation ;—such, for instance, was the tomb of St. Colman Mac Duach, at Kill mac Duach, which was constructed of very large blocks of squared limestone, and measured ten feet in length and five in breadth.

“I have only to add that, few as these remaining examples of the ancient tomb architecture of the Irish are, they are valuable, as preserving to us the probable type of the tomb of St. Columba, and the more celebrated monuments of the kings, at Iona, which Sacheverel, Martin, and Pennant notice, as described by the Dean of the Isles, as ‘built in form of little chapels ;’—and, perhaps, also the tomb of St. Patrick, formerly preserved at Glastonbury ‘of the Irish,’ which is noticed, by Camden and Sammes, as being of a pyramidal form.” *

CLONMACNOISE TOMBS.

On the tomb-stone, at Clonmacnoise, of Maelfinnia, the ornament called triquetra is found. “It appears,” says Dr. Petrie, “to have been most used during the ninth and tenth centuries, after which I have seen no example of it on such monuments.

* Petrie’s Round Towers, Transac. of R.I.A. vol. xx. pp. 451, 452.

The latest is that on the tombstone of Maelfinnia, who was probably the abbot Maelfinnia, the son of Spellan, and grandson of Maenach, of Clonmacnoise, and whose death is recorded in the *Chronicon Scotorum*, at the year 992, and in the Annals of Ulster and of the Four Masters at the year 991. . . .

“The Irish inscription reads :

A PRAYER FOR MAELFINNIA.

. . . The *triquetra* may possibly be symbolic of the Trinity. An example of this ornament, in its most usual and simple design, is to be found on the tombstone of Flann chadh, who was probably the abbot of Clonmacnoise of that name, whose death is recorded in the *Chronicon Scotorum*, at the year 1003, and in the Annals of Ulster and of the Four Masters, at the year 1002. The entry of his death in the latter annals is as follows :

“ ‘A.D. 1002. Flannchadh Ua Ruaidhne, comharba of Ciaran, son of the Artifex [died]. He was of the race of Corca Mogha.’

“The inscription reads :

A PRAYER FOR FLANNCHAD.

“On the tomb of Blathmac, chief (Abbot) of Clonmacnoise, who died in 896, ‘there is another and more common ornament on our inscribed tombstones anterior to the twelfth century, and which is equally common in our most ancient ecclesiastical manuscripts of the earliest date:—that boss-shaped figure formed of radiating eccentric lines, merging into one another as they approach the margin, and leaving between them pear-shaped spaces, generally three in number, but sometimes two or four, or even a greater number. This ornament is usually found within a circle, which forms the centre of a cross carved on such monuments.’ *

There are several other tombs with crosses and inscriptions of a similar character at Clonmacnoise:—The tomb of Suibne Mac Maele, anchorite and scribe, who died in 890 or 891; he is

* Petrie's Round Towers, Transac. of R.I.A. vol. xx. pp. 320, 322.

called by Florence of Worcester, "Doctor Scotorum Perilissimum." No writings of his are known to exist.

The tomb of the celebrated Abbot and Bishop St. Coirpre Crom, who died in 899, with the customary style of inscriptions:—"A prayer for Corruí Cromm:"

The tomb of Tadgan, probably of Tadhagan, Chief of Teffia, a good specimen of Irish monumental carving, of an earlier date than the preceding: another person is commemorated on the same stone.

Clonmacnoise was the cemetery of the chiefs of the southern Hy-Nial race.

TARA HILL MONUMENTS.

"The monument of first importance, both as to size and antiquity of construction, seems unquestionably to be the great Rath, or enclosure, marked in the descriptions by the name of *Rath na Riogh*, or the Rath, or Fortress of the kings. This great enclosure seems to have been formed of two *murs*, or parapets, having a ditch between them, as described in the prose account. The great or external diameter, taken north-west and south-east, is 853f., the interior 775. It encircled the southern brow of the hill; the northern side being on its top, and the eastern, southern, and western, on the slopes. The rings have been in most parts removed; and it is to be regretted that the proprietor is yearly removing more of them to spread on his land. A portion of the outer ring still remaining is $2\frac{1}{2}$ f. above the natural hill; and the ditch, or bottom, is 4f. below it, so that from the bottom of the ditch to the top of the outer ring is $6\frac{1}{2}$ f.

"Independently of the superior importance, as to extent, of this great enclosure, its situation on the apex of the hill is a strong evidence in favour of its priority of origin to all the other remains. There is, however, in addition to these circumstances, the corroborative testimony of the poem of Cuan O'Lochain, in which the *Tea-mur* appears to be clearly identified with the *Rath na Riogh*; and, though the prose description makes the *Tea-mur* only a feature within this enclosure, this notice must, and does obviously, only apply to the sepulchre, or monumental mound,

to which bardic tradition had given that name. Indeed, as already observed, the legendary existence of the Spanish queen Tea, as a portion of the Milesian story, must be left out of consideration in sober investigations, till the truth of that national tradition be placed on a more solid foundation. From the preceding documents it will have been seen that, as early as the ninth century, this derivation of the name of *Teamhuir* from the Milesian queen, was doubted by the learned Cormac Mac Culenan; who, in his valuable etymological vocabulary, substitutes, as a more probable conjecture, a derivation from the Greek, ($\theta\epsilon\omega\rho\epsilon\omega$) 'because,' as he adds, 'the Scots [meaning the Irish] have a saying in common use, *Teamuir na tuaithe agus Teamuir an toighe*,' that is literally, 'Teamuir of the country, and Teamuir of the house;' of which appellations he says the former signifies a hill, and the latter a *grianan*, or palace, and hence he conjectures that *Teamhuir* simply means any conspicuous place. The same etymology is given in the Latin language in all the copies of the *Dinnseanchus*.

"Cuan O'Lochain also, though he repeats the legend of the origin of the name *Tea-mur* from queen Tea, asserts that *Teamhuir* signifies any flat-topped hill on which there is a fortified residence. This mode of accounting by fabulous personifications for ancient names of places—as Britain from Brute, Scotia from Scota, Denmark from Dan, Rome from Romulus, Brabant from Brabo, France from Francus—has been a general practice among all ancient nations; and seeing that, in the present instance, the probability of such a derivation was more than doubted by the learned among the ancient Irish themselves, it would be extremely puerile now to consider it as of any value. Indeed, the probability is much stronger that the Milesian queen owes her name, and even her very existence, to Temur, than Temur its to her. Nor would it be difficult to adduce many evidences to support this hypothesis, if this were the place to do so. But, though such would necessarily lead to an inquiry inconsistent with the limits of this memoir, namely, the origin and age of the Scotie or Milesian colony in Ireland, a few remarks will not be inconsistent with its present object. Those who are

familiar with the learned and ingenious arguments of Innes, in support of his hypothesis, that the Scots were a northern or Teutonic colony, who could not have come into Ireland much sooner than the first century, will be surprised to find in the references in the ancient poem of O'Lochain, and the prose prefixed to it, given among these documents, evidences which would support this hypothesis, and thus settle the long-disputed era and origin of the Milesian colony. According to these authorities, the supposed queen Tea, the daughter of Lughaidh Mac Ith, who was the uncle of Milesius, was also the wife both of Heremon and of Gede Ollgothach. It would appear, however, from Irish history, that Gede and Heremon were only different names for the one person, or, at least, that the names of three of their children were the same. Now it is a singular fact, that the Pictish authorities make this Gede the eighth of the Pictish kings, and the son of Cruithne, or Cathluan, who was the progenitor of the Picts, as the Irish make Heremon the son of Milesius, who was the progenitor of the Scots. But the Irish authorities make Gede also king of the Irish and Scottish Picts, but the son of Ollamh Fodhla.*

“It was at the side of the monument (Dumha na n-Giall, or the mound of the hostages) that the celebrated coronation stone, called the *Lia Fail*, was located in the time of the writers of the prose and verse already referred to; and it remained in the same situation till some years after 1798, when it was removed to its present situation in the Rath, called the *Forradh*, to mark the grave of the rebels slain at Tara in the insurrection of that year. But the mound is still popularly called *Bod Fhearghais*, that is, *Penis Fergusii*, an appellation derived from the form of this stone.

“The *Lia Fail* is spoken of, not only in these authorities, but by all the ancient Irish writers, in such a manner as to leave no doubt that it remained in its original situation at the time when they wrote. Thus in the poem of Cuan O'Lochain :

* Ollamh Fodhla, according to the corrected accounts of O'Flaherty's Chronology, would have flourished about 500 years before Christ. Vide Petrie's Tara Hill Antiq. pp. 150 to 152.

‘ The Rath of the synods of great powers
 To the north of the *Fal* of Temur,
 East of the Rath at the side of *The Stones*,
 Is the house from which Benen escaped.’

And the prose account of the monument in like manner states, that ‘ *Fal* lies by the side of *Dumha na n-Giall* to the north, i. e. the stone that roared under the feet of each king that took possession of the throne of Ireland. *Fal* was the name of this stone, that is *Fo-ail*, that is, the under stone, that is, the stone under the king.’

“ A still stronger proof of its existence at Tara is furnished in the following verse quoted by Keating, and by the books of Lecan and Ballymote, from a poem of Kineth O’Hartigan, who, as already stated, lived in the tenth century :

‘ This stone on which are my *two heels*
 From it is called *Inis Fail*,
 Between two shores of strong floods,
Magh Fail [is a name] for all Erin.’

“ Dr. O’Conor, indeed—Stowe Catalogue, p. 27—states, that ‘ this stone is said to have been removed from *Temora*, the royal *Rath* of Meath, to *Cruachan*, the royal *Rath* of Connacht, at a remote period of time, and to have ceased to emit its usual sound, after it was profaned by Cuchullin, who resented its silence when his friend *Fiach*, an usurper, was inaugurated. But Dr. O’Conor appears to have entirely mistaken the sense of his author. The passage was obviously fabricated to sustain the claim to the Irish throne put forward in the twelfth century by the Connacian princes; and the statement found in the Irish MS. is simply, that the monarch, Cormac Mac-Art, saw *in a dream* that the *Lia Fail* would be removed from Tara to Croghan, as in the following passage from the College MS. H. 2. 7. ‘ Cormac O’Cuinn saw a vision at Temur: that Eochy Gunnat, king of Ulster, came to Temur, and took the Stone of the Hostages away from Temur, and carried it to Croghan, and stuck it in the Rath of Croghan.’ The only value of such passages, however, is—and this is an important one—that they clearly identify the *Lia Fail* with the stone on the Mound of the Host-

ages. What, then, is to be thought of the legendary account given by all the Scottish historians from Fordun, Winton, and Boetius, down to the present time, that this stone—‘the stone of fate,’ as they call it—was sent from Ireland for the coronation of Fergus Mac Erc, the first of the Dalriadic kings, in the fifth century, and that it was carried by Edward I. to Westminster, where it still remains, under the coronation chair of the monarchs of the British Isles? Now it is a remarkable fact, that though this Scottish account has been adopted by the Irish themselves, since the succession of the house of Stuart to the British throne seemed to verify the ancient prediction connected with it, yet no Irish account has been found to support it earlier than that of Keating, who evidently adopted the statement of Boetius’ well known verse, which he quotes, with the palpable view of sustaining the right of the first Charles to his throne:—

‘Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocunque locatum
Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.’

It may also be observed, that between the Irish and Scottish accounts of the history of this stone there is a total want of agreement, which shews that the Scottish writers, when they recorded this tradition, were not acquainted with, or disregarded the accounts of it preserved by the Irish. The Irish accounts uniformly state that the *Lia Fail* was brought into Ireland from the north of Germany by the Tuatha De Danann colony; the Scottish, that it was brought from Spain by the Milesian chief, Simeon Breac, who, according to the Irish histories, was not a Milesian, but a Fir-Bolg, or Belgian. The oldest Scottish authority for the tradition is the *Chronicon Rhythmicum*, written, as Innes would infer, at the close of the thirteenth century. But as this was about the period when the dispute commenced respecting the respective claims of the British and Scottish crowns to the ancient monarchy, and which shortly afterwards gave birth to the acknowledged forgeries which Fordun put into historic order, such accounts should be received with a caution proportioned to their improbability: and it is in the highest degree improbable that, to gratify the desire of a colony, the Irish would have voluntarily parted with a monument so venerable

for its antiquity, and considered essential to the legitimate succession of their own kings. However this may be, it is an interesting fact, that a large obeliscal pillar-stone in a prostrate position occupied, till a recent period, the very situation on the hill of Tara pointed out as the place of the *Lia Fail* by the Irish writers of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries; and that this was a monument of pagan antiquity, *an idle-stone*, as the Irish writers call it, seems evident from its form and character. Shortly after the year 1798, as already stated, it was removed from its ancient situation to the adjacent mound in *Rath na Riogh*, called the *Forradh*, to mark, as a grave stone, the remains of the rebels who fell there at that memorable period. And whether this stone be considered as a monument of remote antiquity, or as a record of the events of our own times, it must be regarded with interest; but if, in addition to this, such evidences have been adduced as may justify the supposition that it is the *Lia Fail* of Irish history, it will be difficult to find a rude monument of antiquity with which so many national associations can be connected.

“The material of which this monument is composed is a granular lime stone, very probably from some primary district; but whether it be Irish or foreign has not been ascertained.”*

On the hill of Tara, Loaghair, monarch of Ireland at the period of Patrick's arrival in his gospel mission, was interred.

The following account of his place of burial is from Dr. Petrie:

“The great feature next to be noticed is of still later date, namely, the *Rath of Laoghair*, who, as already shown, according to all the Irish authorities, became monarch of Ireland in 428 or 429, and died in 463. The situation of this Rath, with its *Lios*, or circumvallation, is distinctly pointed out in all the authorities as south of *Rath na Riogh*; and it is stated in the prose account, that ‘it had four principal doorways facing the cardinal points.’ The progress of cultivation on the hill has totally destroyed the internal features, and nearly effaced a considerable portion of the external rampart of this fortress. But though the western portion of the rampart only remains in any

* Petrie's *Tara Antiq.* pp. 159—161.

degree of preservation, it is sufficient to show that, like that of *Rath na Riogh*, it consisted of a double ring, of which the outer one only is now strongly developed. This rath occupies that part of the southern end of the hill at the foot of the first slope, where there is a piece of nearly flat ground. The part of the outer circle now remaining is on the edge of the western slope.* . . .

“An ancient poem states, that the monument of Laoghaire was in the middle of his *Lios*, partly broken by an upright witness. The prose account, with greater distinctness, states that the body of Laoghaire stood (interred) in the external rampart of his royal Rath, to the south-east, with his shield of valour, and with his face to the south (as it were), fighting against the Lagenians.

“This is still more distinctly detailed in a historical tract in *Leabhar na Huidhre*, a MS. written at Clonmacnoise, in the twelfth century, in the possession of Messrs. Hodges and Smith, entitled ‘The Meeting of Patrick at Tara, and the Death of Laogaire,’ fol. 76, p. *b*, col. 2:—

“ ‘Loeghaire was afterwards thirty years in the government of Ireland, in friendship with Patrick, and obeying Patrick’s will. Loeghaire went afterwards with an army to the Lagenians, to demand the Boru of them. The Lagenians assembled and gave him battle, and Loeghaire was defeated in it, that is, in the battle of *Athdora*. Loeghaire was taken in the battle, and he gave the Lagenians guarantees, that is, the sun and moon, the water and the air, day and night, sea and land, that he would never during his life demand the Boru. He was then set at liberty. It was prophesied to Loeghaire that he would receive his death between *Erin* and *Albain* [Ireland and Scotland], for which reason he never went on a naval expedition. But Loeghaire went again with a great army to the Lagenians, to demand the Boru of them. [For] he did not pay any regard to his oaths. But when he reached *Grellach Daphil*, by the side of *Cassi*, in

* Tara, after the death of King Dermot, in 565 A.D., was abandoned in consequence of the curse of St. Ruadhan, and never more was the seat of royalty, or place of meeting of chiefs and bards.

Magh Liphi, between the two hills, *Ere* and *Alba* their names, he was there killed by the sun and the wind, and by the other guarantees, for no one dared to dishonour them at that time. Of that, the poet said :

‘Loeghaire, son of Niall, died,
By the side of Cassi—green the land—
The elements of God, whose guarantee he had violated,
Inflicted the doom of death on the king.
In the battle of the rapid ford of *Dara*,
Was Loeghaire, son of Niall, taken ;
The just vengeance of the sacred elements
It was, that killed Loeghaire.’

“ ‘ The body of Loeghaire was afterwards brought from the south, and interred with his arms of valour in the south-east of the external rampart of the royal *Rath Loeghaire*, at Temur, with his face turned southwards upon the Lagenians [as it were], fighting with them, for he was the enemy of the Lagenians in his lifetime.

“ *Rath-Loeghaire* was the *Teach Midhchuarta* at that time, and it was therefore he requested that he should be interred therein.

“ This passage, which is so valuable for the information which it affords respecting the objects of worship among the pagan Irish, is corroborated to a considerable extent by an authority of still higher antiquity, the annotations on the life of St. Patrick, by Tirechan, in which the following statement appears :

“ ‘ And he [Patrick] repaired again to the city of *Temro* to Loigairi, the son of Niall, because he had ratified a league with him, that he should not be slain in his kingdom ; but he could not believe, saying, For Neel, my father, did not permit me to believe, but that I should be interred in the top of *Temro*, like men standing up in war. For the pagans are accustomed to be buried armed, with their weapons ready face to face [in which manner they remain], to the day of *Erdathe*, among the Magi, i. e. the day of judgment of the Lord. I the son of Niall, hated the son of Dunling in *Maistin*, in the plain of the *Liphi*, for his severity, *ut est hoc*.’

“ Close to the south-east side of this *Rath Loeghaire*, the

prose description places the *Leacht*, or monument of *Mata Mor-glonnach* (the great-deeded), a treacherous soldier of Cormac's household. Nothing is told of him, but that he buried alive four youths who were playing at a game, at a spot lying to the south-east of *Rath Loeghaire*, that is, as it would seem, on the spot on which the monument was afterwards raised; for though the monument popularly bore the name of Mata, it is more probable that it was raised as a memorial of the event, according to the custom still preserved in Ireland, than as a sepulchre for Mata. This monument is also destroyed.*

"A short distance to the south-east of Adamnan's cross was situated, according to the prose account, which is corroborated by the verse, the house from which Benen, the disciple of St. Patrick, escaped, and in which Lucad the Bald, the druid of king Laogare, was burned. The site here pointed out is also within the boundary of the churchyard. The legend with which the feature was connected is of the class commonly found in the lives of the saints, and is given with various degrees of detail in all the lives of St. Patrick. Its origin, however, is of very high antiquity, as it appears in the tripartite life, and in the notices of the saint's life, by Maccuthenius; and, as the text is very corrupt, an English translation is added: (Fol. 5, p. a, col. 2, *et seq.*)

"All these things being done in sight of the king, between the magician [*Lucetmail*] and Patrick; the king says to them, cast your books into the water, and him whose books shall escape uninjured, we will adore. Patrick answered, I will do so. And the magician said, I am unwilling to come to the trial by water with that man, because he has water as his god; for he had heard that baptism was given by Patrick with water. And the king answering said, allow it by fire: and Patrick says, I am ready; but the magician, being unwilling, said, this man alternately in each successive year adores as God, water and fire. And the saint says, not so, but thou thyself shalt go, and one of my boys shall go with thee, into a separate and closed house, and my vestment shall be on thee, and thine on him;

* Petrie's *Tara Antiq.* pp. 170—172.

and thus together you shall be set on fire. And this counsel was approved of, and there was a house built for them, the half of which was made of green wood, and the other half of dry : and the magician was sent into that part of the house which was green, and one of the boys of St. Patrick, Bineus by name, with the vest of the magician, [was sent] into the dry part of the house. The house then being closed outside, was set on fire before the whole multitude : and it came to pass in that hour, by the prayers of Patrick, that the flame of the fire consumed the magician with the green half of the house, while the garment of St. Patrick remained untouched, because the fire did not touch it. But the fortunate Benineus, on the contrary, together with the dry half of the house, according to what is said of the three children, was not touched by the fire, neither was he annoyed, nor did he experience any inconvenience, only the garment of the magician which he had about him was burned, not without the permission of God. And the king was greatly indignant against Patrick on account of the death of his magician, and he had almost rushed upon him, desiring to slay him, but God prevented him : for at the intercession of Patrick, and at his entreaty, the wrath of God descended on his head, and the king feared excessively, and his heart was disturbed, and all the city with him.

“The same legend is told by Jocelyn, but in far better language and order of narration.—See *Trias Thaum.*, and Swift’s translation of Jocelyn, p. 67. The boy Binen, or as his name was Latinized, Benignus, was afterwards placed over the church of Armagh by St. Patrick, in 455. He resigned this dignity in 465, and died in 468.

“The feature next to be noticed was also evidently situated within the boundary of the churchyard, or perhaps a little to the south of it, namely, the House of Mariseo. The poem states that this house was situated to the north, on the brink of the well Neamhnach ; and the prose account agrees. It is stated to have been high at its northern and western sides, and low at the eastern—a description which would apply to its locality on the side of the hill. The poem states, that Mariseo

was the female of greatest beauty in all Ireland ; and the prose adds, that she was a widow who was cotemporary with Cormac.

“The poem adds an interesting particular connected with this locality, that from this house out towards Meath, that is, along the side of the hill to the east of the road, the houses, or dwellings of Temur, were spread.

“ Proceeding in the order of the prose description, the monuments next to be noticed are the three stones which marked the graves of the druids, Mael, Blocc, and Bluicni. These stones were situated at the side of the Rath of the Synods, to the north ; and with respect to each other, that of Mael to the east, Blocc to the south, and Bluicni to the north. The poem states, that these stones had been cast or thrown here by the great Mal of Macha. This Mal, according to the Annals of Tighearnach, was king of Emania, or Emhain Macha, for thirty-three years, and commenced his reign in the year 130.

“ It would appear from a legendary story of very great antiquity, preserved by Duald Mac Firbis, that two of these stones were supposed to have served a higher purpose than as mere gravestones ; and that they acted a part in the royal drama of the coronation not less important, though less noisy, than the *Lia Fail* itself. This story is as follows :

“ ‘ When the Lagenians and the race of Conn of the Hundred Battles were electing a king at Temur after Ederscel, there was a king’s chariot at Temur, under which were yoked two horses, of one colour, which had never been yoked under a chariot before. This chariot would not admit any person unworthy of the throne of Temur, and the horses would start at his presence ; and there was a king’s casal in the chariot, and it would be too large for any one unworthy of the throne of Temur. And there were two stones at Temur called Bloc and Bluicni, which used to open out so that the chariot of the worthy person might pass between them. And Fal was there, a rounded lump of a stone at the head of Aonach an Charbuid. And when the throne of Temur was to be ceded to the worthy person, the Fal used to roar at the motion of the chariot, so that all heard. But when the person was not eligible to the govern-

ment of Temur, the two stones Bloc and Bluicni did not open out before him. They were so placed as to admit the breadth of the hand only between them; and when the candidate was not eligible to the throne of Temur, the Fal would not roar to the motion of the chariot. In this manner they refused Lughaidh Riabhderg after the fall of Edersceol.

“ ‘Conary went up to Temur to the chiefs and the kingly chariot. The chariot with its horses waited for him, the casal of the king was in the chariot. The horses on either side waited for Conary. “Into the chariot go,” said his mother; Conaire did so, for the chariot received him. “Put on the casal,” said she. He put it on in the presence of the multitudes; the casal was a fit for him. The chariot moved under him, while he stood in it. He went to Fal with the multitudes about him and his mother before him. The Fal roared to the hearing of all the multitudes who were at Temur; and they delivered hostages to Conaire, and gave him the coarbship of his father.’—*The Book of Duald Mac Firbis*, p. 384.

“Of these stones, two still remain; and are, probably, not far from their original locality. They are rudely-shaped obeliscal pillar-stones, situated within the churchyard, and are pointed out by the people as the stones left there ‘by the giants of Tara.’ They are each about two feet six in height, and about the same in breadth.

“To the east of these stones, according to the prose account, was situated the Monument of the Dwarf, but of which there are now no remains. This tomb is stated to have been three feet in length, on the first measurement, and three feet and a half on the second! To the understanding of this statement it will be necessary to observe, that the miraculous power of this tomb to adapt itself to the size of every person is recorded in many ancient Irish poems and prose tracts, as one of the thirteen wonders of Ireland. In one of these poetical accounts, called *Mirabilia Hiberniæ*, which is given in a Latin translation by O’Flaherty, the tomb of the dwarf at Tara is thus described:

“ ‘Temoriæ Nani tumulum lapis obtegit, in quo
Vir, puer, aut infans tres, et non amplius, æquat,

Quisque pedes longo : numerum discrimine nullo
 Multiplicat, minuitve pedum proportio dispar.'

Ogygia, p. 290.

"The same statement occurs in the Book of Ballymote, fol. 140, p. *b.* col. *b.*, and is also thus given in an ancient poem on Tara, ascribed to Caoilte Mac Ronain, in the Library of Trinity College, H. 1, 15, p. 38.

'The tomb of the Dwarf at Temur,
 I have no wonder like it;
 From the hour that lay under the flag
 Little Sen of Seaghais, grandson of Eibric,
 To the largest man of the men of Fail
 The smallest man along with him,
 Its adaptation to either of them
 Is of the wonders of the tomb.' " *

The following account of this wonder of Ireland, referred to by Dr. Petrie, I find in O'Flaherty's "*Ogygia*:" —

"By the experience at least of latter times, it can be proved that some of the thirteen following wonders of Ireland are true, some false, and others blended with falsehood; but as they are handed down to us by the ancients, I shall beg leave to insert the following translation of the original."

Two of the wonders relate to ancient places of sepulture:

"On Temor's height a dwarf entomb'd doth lie,
 Whose tomb-stone equals infant, man, or boy;
 Its growing length, and marvellous decrease,
 Keeps with each varying stature constant pace.

At Inisglare, in view of Irras' shore,
 Should we the bodies of our sires explore,
 We'd find them blooming still, both nails, and hair;
 No human flesh can fade, or perish there.

"Nennius, the Briton, a writer of the ninth century, under the title of the '*Wonders of Ireland*,' thus speaks of the first: 'There is another miracle in that country, which is called Cereticum; there is a mountain there called Crucmaur, and there is a sepulchre on the top of it, and any man who comes to that sepulchre, and extends himself near it, though he should be a

* Petrie's *Tara Antiq.* pp. 177—180.

short low man, the length of the sepulchre is found to be equal to the man's stature; and if he be a tall big man, though he should be six feet, the tomb is found exactly to correspond with a man of any stature.' This, as Mr. Ware says, is with more propriety arranged among the Wonders of Britain, where this Cereticum, or Ceretica, is situated; which we now call Cardiganshire."

"The next feature noticed," continues Dr. Petrie, "is that called Fan na Carbad, or the Slope of the Chariots, which is described in the prose as being situated near the Northern Claenfeart to the east, and in the verse as between the Cross of Fergus and the Claenfearts. This topographical feature still exists, and will be noticed more particularly in connexion with the other ancient roads diverging from Tara. The cross here alluded to does not remain, but its locality can be fixed with nearly perfect certainty. To the holy pilgrim, Fergus, who gave name to this cross, no historical allusion has been found.

"To the north of the Sheskin, or Moor, of Tara, were situated two cairns, or monumental heaps of stones, one called the Cairn of the Leinster Youths, and the other the Cairn of the Hy-Niall Youths. These cairns were situated north and south of each other, and between them lay the Deisiol Temrach, which is spoken of in the verse as a lucky spot before going to heaven, where people turned the right, or sun-ways. This notice has evidently a reference to the ancient pagan superstition of the Irish, not yet obsolete, that making a circle sunways was productive of prosperity, or good fortune. This custom is still observed in the Roman Catholic pilgrimages, burials, &c.

"Martin, in his description of the Western Isles, gives many instances of this superstition. On his visiting the Island Rona, he says, 'One of the natives would needs express his high esteem for my person, by making a turn round about me Sunways, and at the same time blessing me, and wishing me all happiness; but I bid him let alone that piece of homage, telling him I was sensible of his good meaning towards me; but this poor man was not a little disappointed, as were also his neighbours; for they doubted not but this ancient ceremony

would have been very acceptable to me ; and one of them told me, that this was a thing due to my character from them, as to their chief and patron, and they could not, nor would not fail to perform it.'—p. 20.

“This custom still exists in many parts of Ireland, and a turning to the opposite or left side is considered as unlucky. Hence the common Irish phrase, expressive of ill-will—‘A full turn to the left to you.’

“From this custom the seat of the chief of the Maguires, in the county of Fermanagh, received its name, Tempo Deisiol, now shortened into Tempo ; and there was also an ancient locality in Derry, called the Deisiol.

“The antiquity of this pagan usage is so satisfactorily shown by Toland, in the following passage of his ‘Critical History of the Celtic Religion,’ p. 142, *et seq.*, as to preclude the necessity of further illustration :—

“ ‘The vulgar in these Islands do still show a great respect for the Druids’ houses, and never come to the ancient sacrificing and fire-hallowing cairns, but they walk three times round them from east to west, according to the course of the sun. This sanctified tour or round by the south is called Deiseal (Dextrorsum), as the unhallowed contrary one by the north, Tuapholl (Sinistrorsum). But the Irish and Albanian Scots do not derive the first, as a certain friend of mine imagined, from Di-sul, which signifies Sunday in Armorican British, as Dydh-syl in the Welsh and De-zil in Cornish do the same ; but from Deas (*Item* Deis), the right, understanding *hand* and *Soil*, one of the ancient names of the sun, the right hand in this round being ever next the heap. The Protestants in the Hebrides are almost as much addicted to the Deisiol as the Papists. Hereby it may be seen how hard it is to eradicate inveterate superstition. This custom was used three thousand years ago, and God knows how long before, by their ancestors, the ancient Gauls of the same religion with them, who ‘turned round right-hand-wise, when they worshipped their gods,’ as Atheneus* informs us out of Posidonius, a much elder writer. Nor is this contradicted, but

* Lib. iv. p. 152.

clearly confirmed by Pliny, who says, 'that the Gauls, contrary to the custom of the Romans, turned to the left in their religious ceremonies ;' * for, as they begun their worship towards the east, so they turned about, as our Islanders do now, from east to west, according to the course of the sun, that is, from right to left, as Pliny has observed ; whereas the left was, among the Romans, reputed the right in augury, and in all devotions answering it. Nor were their neighbours, the Aboriginal Itaians, most of them of Gallic descent, strangers to this custom of worshipping right-handwise, which, not to allege more passages, may be seen by this one in the *Curculio* † of Plautus, who was himself one of them : 'When you worship the gods, do it turning to the right hand ;' which answers to turning from the west to the east. It is, perhaps, from this respectful turning from east to west, that we retain the custom of drinking over the left thumb, or, as others express it, according to the course of the sun : the breaking of which order is reckoned no small impropriety, if not a downright indecency, in Great Britain and Ireland. And no wonder, since this, if you have faith in Homer, was the custom of the gods themselves. Vulcan, in the first book of the *Iliad*, ‡ filling a bumper to his mother Juno §—

“ ‘To th’ other god, going round from right to left,
Shenk’d nectar sweet, which from full flask he pour’d.’

“ Having brought this somewhat tedious account of the ancient monuments of Tara to a conclusion, it only remains to add a few remarks. From the historical allusions adduced, it will have been seen, that with the exception of a few of those last described, they are all nearly cotemporaneous, and belong to the third century of the Christian era, a period quite within the limits of authentic Irish history. The era of the original *Tuatha De Danaan Cathair* belongs to the remote period of uncertain tradition ; and the only other early monuments of ascertained date are those of *Conor Mac Nesa* and *Cuchullin*, both of whom flourished in the first century.

* Hist. Nat. lib. xxviii. cap. 2.

† Act i. scene i. ver. 70.

‡ *Iliad*, i. ver. 597.

§ Dr. Petrie's History of Tara, Trans. R.I.A. vol. viii. part ii. pp. 221—223.

“These facts seem sufficient to prove, that before the time of Cormac Mac Art, Tara had attained to no distinguished celebrity as a regal city, and sufficiently accounts for its omission in the map of Ptolemy, who wrote in the preceding century.

“It will also have been seen that a uniform character pervades all these earthen works, and mark them as the monuments of one people; and this fact may go far in elucidating the history of that Scotie race, who ruled in Ireland at the period of their erection.

“Of the character of the buildings which were originally connected with these remains, it is scarcely necessary to remark, that they must obviously have been of wood and clay; and though stone houses as well as fortresses are commonly found along the northern, western, and southern coasts of Ireland, it is quite evident that, with the probable exception of the ancient Tuatha De Danaan Cathair, nothing of the kind ever existed here. But, though the houses were unquestionably of those materials, it must not be inferred that they were altogether of a barbarous structure, or inferior in point of comfort to the contemporaneous works of other nations, equally remote from examples of Grecian and Roman civilization. It is not probable that they were unlike, or inferior to those of the ancient Germans, of which Tacitus speaks in terms of praise, and which he describes as being overlaid with an earth so pure and splendid that it resembled painting. And the observation of Mr. Moore, applied to these remains, though somewhat clothed in the language of the poet, is not unworthy of a philosophical historian; that, ‘however scepticism may now question their architectural merits, they could boast the admiration of many a century in evidence of their grandeur.’ That these edifices were merely of wood is by no means conclusive, either against the elegance of their structure, or the civilization, to a certain extent, of those who erected them. It was in wood that the graceful forms of Grecian architecture first unfolded their beauties, and there is reason to believe, that at the time when Xerxes invaded Greece, most of her temples were still of this perishable material.” *

* Dr. Petrie’s History and Account of Tara, Trans. R.I.A. vol. xviii. part ii. pp. 231, 232.

ANCIENT SEPULCHRAL MONUMENT OF NEW GRANGE,
NEAR DROGHEDA.

I am indebted to the liberality of the eminent Irish scholar, artist, and antiquarian, Dr. Petrie, for permission to avail myself of the valuable information contained in the various articles published by him on the subject of sepulchral Celtic antiquities, in the admirable periodical conducted by him in the year 1833.

The following is Dr. Petrie's brief but highly interesting account of this very ancient monument :—

NEW GRANGE.

“If England may justly boast of her Stonehenge as the noblest monument of its kind now existing, Ireland can, with equal reason, feel proud of the sepulchral tumulus of New Grange—a monument of human labour only exceeded in grandeur by the tomb of Agamemnon at Mycenæ, or the pyramids of the Egyptian kings, to both of which it is so nearly allied in many of its general characteristics, and which, in point of antiquity, it probably rivals, or even possibly exceeds.”

“The tumulus of New Grange is one of the four great sepulchral mounds, situate on the banks of the Boyne, between Drogheda and Slane, in the county of Meath, and which we will not hesitate to say may justly be termed the Pyramids of Ireland. It is the only one of the four whose interior is now exposed to human curiosity. The contents of the others are still unknown; but there is every reason to believe that, if explored, they would be found similar in their nature, and not inferior in rude magnificence to that of which we are about to give a description.”

“This extraordinary monument or pyramid, which is now, as the learned antiquary, Governor Pownal, truly observed, but a ruin of what it originally was, covers two acres of ground, and has an elevation of about seventy feet; but its original height was not less than a hundred feet, as it has been used for ages as a stone quarry, for the making and repairing of roads and the erection of buildings, &c., in the neighbourhood. It is formed of small stones, covered over with earth; and at its base was en-

circled by a line of stones, of enormous magnitude, placed in erect positions, and varying in height, from four to eleven feet above the ground, and supposed to weigh from ten to twelve tons each. Of these stones, ten only remained about fifty years back, and one has since been removed. About a century ago there was also a large pillar-stone, or stele, on the summit of the mount, now also destroyed. These stones, as well as those of which the grand interior chamber is built, are not found in the neighbourhood of the Pyramid, but have been brought hither from the mouth of the river Boyne—a distance of seven or eight miles.

“The interior of the tumulus was first explored about the year 1699, when a Mr. Campbell, who resided in the neighbouring village of New Grange, in carrying away stones to repair a road, discovered the entrance to the gallery, or passage leading into the chamber.

“This entrance was about fifty feet from the original side of the pyramid, and is placed due south, and runs northward. The length of this passage to the entrance of the chamber is about fifty-eight feet; its breadth at the opening three feet, and its height one foot six inches. At the distance of about eighteen feet from the entrance, the passage gradually narrows till it reaches a stone which is laid across in an inclined position, and which seems to forbid further progress. At this point the passage is narrowed to one and a half foot in height and breadth. Persons of moderate size, however, can overcome this obstacle by turning on their sides and edging their bodies round by the assistance of their elbow and foot. This difficulty passed, the gallery presents no further obstacle, as it immediately expands again to the width of three feet, and to a height of six feet; which gradually increases to ten feet six inches at the entrance of the dome.

“The chamber is an irregular circle, about twenty-two feet in diameter, covered with a dome of a bee-hive form, constructed of massive stones, laid horizontally, and projecting one beyond the other, till they approximate, and are finally capped with a single one: the height of the dome is about twenty feet; the

chamber has three quadrangular recesses, forming a cross—one facing the entrance gallery, and one on each side. In each of these recesses were placed a stone urn, or sarcophagus, of a simple bowl form, two of which remain. Of these recesses, the east and the west are about eight feet square; the north is somewhat deeper. The entire length of the cavern, from the entrance of the gallery to the end of the recess, is eighty-one feet eight inches.

“The stones of which the entire structure consists are of great size: those which form the lintels or roof of the gallery are but six in number; and of these, the first is twelve feet four inches long, the third eighteen feet, and the fifth about twelve feet; the breadth of these stones is not less than six feet. The tallest of the upright stones forming the entrance to the recess is seven feet six inches in height, and its companion seven feet. The vase or urn within this chamber is three feet eight inches in diameter; that in the opposite chamber is displaced from its supporter: these urns are of granite.

“A great number of the stones within the chamber, as well as in the gallery, are carved with spiral, lozenge-shaped, and zigzag lines; and in the west chamber there are marks which have been supposed to be an alphabetic inscription; but, as we are persuaded, without reason.

“To this general description we have only to add, that on the first examination of the interior of the sepulchre, a pyramidal or obeliscal stone, six or seven feet in height, is said to have stood in the centre, near which the skeletons of two human bodies were found; and that about the same period two gold Roman coins were discovered on the top of the mount—the one of the elder Valentinian, and the other of Theodosius.

“This most ancient, and, though rude, most magnificent monument, has been described and illustrated by Molyneaux, Harris, Pownall and Ledwich, all of whom, unwilling, apparently, to allow the ancient Irish the honour of erecting a work of such vast labour and grandeur, concur in ascribing it to the piratical Danes, who infested the island in the ninth and tenth centuries.

We are well aware that the Danes, as well as all the other branches of the great Scythian stock, raised large sepulchral mounds; but where in the north of Europe does there exist a monument of the kind, to rival this and its companions on the Boyne? And is it likely that Danish colonies, in a country in which they had never a secure settlement, would raise monuments exceeding in grandeur any which existed in their own country? Or if they might, is it to be believed that tradition would be silent, or that our annals, which are so minute in recording the works as well as deeds of those lawless robbers, would preserve no memorial of so vast a labour? No! it is to the anciently civilized south of Europe, not the barbarous north, that we must look for the prototypes of those grand monuments of the dead; which, equally with the brazen weapons and vessels, the cyclopean forts, and other remains, identify the ancient inhabitants of Ireland with the most ancient Egyptians and the Greeks of the heroic times. The arguments of those learned men above alluded to in support of their hypothesis are puerile, and scarcely deserve serious notice; we are not without historical evidence to prove that the Danes, so far from being the erectors of the monuments on the Boyne, were, as might be more rationally expected, their destroying plunderers."*

Higgins, in his work of vast research on "The Celtic Druids," has entered into fuller details on the subject of Ireland's most remarkable ancient monument, and thus makes mention of the tumulus over the cave at New Grange:—

"It is evidently the work of the primæval race, whatever might be its name. It is the very portrait of one described by Pausanias (in Ach.) at Mycenæ in the Peloponnesus, and for the notice of which I am indebted to my learned young friend Mackenzie Beverley, the author of Jubal. In a letter to me he says, 'Mycenæ was destroyed by the Argians shortly after the great Persian invasion.'†

"On the outside of the old Cyclopean walls of that town is

* Dublin Penny Magazine, 1833.

† Strabo says Mycenæ was built by Perseus, *i. e.* more than 1000 years before Christ.

an immense tumulus, carne, or barrow. The entrance into this tumulus has a druidical door, which excited the curiosity of all travellers.

“The lintel or top of the door is one enormous mass of Brescia marble, twenty-seven feet long and four feet seven inches thick. The door-posts are each of one mass, but the width of the door is only ten feet, so that the lintel projects over them far into the barrow. The inside of the tumulus is a circular chamber of stone, like a bee-hive. Each stone is of huge proportions. *The diameter of the chamber is fifty feet. The height is fifty-one feet.* The chamber is formed by horizontal and not radiated layers, which advance over each other, and, having the lower angle cut off, give the structure the appearance of a Gothic dome. This I take to be a most important point in its history, shewing its very great antiquity. The whole of this chamber has been covered with plates of bronze, some of which remain to this day, fastened to the stones by bronze pins

“Of this barrow all the stones are of the rough sort, that is, never finished off, just cut into shape, and nothing more. In short, they are Druidical.”

Pownall, in his account of “The Great Sepulchral Pyramid of New Grange,” says this barrow differs from most others known in Britain which are formed of earth; this mound being composed of pebble or cogle stones, said to have been brought from the sea-coast, near the Boyne River, twelve or fourteen miles distant, the labour of which conveyance may be estimated by “a calculation, raised from the most moderate state of its measurements, that the solid contents of this stupendous pile amount to one hundred and eighty-nine thousand tons weight of stone.” *

The altitude of the pyramid was taken for Mr. Pownall by a land surveyor, supposed to be competent for the task, Mr. Bouie, and found to be forty-two feet, which Molineux makes one hundred and fifty feet. But neither of these accounts, says Pownall, can be right. “I make the altitude of the whole about

* Pownall's Description of New Grange, ap Higgins, p. 40.

seventy feet." This monument is but a ruin of what it was, but if ever it was a perfect pyramid, it could not have been above one hundred feet in height.

The base covers about two acres of ground. The base of the great pyramid of Ghizeh covers eleven acres.

The New Grange barrow was formerly encircled at the base with a number of enormous unhewn stones set upright, of which ten were remaining, and none erect, when Pownall visited it. They measured from seven to nine feet above ground, and on a rough estimate might weigh from eight to twelve tons each. Lhwyd says the summit was surmounted by a stone of great bulk, of the same anomalous form as the others.

The gallery at the mouth of the cave is formed by large flag stones; those at the sides set on edge of different altitudes, from two to seven feet high, and various breadths, from two to three and a half feet.

Some of the large stones which form the cemetery are from one foot and a half to two feet thick.

The gallery at the mouth is three feet wide and two feet high. At thirteen feet from the mouth it is only two feet two inches wide at the bottom, and of an indeterminate height. Some of the side stones stand now leaning over to the opposite side, so that here the passage is scarcely permeable, except for thin persons by creeping on the hands and feet and turning on their sides, and thus edging on with one elbow and one foot. After passing this strait, one is enabled to stand, and the central chamber is entered.

This chamber is an irregular polygon of rough masses of stone of the rudest style; but few monuments of antiquity that I have visited are of a higher interest for the antiquarian—none of an earlier origin, in all probability, than this (quasi) Cyclopean sepulchral monument of New Grange.

GIANTS' GRAVES.

"An interesting communication was recently made by the Rev. Philip Moore to the Kilkenny Archæological Society, on the subject of the curious kists which are commonly denominated

Giants' Graves, a class of monuments of the old pagan Irish which seemed to have been almost altogether overlooked by our antiquarians. One of these curious sepulchral vaults or troughs was situate on the eastern slope of a hill near the wood of Brownstown, and in the townland of the same name, between Inistiogue and Rosbercon. It was a deep trench, about twelve feet long by four and a half feet in width, lying nearly north and south. Its bottom was carefully floored, not flagged, but the clay trodden or beaten hard, and the sides and ends were lined with large upright stones, or coarse flags; but it was seriously injured about five years since by a farmer of the neighbourhood, who dug out and carried off the greater portion of the side flags, in order to floor the yard around his dwelling. The surrounding peasantry generally called this monument, in Irish, 'the tomb of the long man,' and the tradition was that the stature of its occupant was eight feet. It was the 'tomb of long Ida.'

"There was another tomb of the same kind, situate in the townland of Ballymartin, a mile to the south-west of Listerling, on the borders of the barony of Knocktopher. It was about fourteen feet long and four wide, its sides secured like that at Brownstown by coarse upright flags, and still remaining quite perfect and uninjured. It lay east and west, and was called by the people 'the Pooka's grave.' There was also a track somewhat resembling the impression of a human foot, in a rock forming the bed of an adjoining stream, and this they called 'the Pooka's foot-print.' It was situate in a very wild and little-frequented spot, and, as might be gathered from the name, was generally considered a favourite haunt of 'the good people.' He could discover no tumuli or other vestige of ancient interments of any kind in the neighbourhood, except one little sepulchral mound or barrow, about a quarter of a mile distant. The last of the giant's graves to which he alluded was the most interesting and perfect of the three. It was situate in the barony of Iverk, (literally, *Uib Eirc*, 'the descendants of Eirc,' who was ancestor of the O'Bruadair family,) and in the parish of Mooncoin, at about half a mile from that village, upon the banks of

the river Suir, opposite Mount Congreve. The grave was about twenty-five feet long and ten or twelve feet wide; and popular tradition declared it to have been erected for 'Caidach more en vic Righ na Curragh'—that is, 'Caidach the great, the true son of the king of hills and plains'—or perhaps Gurragh, or Curragh, for what he knew, might be a proper name. The grave was lined by huge flags, and at the head and foot were enormous stones, about sixteen feet in height. On one of these rocks some indentations were pointed out as the print of the giant's hands and back, made by the force of his fall, when pierced by Goul's spear! The tomb was partially opened about sixty years ago, by some of the country people, who were said to have discovered some gigantic remains, a huge sword much rust-eaten, and a helmet of uncommon size."

In another communication on the same subject, Mr. Prim observed, "that the great length of the grave at Ballin-a-Caidach need not surprise the meeting, as these curious sarcophagi were found of even much greater dimensions in other districts. The Rev. Cæsar Otway, in one of his tours, noticed one on the top of a mountain in Donegal, which was thirty-four long; that author had also remarked that giants' graves were generally to be found in the neighbourhood of cromleachs, and appeared to be of similar antiquity. He says of them, 'that they are certainly the unaccounted-for remains of the same great people, who, it would seem, have, though powerful, scientific and universal, left no literary records, and who, as is supposed, existed before the introduction of syllabic writing.' Similar enormous kists to our giants' graves were to be met with in many other countries of Europe as well as Ireland, and they were generally assigned to the same purpose; in the Transactions of the Celtic Society of France, plans were given of two—one at Tours, and the other in Brittany.

"It was needless to point out the absurdity of the term Giants' Graves given to these monuments, and the folly of supposing that because the tomb was monstrous in its proportions, the occupants thereof must necessarily have been of extraordinary stature. The peasantry ascribe those sepulchres to the Finian

heroes, and they conclude that the Finians must have been a gigantic race, on account of the immense size of their tombs; but the ancient historians of Ireland, so far from asserting that Finn McCoul and his troops were men of unnatural proportions, expressly state them to have been of ordinary size, but that they rendered themselves feared and famous by their extraordinary powers and valorous exploits. A large number of 'Giants' Graves' being lying open for centuries, and no record having been kept of the remains found therein at the period of their discovery, it was generally assumed that each kist had been appropriated to a single hero. But the results of many recent investigations, where hitherto untouched monuments of this description had been lighted on, sufficiently proved the fact that several interments in a single kist was usual, and thus the hitherto marvellous circumstance of the vast size of the tomb was sufficiently accounted for. In some, perfect skeletons are found; in others, the bones of different persons separately piled in various pyramids; in others, again, urns of clay, containing ashes and burned bones of men and animals. Those extraordinary sarcophagi were the remains of a very ancient and mixed form of Irish sepulchre, coeval with the cromblehs and pillar-stones. In the townland of Caureisk, or Upper Derrynahinch, in the barony of Knocktopher, occupying the summit of a very elevated ridge, there is a slightly elevated mound, nearly circular in form, and in circumference about sixty yards. It is the site of a great cairn, consisting of a pile of small stones, which had but recently been removed, for the purpose of making this patch of ground available for tillage. The top had been removed from this cairn from time immemorial, so as to leave exposed in its centre a large kist, formed by flags laid on end, and constructed in a cruciform shape. The main grave lay nearly north and south, and was about fifteen feet long and four wide; the projection on either side which gave the cruciform appearance to the structure, being somewhat more than three feet square. The depth of the tomb throughout was about three feet; and it was asserted that at the northern end of the mound, or what might be considered the head of the grave, a large upright stone was placed. This

monument, which was now unfortunately destroyed, and the very outline of the site of which would doubtless be obliterated within a few weeks, had always been known in the locality by the Irish appellation of *Leaba Dhiarmuda*, which literally signified 'the bed of Dearmid;' but in English it was indifferently termed 'Long Darby's Grave,' and 'the tomb of Dearmid O'Doone.' The tradition connected with this cairn is, that Dearmid O'Doone was the smallest but the most valorous hero amongst the troops of the great chieftain Finn M'Coul. Finn entertained a very warm regard for him, but Finn's wife, Granne, unfortunately conceived for Dearmid an illicit passion. Dearmid in an evil hour returned this guilty love, and eloped with his friend's wife.

"After some years, Dearmid O'Doone having died, was interred at Caureisk, near which he had met his death, his body being laid in the principal cavity, whilst his three hounds were interred along with him, the projecting arm on either hand of the principal kist being appropriated as receptacles for the bodies of the dogs.

"It was a curious fact that, to a very important extent, this strange tradition was supported by the evidence of history. Keating states (Edit. 1723, page 133), 'Cormac, King of Ireland, had ten daughters; yet the ancient records being silent, and mentioning nothing memorable of eight of these princesses, what they have related of the other two will be properly introduced in this place. The name of one of these ladies was Graine, who was married to Fionn, the son of Cumhall, but being of an amorous disposition, she left him and stole away with her gallant, Diarmuid O'Duibhne; the other was called Ailbhe, and was (subsequently) married to her sister's husband Fionn.' It would seem also that the honour of possessing the tomb of Dearmid had probably been laid claim to in another part of Ireland, for Keating mentioned amongst the monuments of Fiana Eirioun, remembered in his time, the following:— 'Leaba Dhiarmuda and Graine, which signifies Diarmuid, and Graine's bed, and stood at a place called Poll tigh Liaiabain in Uibh Fiachra, in O'Shaghnessie's country.'"

Of very early British funeral customs the notices are more vague and scanty than might be expected.

The burial place of King Leir (Shakspeare's hero), according to Geoffrey of Monmouth, was at Leicester.*

"Cordelia, obtaining the government of the kingdom, buried her father in a certain vault, which she ordered to be made for him under the river Iore, in Leicester, and which had been built under the ground to the honour of the god Janus. And there all the workmen of the city upon the anniversary solemnity of that festival, used to begin their yearly labours.

"At this time," says Geoffrey, "flourished the prophets Isaiah and Hosea;" and he adds Romulus and Remus. This period must, then, have been about seven centuries and a half before our era. He does not inform us how or when the worship of old Janus got introduced into Britain.

The Leir of Geoffery was the son of Bladud, "a very ingenious man, who taught necromancy in his kingdom." He met with an unfortunate accident, "in attempting to fly in the upper regions of the air with wings, having fallen upon the temple of Apollo, in the city of Trinovantum, where he was dashed to pieces."

Bladud was the son of Hudibras, who built the towns, we are informed, now called Canterbury, Winchester, and Shaftesbury.

Hudibras was the son of Leil, cotemporary of Solomon.

Leil was the son of Brutus, surnamed Greenshield.

Brutus was the son of Ebraucus, a worthy prince, who had twenty sons and thirty daughters, by twenty wives. He sent all his daughters into Italy, "to Sylvius Alba, where they were married among the Trajan nobility."

Ebraucus was the son of Mempricius. He built the city of Aleluid, also the town of Mountelgned (the modern Edinburgh.)

Mempricius was the son of Maddan, "who, contenting himself with the country of Cornwall, ruled the kingdom with peace and with care for forty years." This illustrious Cor-

* Geoffrey of Monmouth's British History, chap. viii. Ap. Giles' Six Old English Chronicles, ed. 12mo. 1848.

nish sovereign was preceded on the throne by his divorced mother, Queen Guendolæna.

This princess was the widow of King Locrin, a very amorous potentate, who was the son of The Brutus, an illegitimate grandson of Æneas, born in Alba, by a niece of Lavinia. Having killed his father accidentally, and being expelled from Italy, he went to Greece, and became a mighty warrior, and "a general of the remainder of the Trojans, ravaged various countries, and came to the island then called Albion, which was inhabited by none but a few giants." He called the first city he built on the banks of the Thames New Troy, which degenerated into Trinovantum, and in subsequent times got the name of Lud's City, after Kaer Lud. Brutus died twenty-four years after his arrival, and was buried in the city which he had built.

There is a curious fragment, commemorating the graves of some British warriors, preserved in the first volume of the Welsh Archæology, in which mention is made of "the dead being burned on the tops of hills and lofty cliffs, on declivities in heaths and secluded valleys, on the banks and near the fords of rivers, and on the sea shore, where the ninth wave breaks."

Allusion is also made to "the long graves in Gwamas; no one knows to whom they belong, nor what is their history." * Geoffrey of Monmouth, in the thirteenth chapter of his British History, says, that after a signal victory gained by Arthur, he gave orders for separating the bodies of his nobility, and preparing a pompous funeral for them—that, when ready, they should be carried to the abbeyes of their respective countries, there to be honourably buried."

Of the funeral customs of the Britons in the fifth century, we have not much information. Geoffrey of Monmouth states that Vortimen at his death summoned his soldiers, and distributed among them all the treasure his predecessors had heaped up, and then—"He endeavoured to comfort them in their sorrow and lamentation for him, telling them he was going the way of all flesh. But he exhorted these brave and warlike

* Giles' Six Old English Chronicles, pp. 428.

young men, who had attended him in all his victories, to persist courageously in the defence of their country against all hostile invasions, and with wonderful greatness of mind commanded a brazen pyramid to be placed in the port where the Saxons used to land, and his body when dead to be buried on the top of it, that the sight of his tomb might frighten back the barbarians into Germany. For he said none of them would dare to approach the country that should but get a sight of his tomb. Such was the admirable bravery of this great man, who as he had been a terror to them (the Saxons) while living, endeavoured to be no less so when dead. Notwithstanding which, he was no sooner dead than the Britons had no regard to his orders, but buried him in London."

This delicate invention of perching a warrior's tomb and a pyramid on a high place in a sea-port, to frighten away the enemy from it, shewed "a wonderful greatness of mind," we are told by the old chronicler. A sentry-box planted there, with one live soldier in it, would have had more effect on the nerves of the Saxons than twenty tombs of dead warriors in the same situations.

STONEHENGE.

One of the most famous shrines of the British, in Christian times, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth's account, was evidently of pagan origin. Aurelius, the king, having roused his enemies, the Saxons, went to the monastery near Kaer Carador, now Salisbury, where the chiefs and princes, whom the wicked Hengist had murdered, lay buried.

"The sight of the place where the dead lay, made the king, who was of a compassionate temper, shed tears, and at last enter upon thoughts what kind of monument to erect upon it; for he thought something ought to be done to perpetuate the memory of that piece of ground, which was honoured with the bodies of so many noble patriots that died for their country."*

Merlin, the famous seer, having been summoned to the king's presence, said:—"If you are desirous to honour the burying place of these men with an everlasting monument, send for

* Geoffrey of Monmouth, c. ix. p. 214. Giles' Edition.

‘The Giant’s Dance,’ which is in the Kellaraus, a mountain in Ireland. For there is a structure of stones there which none of this age could raise, without a profound knowledge of the mechanical arts. They are stones of a vast magnitude and wonderful quality, and if they can be placed there they will stand for ever . . . They are mystical stones, and of a medicinal virtue. The giants of old brought them from the farthest coast of Africa, and placed them in Ireland, while they inhabited that country. Their design was to make baths in them, when they should be taken with any illness. For their method was to wash the stones, and put their sick into the water, which infallibly cured them . . .”

“There is not a stone which has not some healing virtues.”*

To get these wonderful stones, a great host of armed men were sent into Ireland. The king of the country in which the mountain of Kellaraus is situated, opposed the invaders and marauders in vain. The Gillomaniers were forced to flee; Merlin applied the engines he had contrived for the removal of the vast stones, and they were transported under his direction to Britain.

On Salisbury plain they were set up around the sepulchre of the great princes and men of valour slain by Hengist, in the same manner they had been in Ireland. This occurrence, as it is described, must have been in the year of our Lord 490. What amount of truth there may be in the tradition of the removal of those monumental stones of Salisbury plain from Ireland, and in the superstitions said to have been connected with them, it would be difficult to determine.

* Geoffrey of Monmouth, c. xii. p. 212.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE FUNERAL AND MOURNING CUSTOMS OF THE GREEKS.

“Saturnus et Jupiter—‘Ignobiles et ignotos terræ filios nominamus. Ejus filius Jupiter Cretæ, excluso parente regnavit illic obiit, illic filios habuit, adhuc Jovis visitur et sepulchrum ejus ostenditur et ipsis sacris suis humanitatis arguitur.’”

MINUTIUS FELIX, p. 215.

CONCERNING THE ANCIENT RIGHT OF BURIAL, AND LAWS MADE BY THE GREEKS IN THAT BEHALF.

“THE right of burial,” says Muret, “among the heathens was grounded upon the will of the gods, the judgment of wise men, and the laws that had been made for that purpose. If we herein consult their most ancient poets, who were deemed as so many secretaries of their gods, and interpreters of their wills; they all with one accord will tell us that burial is one of the chief and most indispensable duties charged upon mankind, of which none can deprive another without a manifest breach of the law of nature. Nay, they peremptorily assert that conquerors themselves may not deny it their vanquished enemies. Euripides represents the women of Argos crying out against Creon, King of Thebes, as an ungodly and atheistical prince, because he would not permit them to bury their sons who were slain in the battle they had fought against him; not being able to conceive, but that if he had acknowledged the gods, he would have respected their laws.

“And Sophocles, speaking of the threats wherewith the same Creon menaced Antigone, because she had, contrary to his order, buried her brother Polynices, introduceth her answering that prince with an undaunted courage and constancy, founded upon the will of the gods, which ought always to be preferred before that of men. ‘When I interred,’ saith she, ‘the body of my dear brother, I did nothing but discharge a duty, to which the

celestial and infernal powers have indispensably obliged us. It is a law which those immortal sovereigns have given to men; and I do not see that thou, who, though a king, art mortal, and their vassal as well as we, canst oppose or hinder the performing of this sacred duty. It is a law that has ever been observed, and so ancient, that its original is since time out of mind; wherefore I had rather do what it enjoins me than obey thy commands, there being far more reason for me to apprehend the displeasure and punishment of the gods than thy threats.*

“Of which truths Isocrates† being persuaded, highly commends Theseus and the Athenians for the great care they took to bury the dead, saying that it was a mark and token of their piety towards the gods, since it is they, and not men, who established that law.

“Upon which account it is, that the Sybil, among the other important advices which she gives Æneas, about the design he had to take a journey into hell, strictly charges him not to set forth before he had caused the body of Misenus, that lay on the sea shore, to be buried: telling him, that as on this occasion he stood in need of the special protection of the gods, so he must by this piety endeavour to deserve the same.

“To the premises might be added several oracles, which clearly speak in favour of burials. Diodorus informs us,‡ that Cybele’s relations having caused Atys to be murdered, upon the account of his too great familiarity with her, and left his body lying on the ground in the open fields, the whole country of Phrygia, which was the scene of that cruel action, was thereupon plagued with sickness and afflicted with famine; and that the Phrygians on this sad occasion, consulting the gods to find out some relief of these miseries, received no other answer, but that the body of Atys was to be interred.

“Neither were the Caphyans in Arcadia § less severely punished, for having barbarously slain some boys that did them no harm, and given them no other burial but that of the stones wherewith they had struck them down.

* Sophocl. in Antig.

† Diod. l. iii.

‡ Isoc. in Hel. encom.

§ Pausan. in Arcad.

“Pausanias, who recounts this history, tell us another, that is no less remarkable, viz. that after the dismal death of Actæon, whom his own hounds devoured, the inhabitants of Orchomenus were tormented by his ghost, that continually put them into cruel frights, of which they would never have been rid, had they not, according to the advice of the oracle of Delphos, carefully taken up all that remained of the body of this unfortunate hunter, in order to inter the same.

“And were not those of Luca,* by a like answer, obliged to make a strict search for the body of Palinurus, that they might be delivered from the plague, which had infected the whole country, and did not cease to rage till they had appeased his ghost, by discharging that pious duty towards him? For, though they could not find his body, yet they consecrated a grove, in which they erected a sumptuous tomb in honour of him.

“These sepulchres, which were called Cenotaphia, that is, empty monuments, were nevertheless, according to the foolish opinion of the pagans, very useful to the dead; for they fancied that, provided that they were not looked into, the corpse for which they were intended, though never so far distant, entered into them; but that if, out of curiosity, any one opened these tombs, they presently vanished away. Hence it was that they erected monuments as well for such as perished at sea, were devoured by beasts, or died in foreign parts, from whence they could not procure their bodies, as for those that were present with them.

“And, indeed, how could they have omitted this duty, since the gods themselves oft made it their particular care and business? For if we will believe Homer,† Jupiter gave order to Apollo to inter the body of Sarpedon, whom Patroclus had killed. Thetis buried Ajax herself, as Lycophron reports;‡ and this goddess was also by Jupiter sent to Achilles, to command him on his behalf to deliver the body of Hector,§ that he might be interred; he likewise at the same time dispatching Iris to Priam, with orders to agree about the same with the

* Æneid. vi.

† Lycophr. in Cassand.

† Hom. Iliad.

§ Hom. Iliad.

enemy for a sum of money. Last of all, he sent Mercury, safely to guide this prince by night through the host, to conclude the treaty. Moreover, Homer assures us, that the children of Niobe whom the gods caused to be slain, were by them buried nine days after.

“But what I find more remarkable is, the care that Bacchus took to bury the body of Sophocles. Pliny* says that this poet being dead at Athens, at the very time when the general of the Lacedemonians, Lysander by name, besieged that city; this god several times appeared to him in a dream, commanding him to raise the siege, to the end the Athenians might be at liberty to pay their last duty to this great man, whom he had always regarded as his darling.

“To this we may add, that there were three of their principal gods, who took the care of funerals. Pluto, Jupiter’s brother, was worshipped only as sovereign over the dead; upon which account it was that his temples were only opened at night. He was called Summanus,† that is, the supreme god of manes, or departed souls.

“Nor was Venus less concerned to see men buried, than she was for their being begotten; and for this reason they kept in the temples that were consecrated to her (under the name of Libitina,‡ that is to say, the goddess of the shades) all such things as were requisite and necessary at funerals, as winding-sheets, biers, and instruments both to dig graves and erect monuments withal. . . .

“And last of all, Mercury’s§ charge was to receive those shades whose bodies were but newly interred, and lead them into the Elysian fields, or elsewhere, according as they had deserved, he driving before him, with his golden rod, this troop of ghosts, like a flock of sheep. And for a further proof that it was the will of the gods that this pious duty should be performed to the dead, I might here observe that they themselves commonly punished those that denied this right, or did any the least injury to them. And on the other hand, they most bountifully rewarded such as signalized themselves by this piety.

* Plin. l. vii. c. 29.

† Senec. l. vi. de Benef. Val. Max. l. v.

‡ Summanus, Diod. l. ii.

§ Horat. l. i. Od.

"We read in Horace* of the astrologer Archytas, who was cast away at sea, that his dead body being by the waves driven to the shore, his ghost threatened all that passed by, who did not throw a handful of earth upon him, with the like misfortune after their death, besides several other miseries during their lifetime. . . .

"The poet Simonides† having met in his way on the sea-shore a dead body, as he was about to go on ship-board, in order to an intended voyage, desired the master of the ship to stay till the next day, that he might have time to bury the same, which proved a great good fortune to him; for that night the ghost of the dead having warned him in a dream not to proceed on his voyage, he accordingly did not embark in that vessel, which miscarried at sea, together with all that were on board her. . . .

"The ancients ‡ were persuaded instances of this nature were the effect of the grateful acknowledgment of the dead, and that the duty of burial was founded upon the will of the gods, and consequently considered by them as indispensable and inviolable, it being a principal point of their religion. And, indeed, the very same priests who taught them the service of the gods, taught them also all their funeral ceremonies.

"I know some have been of opinion that priests were forbidden to meddle with the dead, and that the sight only of a corpse deprived them of their office, and ranked them with the laity. This is the sentiment of Aulus Gellius,§ and Fabius Pictor, who ground their opinion upon this, that Augustus, being high priest, at the time when he pronounced the funeral oration in praise of Agrippa, caused a curtain to be drawn between him and the corpse, that he might not see it. || . . .

"Appian,¶ who describes the funeral pomp of Sylla, tells us that all the priests and vestals accompanied it. And Plutarch, in the life of Numa, assures us, that after his death the priests followed his body to the grave. . . .

* Horat. l. i. Od.

† Cic. l. i. De Divin.

‡ Atholog. l. i.

§ Aul. Gel. l. x.

|| Tacit. Annal. l. iii.

¶ Appian. l. i.

“Plato,* in that excellent idea which he has framed of his commonwealth, does not forget, amongst the several kinds of justice he there speaks of, to mention that which we owe to the dead.

“His disciple Aristotle teaches, in his Book of Virtue,† that one part of distributive justice does belong to the dead; and in his Problems‡ he asserts that it is more just to pay them their due than to the living.

“Pindar,§ who was a great philosopher as well as poet, says that the things of this world are not so entirely assigned to the living, but that the dead may claim their lawful share in them; and that besides a special place which they ought to have to be buried in, we are bound to bestow a part of the means and estate they leave behind them to celebrate their funeral with honour and decency.

“Cicero,|| in the division which he makes of the parts of justice, marks one to respect the gods, the other the dead, and the last the living.

“Servius observes that Virgil, who so often calls Æneas by the name of Pious,¶ chiefly gives him this character because of the funeral honours which he with so much care and application always paid to his relations and friends. . . .

“‘When I inter a dead body,’ says Seneca, ‘though I never saw or knew the party when he was alive, I deserve nothing for my so doing, since I do but discharge an obligation which I owe to human nature.’**

“Which duty, even to unknown persons, is so just, that the Latin hath given it no other appellation than that of justice, and the Greek of a lawful custom, piety, and godliness; so that among the Romans and Grecians, which have been the two most potent and civilized nations in the world, when they would express that one had been interred, they said that they had done him right or justice.

“This duty consisted in casting, three several times, a handful

* Plat. in Phæd. et Cratil. et Dial. v. De Repub.

† Arist. l. de Virt.

‡ Id. Probl. sec. 22.

§ Pind. in Olymp. Od. iii.

|| Cic. 1.1 Topic.

¶ Æn. vi.

** Senec. v. de Benef.

of earth upon the corpse; which was to be done by one of the priests, when any could be had; or for want thereof, by any other person whatsoever.* This is that which the ancients called the sacredness of burying, without which no soul, as they believed, could enjoy any rest for a long season. It availed nothing to the dead † that he was buried in a deep grave or laid in a tomb, if the funeral ceremony were not begun with these three handfuls of earth, for lack of which a poor soul, though it had lived never so well, was fain to wander up and down for the space of an hundred years, before it could be admitted into the Elysian fields. The poorest and most inconsiderable fellow in the world (as a slave or private soldier) could not be denied the usual garments, coffin, and other necessities for his funerals. ‡

“If any master was so inhuman as not to discharge this pious duty towards his servant, the first man who took upon him the care of performing it, the law ordered a reimbursement of all the plaintiff’s expenses on that account, no debt having more privilege than this, as being preferred even before legacies and the strictest covenants, yea, before a wife’s portion. . . . True it is, that these funeral charges were very inconsiderable, and the place where this sort of people were buried most abject: but how small soever the one, and abject the other might be, yet was it a right that could not be dispensed with.§

“As for soldiers, they in this case provided for themselves after another manner, not being willing, in a matter of so great importance, to trust their captains with the care of it. Each legion had a purse for their common burials, into which every one that was listed was obliged to put something of his pay; and with this stock the charges of their interments were defrayed.

“Vegetius, who tells us of that pious custom amongst a sort of men that are thought to have neither faith nor law, adds another instance of that natural love of burial, which is no less

* Hom. Il.

† Delr. in Sene. Herc. Æte. et Cerd. in Æn. vi.

‡ This was the theory, indeed, of the Romans, but the practice was very much at variance with it.—R. R. M.

§ Nepoti. Horat. l. Ep.

admirable than the foregoing.* He says, that after the bloody defeat of Cannæ,† most of the Roman soldiers despairing of being interred, because their enemy was conqueror and master of the field, were found to have (as well as they could) digged holes for themselves, and laid down their heads foremost in them, that they might not be wholly deprived of burial.

“For this reason it was, that they feared not death in land-fights; as hoping that the very same place wherein they fought would afford them a grave for their eternal rest. But they were mightily troubled and dismayed at the thoughts of a naval combat, or when they were in danger of shipwreck; because they saw themselves upon the point of being for ever deprived of it.

“Upon which account also Achilles,‡ who braved all manner of dangers, could not (as Homer says) keep himself from being daunted at that of shipwreck, when he found himself ready to miscarry in the river Xanthus.

“A like fear of Scipio, the greatest captain the Romans ever had, Silius mentions,§ who tells us that he that had so many times, without the least concern or motion, seen rivers of blood running down, was most terribly affrighted at the passage of the river Trebia, where he saw himself in danger of being drowned.

“The same account Statius|| gives us of Hippomedon, who (as he says) could without any trouble have presented his body to the dint of a thousand swords, and yet was not able to abide the thoughts of being cast away in the river Theumesia.

“Solon, the first lawgiver of Athens, who omitted nothing therein which was requisite to good order, virtue, peace and justice, did not forget to insist upon each particular and least ceremony to be observed at funerals; which he afterwards put into the hands of the priests, that they might be the depositors and judges of them for time to come.

“Lycurgus,¶ who is also accounted one of the most ancient lawgivers, and who by his justice made himself no less con-

* Nulla fides pietasque viris qui castra sequuntur. Lucan. l. ult.

† Liv. l. 22. ‡ Hom. Il. § Sil. l. iv. || Stat. l. 9.

¶ Plut. in Vit. Lycurg. et Tract. de just La.

sidered at Lacedæmon than the former at Athens, did not only confirm in favour of the dead all the honours that were by Solon appointed and ordained should be performed to them, but super-added this, that thenceforward they should have their sepulchres within the walls of the city ; to the end, being thus exposed to the sight of all people, they might be the more respected, and imitated by them in the whole conduct of their lives.”*

Muret, in his account of the funerals of the Grecians, makes the following observations :—

“The Grecians have not always disposed of their dead the same way ; for at first they used burials, and after that, the custom of burning prevailed amongst them. Of both which ways we have several instances from very creditable authors. Thucydides tells us,† that Themistocles being dead at Magnesia (where he was governor), was buried in the great palace of that city, and that some time afterwards they took his bones from thence, and carried them to Athens, his own country, where they were interred a second time. A like account he gives of Brasidas, viz. : that this brave general being dead of the wounds which he received in the victory by him obtained over the Athenians at Eon, was publicly carried by the chief officers of his army, upon their shoulders, to the place where a monument was prepared for him in the midst of the great market, and that there they buried him. He further acquaints us, that some time after, those of Antibe offered many sacrifices at his tomb, instituted games in honour of him, and ranked him amongst the number of their gods. The same Thucydides informs us, that they had a special care to pay all due honours to such as died in the wars in defence of their own country ; and to that purpose tells us, that all those who were killed at the several battles fought in Morea were most honourably buried in the manner as follows :—First, for the space of three days they left their bones in a tent, where every one of their friends made them presents of what they liked most when they were yet alive ; afterwards they laid them, together with the foresaid

* Mur. Cer. Fun. p. 272, *et seq.*

† Thucyd. l. 1.

gifts, in Cyprus chests or coffins, and every tribe having placed the bodies of those that belonged to them on chariots, they were drawn by men to the place of burial; being followed by an infinite number of citizens, who filled the air with lamentable wailing and outcries. Moreover, the same historian observes, that besides those forementioned coffins, they carried some empty ones, in honour of them whose bones they could not find.

“Nevertheless they most commonly* buried the soldiers in the very same place where they had fought and were slain, rendering them their last honours where they had purchased their greatest glory; and employed one of the most honourable and eloquent of their magistrates to make a funeral oration in commendation of them.

“As for† those that died on their beds, they were buried in the suburbs. It was their custom never to inter the dead within their cities, because they considered them as cut off from the society of other men, their heroes only enjoying that privilege, whose bodies they kept in public places, as so many tutelary gods and defenders of their country. Every family had their own tomb, and he only was deprived of this right who had spent his patrimony; the laws appointing him to be buried elsewhere.”‡

Tombs and temples in early times served a double purpose. The places where the remains of illustrious persons were deposited were sanctified by religious observances, and gods at length came to be worshipped where revered memories were honoured.

“The first generations of men had neither temples nor statues for their gods, but worshipped towards heaven in the open air. The Persians, even in ages when temples were common in all other countries, not thinking the gods to be of human shape, as did the Greeks, had no temples; which was the reason, as some think, why Xerxes burned and demolished the temples of Greece. For the Persians thought it absurd to confine the gods within walls, quorum hic mundus omnis tem-

* Demosth. cont. Eubulid. † Plut. in Solon. Senec. in *Œdip.* act i.

‡ Muret Cer. Fun. p. 11, *et seq.*

plum esset ac domus ; whose house and temple was this whole world, to use the words of Cicero. The Greeks, and most other nations, worshipped their gods upon the tops of high mountains. Hence Jupiter, in Homer, commends Hector for the many sacrifices which he has offered upon the top of Ida. Many are of opinion that temples owe their first original to the superstitious reverence and devotion paid by the ancients to the memory of their deceased friends, relations and benefactors ; and, as most of the gods were men consecrated upon the account of some public benefit conferred on mankind, so most of the heathen temples are thought to have been, at first, only stately monuments, erected in honour of the dead. Thus the temple of Pallas, in the tower of the city Larissa, was the sepulchre of Acrisius ; Cecrops was interred in the acropolis of Athens, and Erichthonius in the temple of Minerva Polias, to mention no more. A farther confirmation of this is, that those words, which, in their proper acceptation, signify no more than a tomb or sepulchre, are by ancient writers applied to the temples of the gods. Nor is it any wonder that monuments should at length be converted into temples, when at every common sepulchre it was usual to offer prayers, sacrifices, and libations.”*

The similarity of the funeral ceremonials of Greece and Rome is indicative of a common origin, and that origin is to be traced to the shores of Asia Minor, Lycia, Phrygia, and Phœnicia, to the countries which gave birth to the Tyrenes, the Pelasgi and Etruscans, and, especially as far as those of Rome are concerned, to Lydia, the source of the first Etrurian migrations into Italy.†

* Potter's Antiquities of Greece.

† For the information contained in the chapters on the funeral customs of the Greeks and Romans I am indebted mainly to “Potter's Grecian Antiquities ;” the Treatise on the Arts and Customs of the Greeks and Romans, published in the “Cabinet Cyclopedia ;” the work on Pompeii in “The Library of Entertaining Knowledge ;” the works of Gyraldus, and Muret ; the “Reperta Rerum Memorabilium of Pancirollus ;” [the “Officina Ravisii Textoris ;” the “Mæres, Leges, et Ritus omnium Gentium, par J. Beenumi ;” Herodotus, Livy, Lucian and Plutarch.

“Strabo observes that the walls of the temple of the sun, at Heliopolis, were charged with paintings similar to those of the Pelasgi of Etruria; and there are other and numerous coincidences which show that the worship of the Pelasgi of Italy and Greece was connected with that of Upper Egypt and Ethiopia. Like the tombs of the kings at Thebes, those of the Etrusco-Pelasgians are grottoes or chambers, under a small hill, perforated below for a door, and at top for light. They are full of paintings (as are the Egyptian tombs), referring, says Paciaudi, to the passage of souls to the Elysian fields. In some instances, even embalmment seems to have prevailed; for in 1485 the entire body of a woman so preserved, and laid in a marble sarcophagus, was found in a sepulchre near the Via Appia. Another Egyptianism is noticeable. In Fabretti are several inscriptions, containing invocations to Osiris for cold water, from the supposed thirst of the dead; and at this day, in India, pitchers full of water are hung upon the trees adjacent to a grave or place of sepulture. A curious occurrence of vases for this and similar purposes appears in an extraordinary Etruscan tomb, found in the Tiphatine mountains by Sir William Hamilton. The skeleton was laid at length. A fly-fan, with iron sticks, two large iron chandeliers, vases suspended to bronze nails, two iron swords, a wine strainer, consisting of a deep bowl perforated with holes, and provided with a handle and saucer without holes, a bronze bowl, in which was a *simpulum* attached to a long handle, and used as a ladle, two eggs and a grater were found. The vases were not cinerary. They were the customary drinking vessels found in tombs, through the supposed thirst of the dead, previously alluded to. Nothing can be more plain than the cause of this addition of provisions. The ancients looked upon the soul as the shadow of the living man, and that it had the faculties of thinking, and talking, though very imperfectly; for which reason, Homer calls these shadows *αμειννα κάρηνα*, *weak bodies*. The dead, indeed, according to Homer and Socrates, lived a sort of life that resembled a dream, and therefore it is that many epitaphs begin with these words, ‘ETERNALI SOMNO.’ They were also

thought to frequent the place where the body lay. Here were placed the provisions, because Lucian says these ghosts derived their nourishment from the libations and funeral sacrifices at tombs ; so that if any of them had no kindred or friend left upon earth, then that ghost had no food, but starved with hunger. But this was not the only imitation of Egyptian fashions. Others, says Alberti, will, perhaps, praise our Etruscans, because they did not much yield to the Egyptians in the magnificence of similar works." *

Herodotus, referring to the Assyrian origin of Perseus, and the Egyptian extraction of the first Darians, makes the following observations on the funeral customs of the Lacedemonians at the burials of their deceased kings :—

“These advantages are conferred by the republic of Sparta upon their kings while they live ; those which follow, when they are dead. Horsemen are dispatched through all Laconia to notify their death : women are appointed to march through every part of the city, beating upon kettles : during which time one man and one woman, both free born, are obliged, under great penalties, to appear out of every house with all the marks of mourning and lamentation. To be short, the Lacedemonians celebrate the funerals of their kings in the same manner as is practised by the barbarians of Asia ; who, for the most part, vary nothing from the Spartans in the performance of these ceremonies. For upon the death of a Lacedemonian king, certain numbers of the inhabitants of the country are obliged to attend the funeral with open breasts, those of the city being singly exempted : and when many thousands of these are met together, with the Helotes, and even Spartans, both men and women, they courageously cut themselves on the forehead, and with incessant howlings cry out, that the last king was the best they ever had. If one of their kings die in war, his effigy is prepared and exposed to public view, placed on a bed of state. When they bury him, all business ceases for ten days ; the courts are not assem-

* A Treatise on the Arts, &c. of the Greeks and Romans, Cab. Cyc. vol. i. p. 283.

bled, and the mourning continues during that time. Their customs are farther conformable to those of the Persians; in that, when a king dies, and the successor enters upon the administration, he remits whatever debts may be due from any Spartan to the king or the public; as the king of Persia at his accession to the throne discharges all the cities from the arrears of tribute due to his predecessor. In other things the Lacedemonians resemble the Egyptians in their manners.”*

“The most ancient kind of sepulchre in Asia and Greece was the barrow or tumulus; *i. e.* a heap of earth, with a stēlē, or memorial-stone, sometimes an altar, at top; sometimes chambers, with galleries within them, and a defensive wall around the base. There have been found in them vases; small columns; stelæ, commonly round pillars, with inscriptions; images of some animals; charcoal, and bones. Sometimes they occur near temples and ancient cities; but in Greece are generally indicative of a battle fought on the spot: for it was deemed an honour to the slain that they should be there buried. Such barrows were called polyandria, and were adorned with trophies, as at Marathon; with a lion, as at Thermopylæ. The earliest barrows known are mounds upon stone basements, or are composed of masses stone.

“Temples succeeded barrows, or sepulchral mounds with altars raised upon them: the temple of Jerusalem was founded upon the mountain where Abraham offered Isaac, and the sepulchre of Cecrops conferred sanctity upon the acropolis of Athens. Moses does not mention any temple of architecture, only an altar surrounded with stones, what we should call a cromlech and druidical circle; assimilations to the Greek baituloi, mentioned by Pausanias. At Charai, in Achaia, he saw thirty stones of a quadrangular form, each of which was worshipped under the name of some divinity; for the Greeks anciently paid the same veneration to rough stones as they afterwards did to statues. Moreover, a place once consecrated retained its holy character. The Greek writer quoted mentions, as occurring at the city of Phrixa, a ruined temple of Minerva Cydonia, which was in his

* Herod. Erato. lib. vi.

time only a place of sacrifice. Colonel Leake observes, that vestiges of churches, similar to those of the temple which Pausanias describes, are common at the present day in Greece. Sometimes nothing is left but a line of stones to represent the wall, with a single block, commonly of ancient workmanship, for an altar. Here incense is burnt, and prayers are said, on the festival of the saint." *

THE CEREMONIALS OF GREEK FUNERALS.

"The dying addressed their prayers to Mercury, whose office it was to convey souls to the infernal regions: mothers, or the nearest in kin or affection, kissed the dying with open mouths, as if to inhale their departing spirits. After decease, the eyes were closed by the next of kin, the face was covered, and the body, after being laid out, was consecrated, washed, anointed, perfumed, and wrapt in a garment, resembling in fashion a Highlander's plaid. The feet and hands were tied by bandages; and this custom is illustrated in the case of Lazarus. The piece of money to pay Charon's fare was placed in the mouth; and a cake, made of flour and honey, to appease Cerberus. A house being deemed polluted wherein a corpse lay, a vessel of lustral water from another dwelling was placed at the door, for visitors to sprinkle themselves with as they went out. The water was to be spring-water. The *suffitio*, or perfuming the house, followed; and also strewing origanum and vine branches. During this interval, the corpse was placed at the entrance of the house, with the feet towards the door, adorned with garlands, and laid upon a couch, or litter, adorned with these, which were made of all sorts of herbs and flowers, and especially of olive. The cypress became a funereal tree, not, says Montfaucon, from its gloomy foliage, but because it never grows up again after it is cut down.

"People of condition placed boughs of it at the door; and we still see, on marbles, sepulchres with cypresses planted by them. Some hair, cut from the head of the deceased, was also hung at the door. The time of keeping the body above ground

* Manners and Customs of the Greeks and Romans.

varied ; the poor being buried soonest. Persons were stationed to keep off flies. Previous to the procession to the tomb, a crier proclaimed, 'Whoever will attend the funeral, must come now.' To lead the procession there were 'mourning women' who preceded, playing melancholy tunes. The addition of tumblers and buffoons Dionysius Halicarnassus makes not a general practice, but one limited to persons who had lived merrily. The face of the corpse, when carried out, was uncovered, and sometimes painted, to make it more agreeable, especially those of young maids ; but covered when the face of the dead was deformed or changed. Euripides makes the corpse to have been carried aloft by servants ; but a Roman marble, in Montfaucon, which better accords with the action of Achilles in the Odyssey, places the two legs of the corpse upon the shoulders of a bearer ; a second person supports it round the middle, and the chief mourner holds up the head and shoulders. Immediately before the corpse goes the person who pronounces, as he goes, the funeral oration. If the person was military, and died a violent death, his arms and armour were borne as now : the former, probably, reversed, as Virgil says ; a custom which we retain. In the burial of eminent persons, the mourners were clad in white, and adorned with garlands, and carried torches or tapers, or some ornaments for the deceased, or images of the infernal gods. The sons of the deceased walked with their heads veiled ; the daughters bare-footed, and with their hair dishevelled. Other customs were to throw dust or ashes in their faces ; to beat their breasts or thighs ; to scratch their faces ; to keep their heads and faces close covered, or lay their hands on their head, walk softly, keep silence ; and to cut off the best locks of their hair, and lay them on the grave or the funeral pile. The men walked before the corpse, and the women, if aged, or relatives, behind. Cremation of the body, as well as barrow burial, were certainly tokens of honour paid to the deceased ; and Plutarch seems to connect it with the *apotheosis*, for he says, 'The sons surrounded their father's sepulchres at funerals, reverencing them as temples of their gods, and having

burnt them, when they first met with a bone, said that the deceased was deified. This apotheosis was represented by the Romans, in the liberation of an eagle from the uppermost story of the pile, when burning. This eagle, soaring out of sight, they pretended to be carrying to heaven the soul. The primitive Greeks buried their dead in places within their own houses, sometimes within temples; but the general rule was, in later ages, *without* the cities (*within* being an honour due only to public benefactors), by the highways; kings or great men on mountains, or at the feet of them. Under a sepulchral burial, the coffin was of cedar or stone. There were epitaphs, tombstones, and *stelai* with garlands, or festoons, crowning them. The intention was thus to typify the quiet of the dead from troubles, according to Clemens, or the victory over the grave; and there appears to be a metaphorical allusion to this practice in the phrase of St. Paul (2 Tim. iv. 7, 8), ‘I have fought a good fight; I have finished my course: henceforth I have laid up for me a crown of righteousness.’

“The Greek *epitaphs* were very simple, and consisted only of the name, and a short character, as a *good man, good woman*. The Athenians put only the name of the deceased, of his father, and of his tribe. But in the collections of Greek epigrams are numerous epitaphs of various lengths, in pure Greek taste, *i. e.* simplicity and delicacy.

“At Athens there were two of these common burying-grounds, one within, the other without the walls. That within, was devoted to those who died in the field for the good of the state. Over the graves were placed columns, inscribed with the names of the places where they fell, and their epitaphs. Here was celebrated the race, called *Lampadedromia*, where persons ran or rode with torches in their hands; it was divided into several fields and inclosures. Mr. Dodwell says that the Greeks also buried their dead not only by the highways, but in their gardens in their villas; and with regard to persons of great consequence, sometimes within their temples.

“*Contents of the tombs.*—The chief and most common are articles of pottery, also found in Egyptian tombs; Mertese,

near Corinth, is famous for furnishing vases, lachrymatories, unguentaries, libatories.

“The body was deposited in a *soros*, or, as more recently called, *sarcophagus*. This, however, was only the external case of a wooden coffin, made, according to Æschylus, of oak, to Euripides of cedar, and to Thucydides of cypress.” *

Plutarch, in his life of Lycurgus, speaking of the *good* regulations made by the great lawgiver with respect to burials, says, “Lycurgus, in the first place, to take away all superstition, ordered the dead to be buried in the city, and even permitted their monuments to be erected near the temples, thus to accustom the youth from their infancy to such sights, that they might have no uneasiness from them, nor any horror of death, as if people were polluted by touching a corpse or treading on a grave. In the next place he suffered nothing to be buried with the corpse except the red cloth and the olive leaves in which it was wrapped.† Nor would he suffer the relations to inscribe any names on the tombs except of those men who fell in battle, or those women who died in some sacred office. He fixed eleven days for the time of mourning; but on the twelfth they were to put an end to it, after offering sacrifice to Ceres.” ‡

Pausanias, in his description of Greece, treating of Corinth, says, the celebrated *Lais* was buried there, in a cypress wood close to the city. On her tomb was represented a lioness with a stick in its claws. On the road from Mysenas to Argas, the heroic sepulchre of Perseus was situated. Tombs of great men in various parts of Greece are described by him; but all these are surpassed by two in foreign countries: one, the sepulchre of Mausoleus, king of Hallicarnassus; the other, erected by Hellenas, a lady of the Hebrew nation, in Solyma (Jerusalem). The former, on account of its vastness and adornment, is considered by the Romans more magnificent than any in their country; the other in Solyma, a city ruined to its foundations,

* Manners and Customs of the Greeks and Romans, p. 95, *et seq.*

† Ælian says the red cloth and olive leaves were reserved for the corpses of persons who had acquired distinction in the field.

‡ Langhorne's Plutarch's Lives, p. 41.

by a Roman emperor, made with such art that it cannot be opened except on a particular day of the year, and a determined hour, when its door of solid rock opens of its own accord to a small extent, and in a short time shuts again. But at any other time it is impossible to open it with force even.”*

One of the most interesting and valuable inscriptions existing of the sepulchral kind, of the Græco-Roman period, found on a monument in Aphrodisias, in Asia Minor, has been recently described by an erudite traveller, Dr. Kennedy Baillie.

“The reason why the entaphial inscriptions possess a peculiar value is, because they detail with great minuteness the modes in which the right of sepulchre was secured to this or that particular person, to the exclusion of all others; the compartments which had been so assigned in each instance; the legal forms to which the founders had recourse to maintain their rights inviolate; as also, in certain cases, the religious ceremonies which were requisite. To bring these before the view of my learned auditory, in as brief and satisfactory a form as circumstances admit, shall now be my care, and for this purpose I select from the number of those I have copied one in particular, to which, as a type of the rest, on a considerably enlarged scale, I may direct their attention.

“The following is the translation of this titulus, (from the Greek), as complete as it can be made from the existing state of the monument:—

‘Eudamus, son of Apellas [?], son of [Zeno?] son of Zeno, son of Eudamus [was the founder of this monument], and

‘Of the sarcophagus resting on it, wherein, that is, in the sarcophagus, are to be buried [himself, the aforesaid], and

‘Aurelia Tatia, daughter of Papias, the pancratiast, son of Pereitas, and

‘Aurelius Dionysius, sixth in descent from Chrysogonus, son of Tatia, daughter [of Papias, and]

‘5. Aurelius, his children also, Apellas and Eumachiana, and Au[relia, daughter of * * * * and Tib]erius Claudius Achilles, son of Tolmides, his wife: [but in the underlying]

* Pausanias, Arcadia.

‘Compartments are to be buried those to whom Eumachus may be pleased to grant permission * * * *

‘To be laid therein, and his posterity alone ; but no one else [is to enjoy the privilege

‘Of enclosing any one] in the sarcophagus, or of removing it ; neither is he to have the power [of allowing to another the use of the sarcophagus],

‘10. Or of the tomb itself, or of the compartment separate from it ; neither is he to devise any expedient [whereby it may be alienated]

‘Under any pretence whatsoever ; but after the burial [of all the aforesaid]

‘The monument is to be converted into a Heroum ; whereupon, should any person attempt either to bury [any one in the sarcophagus], or in

‘The compartments, or to move the sarcophagus, or to act in any wise contrary [to these provisions]

‘Let the delinquent himself, and he who engages with him, be accounted a tomb-breaker, [and impious, and]

‘15. Accursed, and let them, namely, the delinquent, and he who [engages with him], be bound to pay [to the treasury]

‘Of the Roman people, ten thousand denaria of silver, and not less. The Heroum

‘[Is to be consecrated] after the burial [of all] the aforesaid therein. A copy

‘Of this epigraph was entered in the Chreophylakion, during the Stephanephoria of Ze[no],

‘Fifth in descent from Archimedes, [on the ——th] of the month of Trajanus Augustus.’

“This most valuable and interesting inscription was copied so long ago as 1705 by Sir William Sherard, during his excursion through this quarter of Asia Minor, accompanied by the British chaplain, the Rev. John Tisser, Dr. Picenini, and two of the leading merchants of Smyrna, and has been published from his MSS. (which form part of the Harleian collection) by the learned Professor Bockh, and more recently by Mr. Fellows, from personal inspection of the monument. I found it in the

same position which it then occupied, namely, in the exterior face of the wall where it bends to the south-east, but so buried in the heap of rubbish which had accumulated at its base, that it cost me a good deal of trouble to have it removed.*

GREEK LAWS ABOUT SEPULCHRES AND FUNERALS.

“Let the dead be interred. One of Cecrop’s laws.

“No tomb is to consist of more work than ten men can finish in three days; neither is it to be erected archwise, or adorned with statues. One of Solon’s laws.

“No grave is to have over it, or by it, more than pillars of three cubits high, a table and labellum, or little vessel to contain victuals for the ghost’s maintenance. This law was enacted by Demetrius the Phalerean.

“He that defaceth a sepulchre, or lays one of a different family in that of another, breaks it, eraseth the inscription, or beats down the pillar, shall suffer condign punishment. One of Solon’s laws.

“No one shall come near another’s grave, unless at the celebration of obsequies. One of Solon’s laws.

“The corpse shall be laid out at the relations’ pleasure; the next day following, before day-light, shall be the funeral procession; the men shall proceed first, the women after them: it is unlawful hereby for any woman, if under threescore, and no relation, to go where the mournful solemnity is kept, or after the burial is solemnized.

“Too great a concourse of people is prohibited at funerals.

“Let not the corpse be buried with above three garments. One of Solon’s laws.

“Let no women tear their faces, or make lamentations, or dirges at funerals. Another of Solon’s laws.

“At every one’s death there shall be paid to the priestess of Minerva, who is placed in the citadel, a chœnix of barley, the like of wheat, and an obolus. This law was enacted by Hippias.

* Dr. Kennedy Baillie’s paper on “Researches among the Inscribed Monuments of the Græco-Roman Era in certain Ancient Sites of Asia Minor.” Transactions of R.I.A. vol. xxi. part i. p. 53.”

"No ox shall be offered to atone for, or appease the ghost of the deceased. One of Solon's laws.

"Children and heirs shall perform the accustomed rites of parentation.

"Slaves, when dead, shall not be embalmed, or honoured with a funeral banquet.

"Let there be no panegyrics, unless at funerals publicly solemnized, and then not spoken by kindred, but one appointed by the public for that purpose.

"They who fall in the field are to have obsequies celebrated at the public charge.

"Let the father have the privilege of giving that son a funeral encomium, who died valiantly in the fight.

"He shall have an annual harangue spoken in his honour on the day he fell, who receives his death with undaunted prowess in the battle's front."*

MISCELLANEOUS REFERENCES.

"Athenienses jam inde a Cecropis, primi ipsorum regis, tempore, corpora defunctorum terrâ condidisse auctor est Cicer., lib. ii. de L.L.

"The Athenians collected the bones of soldiers slain in battle for their country. Ossa a chæronensi prælio Athenas deleta fuissent. Thucyd. l. ii.

"Pausan. in Attic. 'In via quæ ad academiam ducebat suum omnibus fuisse Atheniensibus qui aut navalibus aut terrestribus præliis pro patria mortem oppetissent monumentum, cum elogiis nomen cujusque et tribum testantibus.'

"Apud Xenophontem (de dict. Socrat. l. ii.) testatur Socrates in electione magistratum diligenter Athenis inquiri consuevisse num eligendi solliciti essent de sepultura suorum ornandisque eorum monumentis.

"Epaminondas (to his soldiers): Adite, o viri fortes, mortem sacram pro patria, pro majorum sepulchris, pro deorum aris.

"Lycurgus hoc (mausoleus) Spartanis interdixit, nisi vir in bello, et mulier sancta obiisset.

* Potter's Antiq. of Greece.

"Apud Senecam (in Troad. act iii). — Andromache, uxor Hectoris, elegerit proprium filium Astyanactem neci prodere, quàm viri sui tumultum violari.

"Quare apud Athenienses, ait Pausanias, pium semper existimatum fuit terræ mandare mortuos.

"Cùm enim res sacra sit sepultura, sacrilegium est illam violare."

CHAPTER XXII.

THE FUNERAL CUSTOMS OF THE ROMANS.

“Osculaque adplicuit, posita superiora feretro
Atque ait: Invito frater adempte vale
Visuirosque artus unxit.”—OVID, iv. *Fastorum*.

“Corpusque lavant frigentis et unguent.”—VIRGIL, *Æn.* vi.

————— “Sertisque sepulchrum ornabit.”—TIBULLUS, lib. xvi. *El.*

“Tarquinii corpus bona fœmina lavit et unxit.”—PLINY, lib. xiii. cap. 1.

————— “Iter fecit ad inferos
Per quod nullus retrorsum viator rediit.”

PHILETÆ, vers. ap. Stobæus.

SENECA observes, that the care for the dead shewn in the burial of their remains is not on account of the deceased, but of the living, “that the bodies of men that have become loathsome to the sight and offensive to the smell, may be removed from amidst the living.” The custom of burying the dead in the earth or in caves seems to have been the primæval usage among all the nations of antiquity.* Cyrus, we are told by Xenophon, when his thoughts were turned to eternity, called his sons around him, and said: “O, dearest children, when I shall be no more, bury not my remains in gold or silver, or any other substance, but return that to the earth which is of it. For, what can be more fitting than to be mingled with the dust, out of which all things grow that are fair and good.”†

Cicero, referring to this passage, says it appeared to him, that burial in the earth was the most ancient mode of sepulture.‡

* “Ipsam cremare apud Romanos non fuit veteris institutis terra condebantur.”—PLINIUS, lib. vii. cap. 57.

† Xenophon, lib. ix. de Cyropædia.

‡ “Mihi quidem antiquissimum sepulturæ genus fuisse videtur, quo apud Zenophontem Cyrus utitur. Redditur enim corpus terræ, et ita locatum ac situm quasi operimento matris obducetur.”—CIC. DE LEG. lib. ii.

Nothing of Roman civilization has left more enduring traces of humanizing tendencies than the laws and customs of ancient Rome, which invested the grave with a sacred character, which secured for the dead a pious care for their remains, which made a civil and religious duty of their interment in fitting places; and thus consulting, not only the feelings, but the interests of humanity, in regulating funeral rites and ceremonies, rendered the abodes of the living safe from the noxious influences of places of sepulture for the dead.

Cicero asks, "What sanctity must there not be in the site itself of sepulchres, that no violence can move nor destroy, so that when all other structures are laid low, sepulchres, by age, become even more holy?" "The earth," says Pliny, "when all other things in nature are taken from us, then acts towards us as our great mother:—*nullo magis sacramento quam quo nos quoque sacro facit.*"† Plutarch, in the life of Numa, expresses the same opinion: "Sacros vocari vita funetos quorum videlicet sacra sint sepulchra." Gyraldus cites the words of a Roman law, which in modern times it would be well to remember: "Where the body of a dead man is buried, be the place sacred—*Ubi corpus de mortui hominis condas sacer esto;*" and those remarkable lines of a Roman epitaph also: "*Manibus hoc sacrum est, manes ne læde viator sed terram cineri quæso precare levem.*"‡

"The laws of the twelve tables, which Cicero‡ preferred before all the writings of philosophers, and declared them to be more worth than whole libraries, speak of nothing more than of the duty the living are bound to pay to the dead; and that with good reason, for they being deprived of life, and consequently unable to defend themselves, or complain of those that abuse them, it is but just that the laws should by all manner of ways favour and protect them; and therefore they first of all define, that an heir who shall not have well acquitted himself in all the funeral honours he ought to pay to his benefactor after his

* Plin. lib. ii. cap. 42.

† Jovius Paulanus "Tumularum," lib. i. p. 94, ap Gyraldus, p. 254.

‡ Cicero, lib. ii. Leg. et l. de Orat.

death, or omitted any essential thing relating thereto, be put by, and deprived of the inheritance or legacy which was left him. Secondly, that in case he has expressed the least contempt in performing the same, he shall be liable to capital punishment. And in the third and last place, that if he has been observed somewhat careless and negligent in discharging the said duty, he shall not enjoy the means bequeathed to him, except he do every year sacrifice a sow before he gather in his harvest, to the end he may pacify and appease the ghost of the departed."* . . .

"In the digest, as well as in the codex of Theodosius and Justinian, we hear of nothing but shame, fines, banishments, amputations of hands, capital punishments, and other such like decreed against them who had done any injury to the dead, according to the quality of their crime. We have also a novel of Valentinian, wholly in favour of sepulchres. And that apostate, prince Julian, who might seem to have renounced all manner of religion by abandoning the Christian, did nevertheless openly take the part of the dead, and ordered those to be most severely punished who had disturbed or offered any injury to them.

"In a word, so great respect has ever been given to sepulchres, that the most Christian princes have extended it even to those of the heathens, and strictly forbidden the violating of them. For besides the Emperor Constans, who of all monarchs was the greatest abhorrer of paganism, we might quote here the canons of the fourth council of Toledo, together with those of that of Meaux or Paris ; all which declare the violating of graves to be a capital crime, according to both divine and human laws.

"In ancient time it was not lawful to defile, or so much as spit, in places set apart for burying the dead ; for which purpose they were used to have there the representations of griffins, lions, or dogs (they being the most watchful of all creatures), as so many spies to have an eye that no indecent action might be done there.

"Yea, it was this great respect which the ancients had for the dead, that first gave birth to their idolatry, and made them

* Muret, p. 290.

change sepulchres into temples. Here they reared their altars, offered sacrifices, and at last worshipped them as gods, who were buried as men. Virgil tells us, that the marble tomb which queen Dido had caused to be erected in her palace, in honour of her first husband, was (even during her life-time) looked upon as a temple, so that by the divine honours which were there paid to his ashes she first gave an instance of this superstition. Upon this account it is that all our divines have upbraided the pagans with that gross blindness into which they wilfully plunged themselves, by placing them amongst the number of the gods, whom they had by experience known to be but men, having seen them, as well as others, obnoxious to death, which is the greatest defect of human nature, and therefore most contrary to divinity.

“And methinks the poet Prudentius treats them very favourably, when, laughing at the plurality and vanity of their gods, he says, that there were as many temples at Rome, as sepulchres built in honour of their heroes. For it is certain that this superstition was universal amongst them; they being of opinion that death indifferently consecrated all manner of persons, and was thought sufficient to entitle them to divine worship; and therefore on this occasion the highest personages forgot their state and grandeur, and humbled themselves to the meanest service at the funeral of those whom they had in their life-time looked upon with contempt; insomuch as even princes honoured their subjects as soon as they were by death hallowed and deified; and generals of armies the meanest of their soldiers.

“Trajan himself, who hath always passed for one of the greatest and wisest emperors that Rome ever had, was not altogether free from this error. For we read in the historian Dion, that he built altars to the soldiers who had served him in that perilous and desperate war which he waged against Decebalus, king of the Dacians, and were killed in the field.

“And what surprises me more, is, that wise and learned men have not been able to keep themselves from being taken with this superstition, and not only with the multitude followed, but by their writings authorized the same. Labeo tells us, with his

usual gravity, as if he were pronouncing the decrees and acts of the senate, that all souls universally are deified, from the moment they are separated from their bodies.

“And the Platonists make no other difference between these so common divinities, than that the one do still continue to be wicked after their death, as they were in their life-time; and that the others, on the contrary, are always good: asserting that those who have led an ungodly life are no sooner dead, but they are turned to hobgoblins, spectres and ghosts, that haunt houses and church-yards, as they who have lived well do become tutelar and family gods.

“In short, this opinion was of old so universally received, that there was not a family but had their own gods; for every one honoured in particular all those of his own blood that were dead.

“Lactantius, who lived in those days, informs us, that they made images of them, which they carefully kept in their houses; and the better to render them venerable, they clothed them in the same habits wherewith the other gods, whom they adored in their temples, were adorned; dressing all the statues of their deceased women in the habiliments of goddesses, and those of men after the manner of the gods.

“But lest we should think that Lactantius, being a Christian, does herein impose upon us, to make us the more decry and abhor their religion; we may with little pains find the like instances in their own authors. The poet Statius, in the description he makes of the funeral honours which Abscancius paid to his wife Priscilla, does not omit to mention that he extended them to an apotheosis or consecration, and denied her nothing of that veneration which was given to the greatest goddesses. Apuleius says no less of Charite, her mourning for the death of her husband Leopolemus; for having apparelled him like Bacchus, she made no difficulty to pay him the same honours that were due to that god.

“And, indeed, from what they tell us themselves, I find that they expressed no less reverence to them whom they had seen die, than to those they believed immortal, and were worshipped

publicly. For besides sacrifices, they instituted games and solemn festivals in honour of them ; yea, (which is more, and the greatest mark of worship that can be expressed) they swore by their ashes.

“ Cicero, in his second book of laws, says that these games, solemnities, and sacrifices were authorized by a practice out of mind ; it having never been questioned but that all persons, as soon as they were departed this life, were admitted into the rank and number of the gods. To which he adds, that consonant to this pious custom, he behaved himself at the death of his daughter.

“ As for oaths, which are sacred protestations and affirmations of any thing, wherein the immortal gods are called to witness, we find nothing more frequent among profane authors than their swearing by the ashes of their parents, and other near relations.”*

Who has ever visited the sepulchral monuments of ancient Rome, the cities of the dead, beyond the precincts of the habitations of the living, and seen the evidences that exist there of the sanctity in which these places of sepulture were held, and has not reflected with astonishment and shame on the places of burial in the heart of the greatest city of modern times, with its two millions of inhabitants, where there is nothing sacred in the graves, no reverence for the dead, and no apparent care for the living, whose abodes are surrounded by crowded charnels.†

* Muret's *Cer. Fun.* p. 299, *et seq.*

† The Board of Health, in its recent Report (1850) recommendatory of a general scheme of extramural interment, makes some startling observations :—

“ ‘ Estimating,’ says the Report, ‘ the duration of a simple generation at thirty years, there must have been interred in the space of 218 acres—the area of all the graveyards in the metropolis—in the last generation, a million and a half of dead bodies. . . . The graveyards of London are still the plague-spots of its population. The putrid drainage from them pollutes its wells, seethes beneath its dwellings, and poisons its atmosphere ; and some parts of the metropolis are still honeycombed with deposits of the putrescent remains of millions of its citizens, just as with cesspools and other abominations.’ A calculation made by Dr.

FUNERALS OF THE ROMANS.

"The Romans," says Muret, "having succeeded to the Grecians in the empire of the world, as they received from them many of their laws and manners, so most of their ceremonies : but to the end we may not swerve from our subject, we shall only observe how they were imitators of the Grecians in the disposing of their dead ; for both of them at the first buried, afterwards burned them ; and at last, abhorring those horrid solemnities, they introduced again the custom of interring them. Their History* acquaints us, that the former burials lasted from Romulus (who was the founder of their city) to the tyrannous dictatorship of Sylla,† who, having caused the bones of his enemy, Marius, to be dug out of his grave, and fearing that the like affront might be done to him after his death, he, by an express law made for that purpose, and many pompous ceremonies, engaged the people to burn their dead to ashes, which were afterwards gathered and shut up in urns. This law was observed until the empire of the Antonins, who, being philosophers and virtuous princes, could not endure that this kind of cruelty should be any longer exercised upon human bodies, and therefore did abolish the use of wood-piles, and restored the former way of burying."‡

Lyon Playfair, and quoted by the commissioners, estimates the amount of the gases evolved annually from the decomposition of 1,117 corpses per acre, which is very far short of the number actually interred in the metropolitan graveyards, at not less than 55,261 cubic feet ; therefore, as 52,000 interments take place annually in the metropolis, according to the ratio, the amount of gases emitted is equal to 2,572,850 cubic feet. The whole of this, however, beyond what is absorbed by the soil, must pass into the water below, or into the atmosphere above. What, then, must be the state of the air that is breathed, or the condition of the water that is drunk, by the denizens of this metropolis ? 'Yet such,' we quote again, 'is the *cupidity of the Church*, the unscrupulousness of the metropolitan undertakers, and, it must be added, the practical supineness of the authorities to whom the whole question of graveyards has been delegated by the State, that at this very moment there are further burials going on in some of the most frightfully gorged Golgothas of this metropolis.'

* Herodot. Dion. Herod. † Liv. l. xii. ‡ Muret's Cer. Fun. p. 20.

THE CEREMONIALS OF ROMAN FUNERALS.

“In the early ages of Rome the rites of burial and burning seem to have been alike in use. Afterwards the former seems (for the matter is not very clear) to have prevailed, until towards the close of the seventh century of the city, after the death of Sylla, who is said to have been the first of the patrician Cornelii who was burnt. Thenceforward corpses were almost universally consumed by fire until the establishment of Christianity, when the old fashion was brought up again, burning being violently opposed by the fathers of the church, probably on account of its intimate connexion with pagan associations and superstitions. Seven days, we are told, elapsed between death and the funeral; on the eighth the corpse was committed to the flames; on the ninth day the ashes were deposited in the sepulchre. This probably refers only to the funerals of the great, where much splendour and extent of preparation was required, and those public funerals to which the whole people were bidden by voice of crier, the ceremony being often closed by theatrical and gladiatorial exhibitions, and a sumptuous banquet.

“The corpse being placed upon a litter (*lectica*) or bier (*sandapila*), the former being used by the wealthy, the latter by the poor, was carried out (*efferebatur*), preceded by instrumental musicians (*siticipes*), and female singers (*præficæ*), who chaunted the dirge (*nenia*). These hired attendants were succeeded, if the deceased were noble, or distinguished by personal exploits, by numerous couches containing the family effigies of his ancestors, each by itself, that the length of his lineage might be the more conspicuous; by the images of such nations as he had conquered, such cities as he had taken; by the spoils which he had won; by the ensigns of the magistracies which he had filled; but if the fasces were among them, these were borne reversed. Then came the slaves whom he had emancipated (and often, with a view to this post-mortem magnificence, a master emancipated great numbers of them), wearing hats in token of their manumission. Behind the corpse came the nearest relations, profuse in the display of grief, as far as it can be shown by weeping,

howling, beating the breasts and cheeks, and tearing the hair, which was laid, as a last tribute of affection, on the breast of the deceased, to be consumed with him. To shave the head was also a sign of mourning. It is a curious inversion of the ordinary customs of life, that the sons of the deceased mourned with the head covered, the daughters with it bare.

“With this attendance the body was borne to the place of burial, being usually carried through the Forum, where, if he had been a person of any eminence, a funeral oration was spoken from the rostra in his honour. The place of burial was without the city, in almost every instance. By the twelve tables it was enacted that no one should be burnt or buried within the city ; and as this wholesome law fell into disuse, it was from time to time revived and enforced. The reasons for its establishment were twofold, religious and civil. To the former head belongs the reason, already assigned for a different observance, that the very sight of things connected with death brought pollution on things consecrated to the gods of the upper world. So far was this carried, that the priest of Jupiter (*Flamen Dialis*) might not even enter any place where there was a tomb, or so much as hear the funeral pipes : nay, his wife, the Flaminica, might not wear shoes made of the hide of an ox which had died a natural death, because all things which had died spontaneously were of ill omen. Besides, it was an ill omen to any one to come upon a tomb unawares. Another reason was, that the public convenience might not be interrupted by private rights, since no tombs could be removed without sacrilege, when once established, unless by the state.”

“Sometimes the body was burnt at the place where it was to be entombed, which, when the pile and sepulchre were thus joined, was called *bustum*. Sometimes the sepulchre was at a distance from the place of burning, which was then called *ustrina*. The words *bustum* and *sepulchrum*, therefore, though often loosely used as synonymous, are not in fact so, the latter being involved in, but by no means comprehending the former. The pile was ordered to be built of rough wood, unpolished by the axe. Pitch was added to quicken the flames ; and cypress,

the aromatic scent of which was useful to overpower the stench of the burning body. The funeral piles of great men were of immense size, and splendidly adorned; and all classes appear to have indulged their vanity in this respect to the utmost of their means, so that a small and unattended pyre is mentioned as a mark of a mean or friendless person."

"The body was placed on it in the litter or bier; the nearest relation present then opened the eyes, which it had been the duty of the same person to close immediately after death, and set fire to the wood with averted face, in testimony that he performed that office not of good will, but of necessity. As the combustion proceeded, various offerings were cast into the flames. The manes were believed to love blood; animals, therefore, especially those which they had loved while alive, were killed and thrown upon the pile, as horses, dogs, and doves, besides the beasts commonly used in sacrifice, as sheep and oxen. Human beings, especially prisoners of war, were sometimes put to death, though not in the latter times of the republic. The most costly robes and arms of the deceased, especially trophies taken in warfare, were also devoted in his honour, and the blaze was fed by costly oils and gums of the east. The body being reduced to ashes, these were then quenched with wine, and collected by the nearest relation; after which, if the grief were real, they were again bedewed with tears, if not, wine or unguents answered the purpose equally well.

"The ashes thus collected were then finally deposited in the urn, which was made of different materials, according to the quality of the dead; usually of clay or glass, but sometimes of marble, bronze, and even the precious metals. The ceremony thus over, the *præficus* gave the word, *Ilicet* (the contracted form of *Ire licet*, It is lawful to go), and the bystanders departed, having been thrice sprinkled with a branch of olive or laurel dipped in water, to purify them from the pollution which they had contracted, and repeating thrice the words, *Vale*, or *Salve*, words of frequent occurrence in monumental inscriptions, as in one of beautiful simplicity, which we quote below.*

* VALE . ET . SALVE . ANIMA . C. OPPIÆ . FELICISS . NOS .

“ Before the urn was committed to the tomb the interval of a day frequently elapsed ; and often, after the funeral, a feast was held in honour of the dead, at which his urn was placed in a conspicuous situation. . . . Tombs were of two sorts : those which were erected for the reception of a single person, or of such persons as the builder chose to admit to a participation of it, in which case a curse was usually denounced on all who violated it by introducing the bones of others ; and those, again, which were built as family monuments, where the freed slaves of the family, who could, of course, have no sepulchres of their own except by purchase, were frequently admitted.”*

The Romans loved to keep alive the memory of their dead ; not only after the funeral, but at stated times, they celebrated feasts and offered sacrifices and libations to them. The month of February was especially set apart for doing honour to the manes, having obtained that distinction in virtue of being in olden times the last month of the year.

“ Private funeral feasts were also celebrated on the ninth day after death (*novemdialia*), and indeed at any time, except on those days which were marked as unlucky (*atri*), because some great public calamity had befallen upon them. Besides these feasts, the dead were honoured with (*inferiæ*) sacrifices, which were offered (*inferebantur*, to the manes, and with games ; but the latter belong more to those splendid public funerals which we have professed not to describe, and besides have been fully treated in the chapters upon the theatre and amphitheatre. The *inferiæ* consisted principally of libations, for which were used water, milk, wine, but especially blood, the smell of which was thought peculiarly palatable to the ghosts. Perfumes and flowers were also thrown upon the tomb ; and the inexpediency of wasting rich wines and precious oils on a cold stone and dead body, when they might be employed in comforting the living,

EO . ORDINE . QUO . NATURA . PERMISERIT . TE . SEQUEMUR .
VALE : MATER . DULCISSIMA. “ Farewell, most happy soul of Caia Oppia. We shall follow thee in such order as may be appointed by nature. Farewell, sweetest mother.”

* Pompeii, vol. ii. Tombs.

was a favourite subject with the *bons vivans* of the age. It was with the same design to crown it with garlands, and to honour it with libations, that Electra and Orestes met and recognised each other at their father's tomb. Roses were in especial request for this service, and lilies also:—*

‘ Full canisters of fragrant lilies bring,
Mixed with the purple roses of the spring ;
Let me with funeral flowers his body strow,
This gift which parents to their children owe,
This unavailing gift at least I may bestow.’

DRYDEN, *Æn.* vi. 883.

“The antiquity of this practice appears from Homer, *Od.* xi. 23—50, and it still existed in the fourth century, in the time of St. Augustine, who expresses his wonder ‘that men should heap meats and wines upon tombs, as if departed spirits required fleshly food.’ Finally, those meats were burnt, lest they should be profaned by any person partaking of them, and the term *bustirapus*, tomb-snatcher, is of frequent occurrence to denote the extreme of misery and degradation, which alone, it was supposed, could drive men to plunder these devoted banquets. The second class was of a more cheerful description, and consisted of an entertainment, not only to be partaken, but to be consumed by the dearest friends and relations of the deceased. Sometimes it was given at the time of the funeral, in which case the urn of the deceased appears to have been exposed to view, sometimes at the purificatory sacrifice (*novemdiale*) at the end of nine days, sometimes at periods of annual recurrence. At these feasts all people who came were entertained at an enormous expense. Certain eatables were considered peculiarly appropriate,—such as beans, lentils, eggs, parsley, and a cake called *libum*.”

“A mourner dismissed them with, ‘Go, it is permitted (*Ilicet*).’ Then the relatives and friends of the defunct, calling him by his name, said, in a loud voice—‘Farewell, farewell! we shall follow in the order which nature has appointed.’ The urn was then carried to the sepulchre, before which was a small

* In the fourth century St. Jerome and Prudentius had so far conquered the fear that had been entertained of imitating Pagan customs, that they speak with complacency of the practice of strewing tombs with flowers.

altar, where were burnt incense and perfumes ; a ceremony renewed from time to time, as was that of strewing flowers upon the tomb.

“ Lastly, a dinner was given to the relatives and mourners ; sometimes a distribution of the viands to the people. On the ninth day following was another dinner, the *novemdiale*, at which festival the mourners relinquished their black dresses for white.”*

“ Centaurs, griffins, and sphinxes often occur on Roman tombs ; Herder thinks that they were but emblems of destruction ; D’Hauterville derives them from the Hyperboreans or Scythians, in whose tombs have been found small figures of animals, which had been shut up there.

“ The sphinx is the symbol of prudence ; and the griffins, which watch with so much care over the gold intrusted to them, will show the same vigilance to protect a treasure still more precious, the urn, upon which they put the paw, to indicate that they well know how to defend it against all the roguish persons who wish to lay their profane hands upon it. A bark was the symbol of the harbour of happiness, to which the deceased had arrived, for which reason we often see upon tombs dolphins, tritons, and nereids.”

“ The *urns* in the most ancient monuments are shaped like boxes, with pyramidal covers. In general the *urns* (*ollæ*) were round-bellied, placed in mimic columbaria ; some had points to fix them in the niches ; others were flat-bottomed, to stand on the ground. Among the ashes enclosed in urns have been found crystal balls. One similar was discovered in the sepulchre of King Childeric, father of Clovis. The *ovrendaria* were larger urns. Some urns are divided into compartments, for reception of the ashes of distinct persons. Cremation became rare about the time of the Antonines, and therefore all these cinerary urns may be deemed older than that period. As cremation, to prevent mutilation of the corpse by enemies, was not general, however, until after the time of Sylla, the Etruscans, who were famous potters, used to make fictile coffins, the *fictilia sarco-*

* Treatise on the Arts of the Greeks and Romans, vol. i. p. 291, *et seq.*

phaga of Gruter ; and one *made of clay* has been discovered at York. There were others also of stone. Nero was buried in one of porphyry ; and these sarcophagi, called also *solia*, were appropriated to persons of high rank. In some mausolea there were recesses, for the reception of a whole body. These were called *loculi*, which upon use were closed with marble, or terracotta, plastered, to prevent the escape of fetid odours.

“There were urns for the common people, and larger ; because, the bodies being imperfectly burnt, pieces of bone remained, or they contained the ashes of a whole family. Persons who had no mausolea kept such urns in their houses, or placed them upon *cippi*, which contained an inscription. Urns of metal belonged to persons of distinction. The *naulon*, or Charon’s fare, came from the Egyptians (for it occurs in mummies) ; as did the custom of burying lamps, very rarely found in Grecian or Etrurian monuments.”

In the interior of the tomb of Nævoleia Tyche at Pompeii, lamps were stored in a corner, ready to be put into new urns as they were wanted. “Preparatory to interment the following customs were observed :—The last kiss was given to receive the expiring soul, and the eyes which were closed were opened again upon the funeral pile, that the defunct might behold the heavens. The *Conclamatio* was made, or calling the name aloud, to find whether he was really dead ; some add the sound of trumpets also.”

The body was washed in warm water, and embalmed with perfumes. The corpse was clothed in a toga at the vestibule of the house, a branch of cypress for the rich, of fir for the poor, being placed over the door.

At the end of the seventh day, proclamation of the *Exequiæ* was made by a crier.

The body was put upon a litter ; relatives or sons of the defunct the usual bearers ; common people, hired bearers.

“The procession commenced : First, by melancholy music, trumpets for male adults, and flutes for minors, or, as some accounts, also females. Secondly, by persons who carried torches. Thirdly, a mimic, dressed in the habit and wearing a mask of

the features of the deceased, who imitated the manners and gestures of the deceased, even jested upon their failings. Fourthly, all the tokens of dignity which the defunct possessed, as presents of honour, crowns, spoils taken from enemies, &c. Fifthly, then the body on a litter covered with purple. Sixthly, his bust in wax, with those of his ancestors and relatives, mounted upon staves, or placed in chariots; a ceremony not granted to *novi homines*, or persons attainted of crime. Seventhly, the freedmen carrying the *pileus*, or cap of liberty. Eighthly, the children, relatives, and friends of the deceased, *atrati*, attired in black, the sons with a veil over the head, the daughters in white with dishevelled hair, and barefooted. Ninthly, the *preficæ*, or women, whose profession it was to make lamentations, and sing praises of the defunct.

“If the deceased was an illustrious person, the body was conveyed to the forum, where, before the rostrum, a son or near relative made an eulogium, called the *Laudatio pro rostris*.

“From thence they proceeded to the place where the body was to be burned (*Ustrinum*) or buried. The pile was previously prepared with combustible woods, upon which was laid the corpse. It was watered with perfumed liquors; a finger cut off to be buried. The nearest relation, turning his back while the pile was being inflamed, threw upon it the arms and other effects of the defunct. A sacrifice was also made of oxen, bulls, and sheep, which were thrown upon the pile. As a substitute for the barbarism of immolating prisoners to appease the manes of the deceased, there were combats of gladiators. Sometimes there were added chariot races, theatrical performances, and feasts to the assistants and people.

“When the body was consumed (and it was sometimes draped in cloth of amiantus, that the ashes might not be intermixed with those of the pile), the ashes and bones were washed with milk and wine, and deposited in an urn.”

The burials of people of mean condition, or great criminals, are sometimes spoken of as asinine interments.

Betrayers of their country, “*Proditores Patriæ*,” were excluded among the Greeks from the ordinary rites of burial.

Zenophon (lib. i.), Pausanias (in the Messeniacs), and Plutarch (in Phocionem), give instances of such exclusion of the bodies of patricides. Plutarch states (in Pelopidas) that tyrants were given *asini sepultura*, their bodies exposed to all kinds of indignities, and trodden under foot.* Kirchmann (in Appendice de Funeribus Romanorum, cap. xxx) states the Romans also deprived "Proditores Patriæ" of burial rites.

In other cases of delinquency or misfortune, they were more lenient towards the dead.

There is something more of humanization and genuine civilization in the practices of those of whom we read, in Suetonius in vitæ Neronis, cap. lvii.: "Et tamen non defuerunt qui perlongum tempus vernis æstivisque floribus tumulum ejus ornarent," even though Nero's was the tomb on which, for a long time, there were not wanting persons in the spring of the year to ornament it with flowers—than in the acts of those who assemble at the execution of a modern malefactor, and stun the wretch's ears with savage yells and hootings when he is about to be launched into eternity.

There is something almost of a "Crepuscula Christianitatis," in the charity which directed the significant word "Tace" to be inscribed on the tombs of those who had fallen into disrepute, or had brought disgrace on themselves, and those who were once held in honour.

Funeral orations were not allowed to be pronounced at the funerals of women, before Camillus procured a decree of the senate, "rendering public thanks to the Roman matrons, and also the privilege of having funeral orations in honour of them on their death, the same as that of the men," on the occasion of a contribution of gold from the matrons in aid of the state, towards the sum stipulated to be paid to the Gauls, when the barbarians under Brennus exacted large sums of money for the ransom of the city.†

The practice of eulogizing the dead extravagantly, not only in orations, but epitaphs, seems to have become an abuse in the time of Livy.

* Gyraldus de Sepultura, p. 340.

† Baker's Livy, Jones's edition, vol. i. p. 302.

He terminates the 8th book of his history with the following remarkable words:—"I am persuaded that history has been much corrupted by means of funeral panegyrics and false inscriptions on monuments, each family striving by false representations to appropriate to itself the fame of warlike exploits and public honours. From this cause certainly much confusion has taken place in the memoirs of individuals and in the public record of events. Nor is there extant any writer, contemporary with those events, on whose authority we can with certainty refer." *

* Baker's Livy, Jones's edition, vol. i. p. 302.

CHAPTER XXIII.

RUINS AND SEPULCHRES OF PALMYRA.

“Solitary ruins, sacred tombs, ye mouldering and silent walls, all hail !”
VOLNEY.

THIS Niobe of cities is supposed to have been founded by Solomon—a garrison city and central mart in the midst of a Syrian wilderness.

Wood, the author of “The Antiquities of Palmyra or Tadmor” (2nd Edition : London, 1705), observes :

“When Solomon had finished his temple at Jerusalem, and the noble palace which he built for himself, in the twentieth year of his reign, he made war against Hamath-Zobah, which had been subdued by David, but revolted ; and having conquered it, he built Tadmor in the wilderness, the upper and nether Bethhoron, Baalath, and all the store-cities, which he strongly fortified.

“The Arabic translator of 2 Chron. viii. 3, implies, that Tadmor was a city before Solomon’s time, and that he only re-edified it ; that it was a metropolis of old, as it was in the latter times, and had many towns under its jurisdiction : nor is it altogether improbable, those parts of the world near the place where the ark rested after the deluge ceased, being first peopled. The Arabic historian,* Abulfarajus, says, that Solomon, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, having destroyed the city of Antioch, built seven cities in its stead, of which Tadmor was one. But the fabulous historian of Antioch,† John Matela, avers that the foundations of Palmyra were laid in the same place in which David slew Goliath, and cut off his head with his own sword ; and that King Solomon, in memory of this great victory, built

* Vers. Poc. p. 53.

† Par. i. p. 185, and Par. ii. p. 152.

a noble city there, and, from the fate of the giant, called it Palmyra. While Josephus* thus informs us, that Solomon, after he had built Gazara, which Pharoah, having taken it from the Philistines, gave to his daughter, not far from it built two cities, Betachora, and Baleth, with other places. From whence he passed into the desert above Syria, and making himself master of it, laid the foundations of a great city† (which he beautified with extraordinary buildings), two days' journey from the upper Syria, and one from Euphrates, but from Babylon six days' journey. And the reason why he built this city so far from the inhabited places of Syria was, that in the upper parts there was no water, but in that place only there were fountains and wells (as it appears by the Peutinger tables, that near it stood the Centum Putei). When therefore he had built the city, and fenced it with strong walls, he named it Tadmor, as it is now called by the Syrians, while the Greeks call it Palmyra."

Palmyra experienced the vicissitudes of fortune earlier than Jerusalem, and was alternately ravaged and ruled by Babylonians, Persians, Macedonians, Greeks, and Romans. It continued, however, a magnificent, luxurious, and even wealthy city to the time and during the reign of Adrian, to whom it submitted about the year 130 A.D., and by whom it was much adorned. It ceased to prosper towards the close of the reign of his successor, Aurelian, when the tributary Queen Zenobia, resisting the tyranny of the Romans, was defeated and taken captive by them. The city was spared then, but was subsequently assailed, taken by Aurelian, and pillaged by his soldiers, about 272 A.D.; from that time it gradually sunk into insignificance, and eventually was wholly ruined by the Saracens.

"The religion of Palmyra," says the author of the Antiquities, "when it was subject to King Solomon, was, I question not, Jewish; but how long they retained circumcision among them, after God, in his just judgment, had confined Rehoboam's kingdom to narrower limits, I know not: this is very plain, that very many of the proper names of the inhabitants in after ages are Jewish, and Zenobia herself (who by her name appears to

* Antiq. l. 8. c. 2.

† Hier. in Ezek. 47.

have been a Syrian, and probably of Tadmur, for there her father lived when she lost her empire, though she derived herself originally from Cleopatra, queen of Egypt) was a Jewess. And it is not altogether unlikely, that Longinus, in complaisance to the religion of his mistress, in his admirable Treatise of the Sublime, speaks so honourably of Moses and his writings. And if we may credit Benjamin Tudelensis, even in his time there were two thousand professed Jews inhabitants of that city. In process of time, I doubt not but they blended the Jewish rites with those of the Gentiles, (as the new inhabitants of Samaria did, after the natives had been transported by Shalmanezzer,) till at last paganism prevailed.

“After Christianity was planted in the world, and St. Thaddeus had preached the Gospel by our Blessed Saviour’s own order at Edessa; I believe, that holy religion soon spread itself into the neighbourhood, even to Tadmur, though paganism was not quite dispossessed; as appears by the inscriptions to their country gods, Alagbelus, and M. Malachbelus, Jaribolus, Venus Aphacitis, and others, who all had at Palmyra their temples, priests, and services. It was very early an episcopal see, if not an archiepiscopal, because it was the metropolis of a country.

“Palmyra was a christian bishopric at the time of the council of Chalcedon, under the metropolitan of Damascus: but in the Notitia, collected by Leo the Wise, Edessa is the metropolis of Phœnicia Libanesia, in the patriarchate of Antioch, whose suffragans were the bishops of Laodicea, Palmyra, &c., by which it appears, that in Leo’s time, A.D. 900, it was still a bishopric; and when it lost that honour, I cannot determine.

“In the Roman Martyrology of Baronius, on the 15th of June, is celebrated the memory of the saints Lybia and Leonis, who were sisters; and of Eutropia, a girl of twelve years old, all of Palmyra, who, by divers torments, obtained the crown of martyrdom. It is true, there is no mention of these brave women in the old Roman Martyrology, as Rosweyd accounts it, nor in Ado of Vienna, but the acts of St. Febronia, who suffered under Dioclesian, at Sibapolis (perhaps Scythopolis, or the

Συρίαι πύλαι) in Syria, mention them as persons who suffered in the same cruel persecution.

“About the year of Christ 1172, Benjamin Tudelensis the Jew, among other parts of the east which he visited in his travels, touched at Tadmur, and he informs us (though he is mistaken in the exact distances of places) that from Baalbeck (or Baalath) built by Solomon in the valley of Libanus, to Tadmur in the desert, was four days’ journey; that Solomon built it of large stones, and fenced it with a strong wall; that it was built in a desert far from any inhabitants; and that in his time there were in the city two thousand stout Jews, who waged war with the Christians and with the Arabs. . . .

“A short Chronicle of Palmyra.

Anno Per. Palmyra built by Solomon after he had finished the
Jul. 3720. temple and his own house, which were twenty
Md. 3010. years in building.

P.J. 4125. Palmyra destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, before he
M. 3415. laid siege to Jerusalem.

P.J. 4673. Marc Antony, after the battle of Philippi, went
M. 3963. into Asia, and sent his troops to pillage Palmyra.

V.C. Varr.
713. Ante
Christ. 41.

An. Christi, Hadrian, an. Imp. 6, went into the east, rebuilt
122. (probably) Palmyra, and called it Hadrianople,
when Malech Agrippa was the second time
secretary of that city.

216. Palmyra made a Roman colony by the Emperor
Caracallus, in his expedition into Parthia.

227. The Republic of Palmyra assisted Alexander Seve-
rus against Artaxerxes, King of Persia, Zenobius
being their general.

242 or 3. The Republic assisted Gordian against the Persians,
Zenobius being their general.

260. Valerian was taken prisoner by Saporess, King of
Persia.

- An. Christi 264. Odenathus routed the Persians, and was declared emperor by Gallienus.
267. Odenathus, with his son Herodian, slain by Mæonius. Mæonius, the ephemeral emperor of Palmyra, slain a few days after; then Zenobia assumes the empire in her own name, and her sons.
- 267 or 8. Zenobia routed Heraclianus, Gallienus's general. Vaballathus took the empire,—Gallienus slain.
268. Claudius chosen emperor.
270. Zenobia conquered Egypt by her general Zabdas. Claudius died. Quintillus reigned sixteen days. Aurelian, in the latter end of the year was chosen emperor.
272. Palmyra taken, and ruined by Aurelian, and Longinus slain; an. 5 or 6 of Vaballathus.
213. Zenobia carried in triumph at Rome.
298. Hierocles, governor of Palmyrene, under Dioclesian.
- 527 or 8. Justinian, in the first year of his reign, repaired and fortified Palmyra.
- 638 or 9. Palmyra was subjected by the Mahometans, Jabala, the son of Al Iham, being then Lord of Tadmur, and King of Gassan.
659. The battle of Tadmur, between Dabacus and Adis.
746. Suleiman, the Pseudo-Caliph, beaten by Merwan, fled to Tadmur.
1172. Benjamin in Tudelensis was at Tadmur.
1678. Melham, the Emîr, or Prince of Tadmur, when the English merchants made their first journey thither.
1691. Hassine the Emîr, when the English merchants went thither the second time.
1693. Dôr the Emîr of Tadmur." *

* *Antiq. of Palmyra*, pp. 379, *et seq.*

A few miserable families were living some years ago in wretched huts, made of earth, within the precincts of the celebrated Temple of the Sun, the only representatives of the once flourishing people of Palmyra.

The ruins are about 130 miles distant from Aleppo. Rows of columns, remnants of entablatures, fragments of capitals and marble pillars, dismantled porches and porticoes, niches for statues that are to be sought in the dust, effigies of gods and symbols of their worship shattered and strewn in all directions, pedestals without pillars, and sites of sacred places, with scattered stones that were materials of temples. These are all that are left of Palmyra, "the gorgeous city of the wilderness." But even these remains, we are told by Mr. Hanway, convey an idea of the original beauty of Palmyra. It may be questioned, he says, whether any city in the world may have vied with it in magnificence.*

"The sepulchres of Palmyra are worth the attention of the curious ; being square towers four or five stories high, standing on each side of a hollow way, towards the north part of the city. They extend in length the space of a mile, and perhaps, anciently, they might extend a great way farther. They are all of the same form, but different in magnitude and splendour, according to the circumstances of their founders. Two of these sepulchres are more entire than the rest, though not without marks of the Turkish fury, as well as the injuries of time. They are rather larger than our common church steeples, and five stories high, the outside being of ordinary stone, but the partitions and floors within of good marble, and adorned with lively sculptures and paintings, and the busts of men and women, most of them defaced and broken. Under these busts, or on the sides of them, are some inscriptions in an unknown character, being probably the names of the persons there deposited. One of these sepulchres has a door on the south side, from whence there is a walk

* He speaks of a piazza, near an obelisk of great beauty, above half-a-mile in length, and forty yards in breadth, with 129 stately marble columns still left, and the original number could not have been less than 560.

across the middle of the building, and the floor being broken up, affords a view of the vaults below. The spaces on each hand are divided by thick walls into six partitions, each capable of receiving the largest corpse; and if piled one upon another, as their method seems to have been, each of those partitions might contain six or seven bodies. In the lowest, second, and third stories, these partitions are uniform, except that from the second floor one partition is reserved for a staircase. In the upper floors, the building being somewhat contracted towards the top, there is not room for a continuation of the same method: and therefore the two highest stories are not so divided, nor perhaps ever had any bodies laid in them, unless that of the founder, whose statue, in a recumbent posture, is placed in a niche in the front of the monument, so as to be seen within and without, and near this statue is a Greek inscription. The other monument is similar; only the entrance and front are towards the north, and the paintings are not so fine; but the carvings are as good, and the whole looks as stately as the former. Besides, it has the advantage with respect to age, being not so old as the other by a hundred years, as appears from the date of an inscription over a niche in the front."

From another source we learn that the practice of burying in crypts under temples prevailed in Palmyra.

"At Palmyra occur vaults under a temple, as now under churches; and around a temple, at Labranda, in Asia Minor, are sarcophagi, raised upon pediments; nor are recumbent effigies modern, for at Epidaurus is the draped statue of a female in such an attitude, which once apparently formed the lid of a sepulchre."*

Wood, in his *Antiquities of Palmyra*, gives the following sepulchral epitaphs inscribed upon the tombs of the people of Palmyra, and his versions of them:—

Τὸ μνημεῖον τοῦ ταφεῶνος ἔκτισεν ὁξ ἰδίῳ Σεπτίμιος Ὀδαίναθος ὁ λαμπρότατος συτκλητ[ικος] Αἰράνου Οὐαβαλλάθου τοῦ Νασώρου ἀντφ τε καὶ υἱοῖς αὐτου καὶ υἱωνοῖς εἰς τὸ πάντελες αἰώνιον τιμῶ.

* *Manners and Customs of the Greeks and Romans.*

“Which may be thus rendered :

“*Monumentum sepulchrale propriis sumptibus condidit Septimius Odenathus eminentissimus Senator, Æranis filius, Vaballathi nepos, Nasori pronepos, et sibi, et filiis suis, et nepotibus in perpetuum, in honorem sempiternum.*

“This inscription contains an account, ‘That Septimius Odenathus, the most excellent senator, had erected that monument for himself and his posterity, to preserve their name for ever.’ And he hath hitherto had his wish, the monument having escaped the fury of time, the rage of the Roman soldiers, and the madness of the superstitious Arabs, who are professed enemies to all the remains of venerable antiquity. That this Septimius Odenathus was the same illustrious person who afterwards was declared emperor, I suppose, I have already proved to be very probable.

“*Ταφεῶν* occurs not in the lexicon, but signifies a place of burial. The place is the sepulchre, the epigraph the monument, says Servius ; *operis extructio sepulchrum, nomen inscriptum monumentum* ; but a mausoleum contained many sepulchres, as one sepulchre might include many monuments ; the tomb being built very often (as our vaults) for the service of the whole family, as this of Odenathus was erected for himself, his sons and nephews ; others, for the owner, his children and servants, &c. whereas, whosoever laid violent hands on himself, was to be buried alone, and without an inscription ; the shorter the epitaph, the more honourable it was accounted, so it contained the achievements of the person there deposited, it was not to exceed four heroical verses, says Plato, (*μὴ πλείω τεττάρων ἡρωϊκῶν στίχων*) and of this kind (*i. e.* very short) are the Palmyrene inscriptions. But the men of Sicyon chose a much shorter method, inscribing only the name of the dead person (not mentioning so much as his father’s name) and wishing him joy ; while the Palmyrenians inserted their pedigree to four or five generations past. By such monuments the ancients thought to perpetuate their memory to eternity, and for this reason the grave is commonly called *domus æterna, domus perpetua, domus æternalis*, and

sepulchri perpetui honor; and what is in this inscription said to be done εἰς τὸ παντελὲς αἰώνιον τιμῶ, is in another monument said to be, μνημεῖον αἰώνιον γέρας. And with their own names they inserted those of their progenitors, that they also might be enrolled in the annals of honour. And they often took care to inscribe the epitaph in several languages, that other nations might be thereby instructed in the name and virtues of the dead, (and perhaps, that they might preserve some remains of their native language likely to be supplanted and forgotten.) Thus, when Philip had slain the Emperor Gordian, the army buried him at Circeia Castra (or Circesium) in the confines of Persia, and wrote his epitaph in Greek and Latin, in the Persic, Jewish, and Egyptian languages, that all nations might understand it, to the deified Gordianus, the conqueror of the Persians, the Goths and Sarmatians, the arbiter of the Roman seditions, the conqueror of the Germans; but not the conqueror of the Philippi, for they murdered him.

“The second inscription contains an epitaph which Soræchus erected to his wife Martha, Ann. Christi 178 in the 1st of Marcus Antonius the emperor :

Μάρθην Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸ Καπαδῆτου Οὐαβαλλάθου τοῦ Σύμωνος Σόραιχος Αἰράνου ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς μνήμης ἔνεκεν μήνει Δύστρῳ του ΛΥ ἔτους.

“And may thus be rendered :

“In memoriam Marthæ Alexandri Capadeti filiae, Vaballathi Neptis, Symonis proneptis Soræchus Æranis filius, maritus illius posuit mense Martio, A.D. 490.

“The third is of the same nature, appropriated by Malchus to himself and his children, though built by his ancestors :

Το μνημεῖον ἔκτισαν Ἐλαβῆλεις, Μανναῖος Σοχαιεῖς. Μαλχος Οὐαβαλλάθου τοῦ Μανναίου τοῦ Ἐλαβήλου αὐτῷ τε καὶ υἱοῖς ἔτους ΔΙΥ μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ.

“Hoc monumentum condiderunt Elabelus, Mannæus, Sochaeis. Malchus verò Vaballathi filius, Mannei nepos, Elabeli pronepos sibi, et filiis posuit, anno 414, mense Aprili.

“It is plain, that in this inscription there is a mistake in the 1st line

Μνημεῖον αἰώνιον γέρας ὠκοδόμησεν Γίχος Μοκίμου τοῦ Καῖλκιαλοίσου τοῦ Μα . . . ου εἰς τε ἑαυτὸν, καὶ υἱοὺς, καὶ ἐγγόνους ἔτους ΔΙΤ μήνι Ξανδικῷ.

“Thus rendered :

“ Monumentum in sempiternum honorem ædificavit Gichus Mocimi filius, Cælialcisi nepos, Mannæi pronepos in sui, et natorum et posterorum sepulturam, anno 314, mense Aprili, *i. e.* Chr. 2.

“ I very much doubt that more than one fault occurs in the names of the persons. This inscription is of the same year with the precedent, the monument being set up, Ann. Chr. 102, the fourth of the emperor Trajan ; and these two are the most ancient inscriptions at Tadmur . . .

“ I have now done with the monuments of this once famous country ; and, because there is in every man an innate desire of living after he hath left this world, though all men do not believe there is another ; and that they desire, when they are dead, to be remembered and well spoken of, that their actions may not be confined to the same grave with their carcasses ; I shall conclude with the wise saying of the Roman orator, That whenever we see such remains of venerable antiquity, such lasting records of the names and achievements of great persons, we are admonished to take care so to regulate our actions, that we may convince the world we have settled our prospect upon the rewards of future ages, and not on the flatteries of the present ; and to remember that monuments being erected to the memory of those who have lived well in this world before they left it, put us in mind that there is nothing here permanent and immutable, and that 'tis the duty of considering men to aspire towards immortality.” *

“ Arrived at Hamsa,” says Volney, “ on the borders of the Orontes, and being at no great distance from the city of Palmyra, situated in the desert, I resolved to examine for myself its boasted monuments. After three days travel in barren solitude, and having passed through a valley filled with grottos and tombs, my eyes were suddenly struck, on leaving this valley and entering a plain with a most astonishing scene of ruins. It consisted of a countless multitude of superb columns standing erect, and which, like the avenues of our parks, extended in regular files farther than the eye could reach. Among these

* Antiq. of Palmyra, appendix pp. 375, *et seq.*

columns magnificent edifices were observable, some entire, others in a state half demolished. The ground was covered on all sides with fragments of similar buildings, cornices, capitals, shafts, entablatures, and pilastres, all constructed of a marble of admirable whiteness and exquisite workmanship. After a walk of three-quarters of an hour along these ruins, I entered the inclosure of a vast edifice, which had formerly been a temple dedicated to the sun ; and I accepted the hospitality of some poor Arabian peasants, who had established their huts in the very area of the temple. Here I resolved for some days to remain, that I might contemplate at leisure the beauty of so many stupendous works.

“ Every day I visited some of the monuments which covered the plain ; and one evening that, my mind lost in reflection, I had advanced as far as the Valley of Sepulchres, I ascended the heights that bound it, and from which the eye commands at once the whole of the ruins and the immensity of the desert. The sun had just sunk below the horizon ; a streak of red still marked the place of his descent, behind the distant mountains of Syria ; the full moon appearing with brightness upon a ground of deep blue, rose in the east from the smooth bank of the Euphrates ; the sky was unclouded, the air calm and serene, the expiring light of day served to soften the horror of approaching darkness, the refreshing breeze of the night gratefully relieved the intolerable sultriness of the day that had preceded it ; the shepherds had led the camels to their stalls, the grey firmament bounded the silent landscape ; through the whole desert every thing was marked with stillness, undisturbed but by the mournful cries of the bird of night and of some chacals.* The dusk increased, and already I could discover nothing more than the pale phantoms of walls and columns. The solitariness of the situation, the serenity of evening, and the grandeur of the scene, impressed my mind with religious thoughtfulness. The view of an illustrious city deserted, the remembrance of

* An animal considerably like a fox, but less cunning, and of a frightful aspect. It lives upon dead bodies, and rocks and ruins are the places of its habitation.

past times, their comparison with the present state of things, all combined to raise my heart to a strain of sublime meditations. I sat down on the base of a column ; and there, my elbow on my knee, and my head resting on my hand, sometimes turning my eyes towards the deserts, and sometimes fixing them on the ruins, I fell into a profound reverie.

“ Here, said I to myself, an opulent city once flourished ; this was the seat of a powerful empire. Yes, these places now so desert, a living multitude formerly animated, and an active crowd circulated in the streets which at present are so solitary. Within those walls where a mournful silence reigns, the noise of the arts and the shouts of joy and festivity often have resounded. These heaps of marble formed regular palaces, those prostrate pillars were the majestic ornaments of temples, these ruinous galleries present the outlines of public places. Here a numerous people assembled for the respectable duties of its worship, or the anxious cares of its subsistence ; there industry, the fruitful inventor of sources of enjoyment, collected together the riches of every climate, and the purple of Tyre was exchanged for the precious thread of Serica ; the soft tissues of Cassimere for the sumptuous carpets of Lydia : the amber of the Baltic for the pearls and perfumes of Arabia ; the gold of Ophir for the pewter of Thule.

“ And now a mournful skeleton is all that subsists of this opulent city, and nothing remains of its powerful government but a vain and obscure remembrance. To the tumultuous throng which crowded under these porticos, the solitude of death has succeeded. The silence of the tomb is substituted for the hum of public places. The opulence of a commercial city is changed into hideous poverty. The palaces of kings are become the haunts of wild animals, and unclean reptiles inhabit the sanctuary of the gods.—What glory is here eclipsed, and how many labours are annihilated.—Thus perish the works of men, and thus do nations and empires vanish away.

“ The history of past times strongly presented itself to my thoughts. I called to mind those distant ages when twenty celebrated nations inhabited the country around me. I pictured to

myself the Assyrian on the banks of the Tigris, the Chaldæan on those of the Euphrates, the Persian whose power extended from the Indus to the Mediterranean. I enumerated the kingdoms of Damascus and Idumea; of Jerusalem and Samaria; and the warlike states of the Philistines; and the commercial republic of Phenicia. This Syria, said I to myself, now almost depopulated, then contained a hundred flourishing cities, and abounded with towns, villages, and hamlets. Every where one might have seen cultivated fields, frequented roads, and crowded habitations. Ah! what are become of those ages of abundance and of life? What are become of so many productions of the hand of man? Where are those ramparts of Nineveh, those walls of Babylon, those palaces of Persepolis, those temples of Baalbec and of Jerusalem? Where are those fleets of Tyre, those dock-yards of Arad, those work-shops of Sidon, and that multitude of mariners, pilots, merchants, and soldiers? Where those husbandmen, those harvests, that picture of animated nature of which the earth seemed proud? Alas! I have traversed this desolate country, I have visited the places that were the theatre of so much splendour, and I have nothing beheld but solitude and desertion! I looked for those ancient people and their works, and all I could find was a faint trace, like to what the foot of a passenger leaves on the sand. The temples are thrown down, the palaces demolished, the ports filled up, the towns destroyed, and the earth stript of inhabitants, seems a dreary burying place.—Great God! from whence proceed such melancholy revolutions? For what cause is the fortune of these countries so strikingly changed? Why are so many cities destroyed? Why is not that ancient population reproduced and perpetuated?”*

* Volney's *Revolutions of Empires*, pp. 7, *et seq.*

CHAPTER XXIV.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS AND TOMBS OF THE PEOPLE OF POMPEII.

“Cum uno loco tot appedarum cadavera projecta jaceant.”

SULPITIUS, in *Ep. ad Ciceron.*

OF the death and burial of the people of a great city, by a single catastrophe, the most memorable on record for its fatality, we have a remarkable account in two letters of Pliny the younger, addressed to Tacitus, purporting chiefly to record the death of the uncle of the narrator. The awful event which he describes took place in the year of our Lord 79.

“Your request that I would send you an account of my uncle’s death, in order to transmit a more exact relation of it to posterity, deserves my acknowledgments; for, if this accident shall be celebrated by your pen, the glory of it, I am well assured, will be rendered for ever illustrious. And notwithstanding he perished by a misfortune, which, as it involved at the same time a most beautiful country in ruins, and destroyed so many populous cities, seems to promise him an everlasting remembrance; notwithstanding he has himself composed many and lasting works; yet I am persuaded the mentioning of him in your immortal works will greatly contribute to eternize his name. Happy I esteem those to be, whom Providence has distinguished with the abilities either of doing such actions as are worthy of being related, or of relating them in a manner worthy of being read; but doubly happy are they who are blessed with both these uncommon talents; in the number of which my uncle, as his own writings and your history will evidently prove, may justly be ranked. It is with extreme willingness, therefore, I execute your commands; and should indeed have claimed the task, if you had not enjoined it. He was at that time with the fleet under his command at Misenum. On the 24th of August, about one in the afternoon, my mother desired him to observe a

cloud which appeared of a very unusual size and shape. He had just returned from taking the benefit of the sun,* and after bathing himself in cold water, and taking a slight repast, was retired to his study. He immediately arose and went out upon an eminence, from whence he might more distinctly view this very uncommon appearance. It was not at that distance discernible from what mountain this cloud issued but it was found afterwards to ascend from Mount Vesuvius.† I cannot give a more exact description of its figure, than by resembling it to that of a pine-tree, for it shot up a great height in the form of a trunk, which extended itself at the top into a sort of branches; occasioned, I imagine, either by a sudden gust of air that impelled it, the force of which decreased as it advanced upwards, or the cloud itself being pressed back again by its own weight, expanded in this manner: it appeared sometimes bright and sometimes dark and spotted, as it was more or less impregnated with earth and cinders. This extraordinary phenomenon excited my uncle's philosophical curiosity to take a nearer view of it. He ordered a light vessel to be got ready, and gave me the liberty, if I thought proper, to attend him. I rather chose to continue my studies; for, as it happened, he had given me an employment of that kind. As he was coming out of the house, he received a note from Rectina, the wife of Bassus, who was in the utmost alarm at the imminent danger which threatened her; for her villa being situated at the foot of Mount Vesuvius,

* The Romans used to lie or walk naked in the sun, after anointing their bodies with oil, which was esteemed as greatly contributing to health, and therefore daily practised by them.

† About six miles distant from Naples. Martial has a pretty epigram, in which he gives us a view of Vesuvius, as it appeared before the terrible conflagration broke out.

“Here verdant vines o’erspread Vesuvius’ sides;
The generous grape here pour’d her purple tides.
This Bacchus lov’d beyond his native scene;
Here dancing satyrs joy’d to trip the green.
Far more than Sparta this in Venus’ grace;
And great Alcides once renown’d the place:
Now flaming embers spread dire waste around,
And gods regret that gods can thus confound.”

there was no way to escape but by sea : she earnestly entreated him, therefore, to come to her assistance. He accordingly changed his first design, and what he began with a philosophical, he pursued with an heroical turn of mind. He ordered the galleys to put to sea, and went himself on board with an intention of assisting not only Rectina, but several others ; for the villas stand extremely thick upon that beautiful coast. When hastening to the place from whence others fled with the utmost terror, he steered his direct course to the point of danger, and with so much calmness and presence of mind, as to be able to make and dictate his observations upon the motion and figure of that dreadful scene. He was now so nigh the mountain, that the cinders, which grew thicker and hotter the nearer he approached, fell into the ships, together with pumice-stones, and black pieces of burning rock ; they were likewise in danger, not only of being aground by the sudden retreat of the sea, but also from the vast fragments which rolled down from the mountain, and obstructed all the shore. Here he stopped to consider whether he should return back again ; to which the pilot advising him, ‘ Fortune,’ said he, ‘ befriends the brave ; carry me to Pomponianus.’ Pomponianus was then at Stabiæ,* separated by a gulf, which the sea after several insensible windings, forms upon the shore. He had already sent his baggage on board ; for though he was not at that time in actual danger, yet being within the view of it, and, indeed, extremely near, if it should in the least increase, he was determined to put to sea as soon as the wind should change. It was favourable, however, for carrying my uncle to Pomponianus, whom he found in the greatest consternation : he embraced him with tenderness, encouraging and exhorting him to keep up his spirits, and the more to dissipate his fears, he ordered, with an air of unconcern, the baths to be got ready ; when, after having bathed, he sat down to supper with great cheerfulness, or at least (what is equally heroic) with all the appearance of it. In the meanwhile, the eruption from Mount Vesuvius flamed out in several places with much violence, which the darkness of the night contributed to

* Now called Castel a Mar di Stabia, in the gulf of Naples.

render still more visible and dreadful. But my uncle, in order to sooth the apprehension of his friend, assured him it was only the burning of the villages, which the country people had abandoned to the flames : after this he retired to rest, and it is most certain he was so little discomposed as to fall into a deep sleep ; for being pretty fat, and breathing hard, those who attended without actually heard him snore. The court which led to his apartment being now almost filled with stones and ashes, if he had continued there any time longer, it would have been impossible for him to have made his way out ; it was thought proper, therefore, to awaken him. He got up and went to Pomponianus and the rest of his company, who were not unconcerned enough to think of going to bed. They consulted together whether it would be most prudent to trust to the houses, which now shook from side to side with frequent and violent concussions ; or fly to the open fields, where the calcined stones and cinders, though light indeed, yet fell in large showers, and threatened destruction. In this distress they resolved for the fields, as the less dangerous situation of the two ; a resolution which, while the rest of the company were hurried into by their fears, my uncle embraced upon cool and deliberate consideration. They went out then, having pillows tied upon their heads with napkins ; and this was their whole defence against the storm of stones that fell around them. It was now day every where else, but there a deeper darkness prevailed than in the most obscure night ; which, however, was in some degree dissipated by torches and other lights of various kinds. They thought proper to go down farther upon the shore, to observe if they might safely put out to sea ; but they found the waves still run extremely high and boisterous. There my uncle, having drunk a draught or two of cold water, threw himself down upon a cloth which was spread for him, when immediately the flames, and a strong smell of sulphur, which was the forerunner of them, dispersed the rest of the company, and obliged him to rise. He raised himself up with the assistance of two of his servants, and instantly fell down dead ; suffocated, as I conjecture, by some gross and noxious vapour, having always had weak lungs, and

being frequently subject to a difficulty of breathing. As soon as it was light again, which was not till the third day after this melancholy accident, his body was found entire, and without any marks of violence upon it, exactly in the same posture that he fell, and looking more like a man asleep than dead. During all this time my mother and I, who were at Misenum — But as this has no connexion with your history, so your inquiry went no farther than concerning my uncle's death; with that, therefore, I will put an end to my letter: suffer me only to add, that I have faithfully related to you what I was either an eye-witness of myself, or received immediately after the accident happened, and before there was time to vary the truth. You will choose out of this narrative such circumstances as shall be most suitable to your purpose; for there is a great difference between what is proper for a letter and a history; between writing to a friend, and writing to the public. Farewell!"*

"The letter which, in compliance with your request, I wrote to you concerning the death of my uncle, has raised, it seems, your curiosity to know what terrors and dangers attended me while I continued at Misenum; for there, I think, the account in my former broke off.

'Though my shocked soul recoils, my tongue shall tell.'†

"My uncle having left us, I pursued the studies which prevented my going with him, till it was time to bathe. After which I went to supper, and from thence to bed, where my sleep was greatly broken and disturbed. There had been, for many days before, some shocks of an earthquake, which the less surprised us, as they are extremely frequent in Campania; but they were so particularly violent that night, that they not only shook everything about us, but seemed indeed to threaten total destruction. My mother flew to my chamber, where she found me rising, in order to awaken her. We went out into a small court belonging to the house, which separated the sea from the buildings. As I was at that time but eighteen years of age, I knew not whether I should call my behaviour, in this dangerous juncture, courage or rashness; but I took up Livy, and amused

* Pliny's Letters, Melmoth's Translation, vi. 16. † Virgil, book ii.

myself with turning over that author, and even making extracts from him, as if all about me had been in full security. While we were in this posture, a friend of my uncle's, who was just come from Spain to pay him a visit, joined us ; and observing me sitting by my mother with a book in my hand, greatly condemned her calmness, at the same time that he reproved me for my careless security. Nevertheless, I still went on with my author. Though it was now morning, the light was exceedingly faint and languid ; the buildings all around us tottered, and though we stood upon open ground, yet, as the place was narrow and confined, there was no remaining there without certain and great danger : we therefore resolved to quit the town. The people followed us in the utmost consternation, and, as to a mind distracted with terror every suggestion seems more prudent than its own, pressed in great crowds about us in our way out. Being got at a convenient distance from the houses, we stood still, in the midst of a most dangerous and dreadful scene. The chariots which we had ordered to be drawn out, were so agitated backwards and forwards, though upon the most level ground, that we could not keep them steady, even by supporting them with large stones. The sea seemed to roll back upon itself, and to be driven from its banks by the convulsive motion of the earth ; it is certain at least the shore was considerably enlarged, and several sea animals were left upon it. On the other side a black and dreadful cloud, bursting with an igneous serpentine vapour, darted out a long train of fire, resembling flashes of lightning, but much larger. Upon this our Spanish friend, whom I mentioned above, addressing himself to my mother and me with great warmth and earnestness : ' If your brother and your uncle,' said he, ' is safe, he certainly wishes you may be so too ; but if he perished, it was his desire, no doubt, that you might both survive him : why, therefore, do you delay your escape a moment ? '—We could never think of our own safety, we said, while we were uncertain of his. Hereupon our friend left us, and withdrew from the danger with the utmost precipitation. Soon afterwards the cloud seemed to descend, and cover the whole ocean ; as, indeed, it entirely hid the island of Capreæ * and the promontory of Mise-

* An island twenty miles from Naples, now called Capri.

num. My mother strongly conjured me to make my escape at any rate, which, as I was young, I might easily do : as for herself, she said, her age and corpulency rendered all attempts of that sort impossible. However, she would willingly meet death, if she could have the satisfaction of seeing that she was not the occasion of mine. But I absolutely refused to leave her, and taking her by the hand, I led her on : she complied with great reluctance, and not without many reproaches to herself for retarding my flight. The ashes now began to fall upon us, though in no great quantity. I turned my head, and observed behind us a thick smoke, which came rolling after us like a torrent. I proposed, while we had yet any light, to turn out of the high road, lest she should be pressed to death in the dark by the crowd that followed us. We had scarce stepped out of the path, when darkness overspread us, not like that of a cloudy night, or when there is no moon, but of a room when it is shut up, and all the lights extinct. Nothing then was to be heard but the shrieks of women, the screams of children, and the cries of men ; some calling for their children, others for their parents, others for their husbands, and only distinguishing each other by their voices ; one lamenting his own fate, another that of his family ; some wishing to die from the very fear of dying ; some lifting their hands to the gods ; but the greater part imagining that the last and eternal night was come, which was to destroy the gods and the world together.* Among these were some who augmented the real terrors by imaginary ones, and made the frightened multitude falsely believe that Misenum was actually in flames. At length a glimmering light appeared, which we imagined to be rather the forerunner of an approaching burst of flames, as in truth it was, than the return of day. However, the fire fell at a distance from us : then again we were immersed in thick darkness, and a heavy shower of ashes rained upon us, which we were obliged every now and then to shake off, otherwise we

* "The Stoic and Epicurean philosophers held, that the world was to be destroyed by fire, and all things fall again into original chaos ; not excepting even the national gods themselves from the destruction of this general conflagration."

should have been crushed and buried in the heap. I might boast that during all this scene of horror not a sigh or expression of fear escaped from me, had not my support been founded in that miserable, though strong, consolation—that all mankind were involved in the same calamity, and that I imagined I was perishing with the world itself! At last this dreadful darkness was dissipated by degrees, like a cloud of smoke; the real day returned, and even the sun appeared, though very faintly, and as when an eclipse is coming on. Every object that presented itself to our eyes (which were extremely weakened) seemed changed, being covered over with white ashes, as with a deep snow. We returned to Misenum, where we refreshed ourselves as well as we could, and passed an anxious night between hope and fear; though, indeed, with a much larger share of the latter; for the earthquake still continued, while several enthusiastic people ran up and down, heightening their own and their friends' calamities by terrible predictions. However my mother and I, notwithstanding the danger we had passed, and that which still threatened us, had no thoughts of leaving the place till we should receive some account from my uncle.

“And now you will read this narrative without any view of inserting it in your history, of which it is by no means worthy; and indeed you must impute it to your own request if it shall deserve the trouble of a letter; farewell.”*

Pompeii realizes the idea of a city extant not in ruins of ancient tombs and temples crumbling into dust, but in habitations of old, that had been transformed eighteen centuries ago into indestructible sepulchres for its population; a city of the dead, where the streets are in good repair, the houses commodious, the villas elegantly disposed and decorated, the baths well preserved, the theatres in readiness for actors and audience, the shops ranged in proper places, halls for banquets, tricliniums for guests, lamps and candelabras, bronze utensils in abundance for a menage, pots and pans for the kitchen, amphoræ for the wine-cellars, books for the library, ornaments for young ladies, cosmetics for old ones, bottles and drinking cups for social gentle-

* Pliny's Letters, vi. 20; Melmoth's translation.

men, drugs and gally-pots for doctors, instruments for surgeons, and idols and amulets for any multitude of pagan people; a city where the houses are habitable—and the inhabitants that were, are not. *

The Necropolis of Pompeii, with its far-famed street of tombs, is unequalled by any other place of burial of past times, with the exception of Etrurian sepulchres, whether as regards the perfect state of the tombs, the symmetry of their structure, or the number of them that affords an insight into the funeral customs of the ancients.

The tombs of Pompeii present paganism in a more pleasing aspect to the eyes of Christians than the pyramids of Egypt or any other monuments of antiquity of a similar destination. The kindly influence of natural affections, of maternal love, of filial piety, of friendship, of attachment of servants to masters, of feelings of veneration, gratitude, generosity, and charity, is exhibited in Pompeii in numerous monuments, less remarkable for splendour of decoration or magnitude of structure than for simplicity, modesty, and appropriateness of design to the destination of places of abode for departed friends.

The following account of some of the most remarkable monuments in “the street of tombs,” is taken from the admirable work on Pompeii, in the series of publications of “The Library of Entertaining Knowledge:”—

“The first tomb, which presents itself to the traveller as he approaches the gate of Herculaneum, bears the name of Diomedes, and stands opposite the suburban villa bearing the same name. This tomb, as well as almost all others, is raised upon a platform of masonry above the level of the footway. To the extreme left is a wall, which seems to mark the limits of the family burial-place. Near it stand two *cippi*, or funeral columns. These are surmounted by hemispheres, the flat side presented to the road,—a form of monument not uncommon at Pompeii, nor unlike a

* During a residence in Naples, in the years 1821, 1822, and 1823, I availed myself of many opportunities of visiting Pompeii; and was present at many remarkable discoveries which were the result of the extensive researches then carried on.

barber's block. The tomb itself is a solid building, not fitted for the reception of urns, and therefore merely erected in commemoration, like the cippi above described. Under the pediment is the following inscription :—

M · ARRIVS + L · DIOMEDES

SIBI · SVIS · MEMORIAE

MAGISTER · PAG · AUG · FELIC · SVBVRB.

“ Upon the same platform are two other tombs : one, of a diminutive size, and very plain, evidently the humble tribute of some poor family to a departed member ; the other is of considerable size and pretensions. It formed an oblong building, the sides ornamented with pilasters, which supported an entablature, crowned by statues. The upper part of the tomb is now destroyed, but the fragments of the entablature and statues found about it testify plainly that such must have been the design. It is further observable, that Pompeii was not buried to its present depth by one, but by several eruptions, that these portions of the building were found at some height above the level of the ancient street. The side next the city is ornamented by two bas-reliefs, much broken, and the front has the remains of two medallions, which probably contained portraits of Lucius Ceius and Lucius Labeo, to whom the tomb was erected by their freedman, Menomachus.

“ The next tomb is solid, and remains perfect. The form is simple and elegant, resembling the pedestal of a column ; the base about twelve feet square, the height sixteen feet. It is decorated with a well-designed moulding and cornice, beneath which is an inscription, that has been translated into English—

“ ‘ To M. Alleius Luccius Libella, the father, Ædile, Duumvir, Quinquennial Prefect, and M. Alleius Libelli, his son, Decurion, who lived to the age of seventeen, was assigned the site of this monument at the public charge. Alleia Decimilla, daughter of Marcus, Public Priestess of Ceres, erected it to her husband and son.’

“ The next tomb, placed at the junction of the two roads, has nothing remarkable in its exterior. It is composed of small pieces

of tufa, laid sometimes horizontally, sometimes in diamonds,* the top much broken. In front is a low entrance, about four feet high, which was closed by a marble door, turning upon bronze pivots, received in sockets of the same metal. It was drawn to by a ring, and closed by a lock, probably of the same metal: the holes cut to receive them are still to be seen. In the interior is a small chamber, lighted by a high window in the back of the tomb. Beneath the window, opposite the door, is a niche, in which an alabaster vase was found. Other vases in glass, earth, and marble, were standing upon a ledge which runs around the chamber. The reader will observe the *columbaria*, or little niches, so called from their resemblance to the holes of a pigeon-house, in which the urns are severally deposited.

“Beyond this tomb, where the two roads separate, are the remains of a small square enclosure, probably an *ustrinum*, or place for burning dead bodies. Its isolated situation appears to render it peculiarly suited to this purpose. It is not uncommon to find inscriptions on monuments forbidding the application of funeral piles against them, ‘Ad hoc monumentum ustrinum applicare non licet.’

“On the other side of the road the monuments are in better preservation. Close to the villa of Diomedes is a small inclosure, of irregular figure, presenting to the street a plain front, about twenty feet in length, stuccoed, and unornamented, except by a low pediment and cornice. The door is remarkably low, not more than five feet high. Entering, we find ourselves within a chamber open to the sky, the walls cheerfully decorated by paintings of animals, in the centre of compartments bordered with flowers. Before us is a stone triclinium, with a massive pedestal in the centre to receive the table, and a round pillar in advance of it. It is a funeral triclinium, for the celebration of feasts, *Silicernia*, in honour of the dead.

“The monument which stands next is intended for the common burial-place of a family. It consists of a square building, containing a small chamber, by the side of which is a door giving admission to a small court surrounded by a high wall. A

* *Opus reticulatum*.

bas-relief and inscription exist on a marble cippus to the following purport:—

“ ‘Nævoleia Tyche, freedwoman of Julia Tyche, to herself and to Caius Munatius Faustus, Augustal, and chief magistrate of the suburb, to whom the Decurions, with the consent of the people, have granted the bisellium for his merits. Nævoleia Tyche erected this monument in her lifetime for her freedmen and women, and for those of C. Munatius Faustus. On the side next the triclinium is a curious bas-relief, which presents us with some interesting particulars concerning the naval architecture of the Romans. The ends of the vessel are remarkable. The prow is of singular shape, not clearly defined, and does not present the formidable beak of a ship of war; it is surmounted by a bust of Minerva; the poop ends in a swan or goose's neck from which there floats a flag; another flag is to be seen at the mast head.

“ A sort of solid bench for the reception of urns runs round the funeral chamber, and several niches are hollowed in the wall. Some lamps were found here, and many urns, three of glass, the rest of common earth. The glass urns were of large size, one of them fifteen inches in height by ten in diameter, and were protected from injury by leaden cases. They contained, when found, burnt bones, and a liquid which has been analyzed, and found to consist of mingled water, wine, and oil. In two of the urns it was of a reddish tint, in the other yellow, oily and transparent. There can be no doubt but that we have here the libations which were poured as a last tribute of friendship upon the ashes of the tenants of the tomb.

“ Within a court, about twenty-one feet square, a massive basement rises to the height of five feet and a half. Three steps lead up to a cippus elegantly carved. In front, within a rich border, is the inscription to this effect:—

“ ‘To Caius Calventius Quietus, Augustal. To him, in reward of his munificence, the honour of the bisellium was granted by the decree of the Decurions, and with the consent of the people.’

“ All those who are mentioned in inscriptions as possessing

the privilege of the *bisellium*, bear also the title of *Augustal*. The learned Fabretti supposes that it was peculiar to this class of priests, but at the same time not granted to all, but only to the most distinguished of them. This edifice is solid; it was therefore no place of burial, but a cenotaph, or honorary tomb, erected to Calventius Quietus. Square pinnacles, called *Acroteria*, are placed on the wall, their sides ornamented with stucco bas-reliefs, of a mythological character. One represents Theseus, another *Œdipus* and the Sphinx. The Sphinx sits on a rock, above the bodies of her victims, which are remarkable as showing some traces of the human skeleton. The lofty cippus on the summit communicates an agreeable pyramidal effect to the whole design. The extreme height from the footway is about seventeen feet.

“On a neighbouring tomb, that of Scaurus, we find bas-reliefs upon the *acroteria*, one remarkable for its subject. The skeleton of a child reposes on a heap of stones: a young woman stoops over it, in the act of depositing a funereal fillet. A touching explanation of this singular subject has been proposed,—that it represents the discovery of a child who had perished in the earthquake, by the mother, who is now rendering the last service in her power. The dress of the female is still preserved in the secluded country which encircles Sora. A narrow and steep stair leads up to the sepulchral chamber, which is vaulted somewhat in the shape of a bell, and painted with arabesque designs.

“Near the road leading to Nola there are two tombs and two large uncovered semicircular seats. The first tomb is raised upon a high step; it is about seventeen feet in diameter, and bears an inscription, occupying the whole space above the bench, which is finished, and supported at each end by a lion’s paw, and in English runs thus:—

“ ‘To Mamia, daughter of (probably) Porcius, public priestess, a place of burial is assigned by decree of the Decurions.’

“An adjoining tomb, called of Porcius, is more than usually large and handsome. The septum is worked into apertures rounded at top, which give to it the appearance of a balustrade. The tomb is of masonry covered with stucco, and ornamented

with engaged columns, which, from their proportions, appear to be of the Corinthian order, but the capitals are gone. Mazois has given a restoration of it, according to his notions of the characteristics of Pompeian architecture: the existing part may be distinguished by the uneven line which bounds it. Several ill-executed marble statues, now in the Royal Museum of Naples, were found in the interior, which was set round with niches, the walls were painted. In the centre is a large pedestal, which probably supported the urn of the tenant. Behind this tomb is a spot called the sepulchre of animals, because many skulls and half-burnt bones of sheep and oxen have been found there.”*

Forsyth has given a sketch of other remains of Pompeii, that may give some idea of the people whose sepulchres we have been visiting,

“ *The Barracks.*—Here one step brought us into a state of existence two thousand years earlier than our own. I saw nothing admirable, but much that was curious:—ancient galleries and rooms—tesselated pavements and arabesque walls—ill-spelt names, and ill-shaped horses scratched on the stucco—columns repaired and modernized by the ancients themselves, who have buried their original flutings under a painted coat of plaster. But were these really barracks? Was a court connected with two theatres, a construction of brick and wood, a slight decorated Doric structure, a low situation close to a hill, proper for a place of arms? Some have supposed it a *gymnasium*, from the boxing figures scratched on the walls, and the unmilitary size of the armour found there. But then, where were the baths, the honorary statues, and inscriptions, inseparable from gymnasia? and why should slaves be found chained in one room, and an oil-mill standing in another? Who would expect, in a *gymnasium* or in barracks, all the precious effects which they were carrying hence on horses? On comparing this court with those of the villa, I would rather assign it to the governor’s *prætorium*, which was held a necessary constituent of every ancient town.

“ *Theatres.*—One of these is called an Odeon, perhaps from

* Pompeii (Lib. Entertaining Knowledge), vol. ii. pp. 269, *et seq.*

its vicinity to the greater ; but no vestige remains of that tent-like cupola which crowned the ancient Odeons; its water-courses would even indicate that a part of this was open to the rain. Had it been really an Odeon, appropriated to music, we might expect to find here some of that harmonical construction which Vitruvius admired in the provincial theatres, particularly in these Greek towns. That rage for plays, which distinguishes the present race, has always prevailed in this district. Here are two ancient theatres,* at Herculaneum one, a fourth at Misenum, a fifth at Atella; besides two at Naples mentioned by Statius, others yet undiscovered, and the three great amphitheatres of Capua, Cumæ, and Puteoli.

“*Iseon*.—This was well designed for the seclusion and progressive mysteries of the Isiac rite. One narrow door gave access to the Peribolos or court, which presented to the novice some altars *sub dio*—a cistern for ablution—a small fane or ædícula—and last, the sacred temple. In the temple itself was a gradation of sanctity—a vestibule—an open altar—an adytum—secret stairs—and a sunken cell. The court is surrounded with a portico and painted chambers, one of which, on the authority of a single fish-bone, has been called the refectory; a place very necessary for the Egyptian rite, which became notorious for the smoke of its suppers. The other rooms may, perhaps, have served as the ‘*Isiacæ sacraria lenæ*,’ the scene of those gallantries for which the bald priests of Isis pandered as they begged. Such a ministry must have rendered the worship of the goddess highly popular in this voluptuous climate, though it once brought her consecrated pimps to the gallows.

“*Streets*.—The impression of wheels worn deep into the hard basalt pavement of this town evinces an extreme antiquity. So narrow is the street excavated, that you cross it on three stepping stones which were placed between the foot pavements. Indeed the streets were anciently very narrow all over Italy. To remove this inconvenience, Nero set fire to the oldest quarters of Rome, which, though difficult, were still more pervious than the original city.†

* A large amphitheatre has been discovered since Forsyth wrote.

† “For this reason, I presume, the lictors, though sometimes twenty-

“ *The Houses* generally form a small court, into which all the rooms open. In some I found a peristyle and the marks of a basin, but no chimneys, no windows,* no middle doors between the contiguous rooms. The chambers were too narrow for hospitable men; and probably, from the want of convenience at home, the citizens associated, as their descendants do, in the streets, temples, or porticos. Without the town the houses seem to have been larger. One of these houses has three stories, and a room about twenty feet long, which our guide modernized into a *galleria*.

“ *The Shops*, like the present shops of this country, are open from wall to wall. A low parapet forms the window, and leaves a narrow sill for the door. One of their counters is covered with marble, in which seem holes intended for vases. On an-

four in number, preceded the magistrate always in a single file; for the same reason no senator, except the blind Metellus, was indulged with a carriage in the city, nor even litters allowed there before Cicero's time.

* “Every chamber received its light from the door. Hence the wall fronting the door was the lightest; and this appears the reason why Homer calls that wall the ἐνώπια παμφανόωντα.

“There is no impropriety, I hope, in applying Homer's descriptions to Pompeii. The domestic simplicity of Homer's age subsisted in some parts of Greece down to the Persian invasion. During that period this part of Italy was colonized by Greeks. Colonies generally simplify the accommodations of their mother-country, and their long struggle for subsistence debars them from the innovations of more polished life. Hence Pompeii may have retained the modes which it derived from Greece, after Greece itself had relinquished them.

“Pompeii had been long Greek before it became Roman, and bears more marks of its mother than of its mistress.—The figures painted on its buildings are all dressed in the Greek *pallium*, without any appearance of the *toga*. The order of their peristyles is the Greek Doric, so different from the Doric of ancient Rome.—The terraces which covered them, and which are still common in this country, were of Greek origin: ‘Subdialia Græci invenere.’—Above the court called the barracks, was one of those temples surrounded with insulated columns, which Sophocles denominates ἀμφικίονας ναὲς; a plan peculiar to Greece, and not to be found in any Roman antiquity.—The smooth threshing-floors enclosed here in the open fields correspond with Homer's ἐϋτροχάλω ἄλωη, and cattle work on those floors in the very manner which he describes.”

[Mr. Forsyth seems to have overlooked Virgil's directions for making threshing-floors, such precisely as are now used in Italy.]

other house is a *phallus*, which has excited much remark. Some think it the sign of a brothel; others, of an amulet manufactory. But was it a sign at all? It stands in a niche which, like the ancient *thalamos*, forms part of the wall. It may, therefore, have been an object of worship, or some tradesman's *bascanion*. Yet, as Isis was the favourite divinity of Pompeii, I should rather suppose that the landlord of this house was one of her freemasons, and the *phallus* a badge of his initiation, allusive to her Ithyphalic rite.

"The *Town Gate* is little and low, like every thing here. Without the town stands the tomb of the Priestess Mammia, or rather its cubic base, near which are two semicircular seats, some yards in diameter. The inscription on one of these denotes a place of sepulchre; but for whatever they were raised, they stood here for public resort, and may be considered as *hemicyclions*, where the ancients held their *conversazioni*.*"

The following fine passage taken from the poem on "The Universe," which, though published under the name of Maturin, was really written by another Irishman—the Rev. James Wills, may aptly close this chapter.

"Thus deep, beneath
Earth's bosom, and the mansions of the graves
Of men, are graves of cities. Such of late
From its long sleep of darkness disinterr'd,
Pompeii, with its low and buried roofs,
Rose dark upon the miner's progress, like
A city of the dead! A tomb perchance
Where living men were buried! Tyrant Death!
How didst thou triumph then!—thou us'd'st to steal
Behind thy sallow harbinger, disease,
Or take thine open and determinate stand
In battle's ranks, with danger at thy side,
Forewarning gallant breasts prepared to die;
But there—thy spectral visage darken'd forth
Amid the joyous bosom scenes of life,
From its invisible ambush! There—it found
The myriad fantasies of hearts and brains,
Young loves, and hopes, and pleasures, all abroad,
Spreading their painted wings, and wantoning
In life's glad summer breeze, from flow'r to flow'r,
And, with the fatal spell of one dread glance,

* Forsyth's Italy, pp. 306—311.

Blighted them all ! How sunk the tender maid,
Then silent in the chill and stiff'ning clasp
Of her dead lover ! Echo had not ceased
To catch love's inarticulate ecstasies,
Strained in a first embrace—for ever then
Fix'd statue-like in Death's tremendous arms,
A hideous contrast !—one fell moment still'd
Lovers and foes alike ;—workers of good,
And guilty wretches ;—then the statesman's brain
Stopp'd in its calculation, and the bard
Sunk by his lyre ;—the loud procession
Before the temple—all the cares of life
With action and contrivance, the street
Throng'd multitudinous, in their busy time
Of bustle and magnificence ;—and all
Life's thousands were abroad, and the high sounds
Of civic pomp rose audible from far ;
But louder rose the terrible voice of ruin
Over their mirth, ' BE STILL,' and all was hush'd !
Save the short shuddering cries that rose unheard,
The upturn'd glances from a thousand homes
Thro' the red closing surge ! the awful groan
Of agitated Nature—and beneath
Ten thousand victims turn'd to die ; above
Bright sunbeams lit the plain—a nameless tomb ! ”

CHAPTER XXV.

THE FUNERAL CUSTOMS AND SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS OF THE MEXICANS, PERUVIANS, AND OTHER AMERICAN INDIAN NATIONS.

"The Indians consider the earth as their universal mother. They believe that they were created within its bowels, where, for a long time, they had their abode before they came to live on its surface." [It is the old theory of creation of another hemisphere amplified—"from dust we came, and unto dust we shall return."]*—Trans. of Amer. Philos. Soc.*

"L'usage de quelques nations Americains est que les parens de defunt, jeunent jusqu'à la fin des funerailles, et tout cet intervalle passe en pleurs, en d'ejaculations, a regaler tous ceux dont on recoit le visite, a faire l'eloge des morts et en complimens reciproques."

PERE DE CHARLEVOIX.

THE ancient Mexican empire was the chief nation of the region of Anahuac, originally the vale of Mexico only, but which eventually included many kingdoms; and subsequently was comprised in the territory of New Spain.

Some of these nations were in alliance, some at perpetual variance with Mexico. It is not in the historical work of Dr. Robertson, or in the "*Recherches Philosophique sur les Americaines*" of Mons. de Paw, that any useful knowledge of the Indian nations, their manners, customs, and religion, is to be obtained, that can be considered a fair representation, and, most strange to say, a fair result of literary research with all the advantages of literary ease, good libraries available, and an abundance of Spanish historical materials within the reach of both authors.

The Scotch savant and the Prussian philosopher, set out on their American researches at their own fire-sides, with a vast deal too much contempt for foreign writers, who had written of the countries and the people they had visited, of the clergy who had passed much time in those regions, of the conquistadors,

even with all their crimes, who had described vividly, though perhaps rudely and unskilfully, very often, what they had seen. Dr. Robertson and Mons. Paw had too much confidence in their own judgments and powers of discrimination, too exclusive a respect for their own literature, religion, morals, and national intellectual characteristics.

The Abbè Raynal has not contributed much to remedy the defects of modern writers on America; but the Abbè Clavigero, a native of Vera Cruz, who resided nearly forty years in the provinces of New Spain, studied their historical paintings, acquired the language of the Mexicans and other Indian nations, and collected their traditions, in his history of Mexico has supplied many deficiencies, though his work leaves it to be lamented that his knowledge of philology, geology, and ethnology, was exceedingly limited.*

The ancient Mexico was more extensive than all the other states of Anahuac: it extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the 14th to the 21st degrees of north latitude, and between 271 and 283 degrees of longitude from the meridian, of Ferro. The various nations of Anahuac, differing in language, and in some respects in manners, were yet nearly of the same character, tempers, and disposition, and of the same religious belief.

The first people of Anahuac came from the northern parts of America, where their ancestors had been settled for ages. All their historians agree on this point.—“It is considered,” says Clavigero, “from the testimony of their sacred writings, and from the constant and universal tradition of those nations, that the Anahuac are descended from those few mortals whom divine providence saved from the waters of the deluge, in order to preserve the race of man upon earth.”†

Of those early inhabitants the Toltecas are the oldest nation;

* The work of Clavigero was translated from the original Italian into English, and the second edition of that version was published in two vols., quarto, in London, in 1807—“The History of Mexico, collected from the Spanish and Mexican Historians, from Manuscripts and Ancient Paintings of the Mexicans.” By Abbè D. F. Clavigero. Translated by C. Cullen.

† History of Mexico, vol. i. p. 63.

they began their emigration from the north towards Anahuac, in the year 596 of our era. They were led by seven captains, and hence got the name of the seven nations. Their monarchy in Anahuac began in 607 A.D., and lasted 384 years.

Their civilization exceeded that of all the Indian nations; they always lived in communities, under laws and established governments. They cultivated grain, cotton, pepper, and many fruits. They smelted various metals, cast gold and silver, cut gems, and were the first of the Americans who were familiar with a mode of computing time by regulating their civil year according to the solar, by means of the intercalary days; which system implied numerous observations and a wonderfully correct astronomy, evidently of Asiatic origin. They had a clear and distinct knowledge of the universal deluge.*

They practised the barbarous bloody sacrifices of human beings, which afterwards became so common with the Mexican and other nations.

They built the highest pyramid of Cholula in honour of the chief god, and, as Clavigero surmises, the famous pyramids of Teotihuacan, in honour of the sun and moon, which monuments are still in existence. Boturini absurdly believed they built the pyramid of Cholula to counterfeit the tower of Babel.

In the year 1052 A.D. the Toltecan monarchy concluded, after having multiplied cities, conquered nations, and erected great monuments. Their country was first visited with a drought, which caused all vegetation to perish: famine, of course, followed; the great body of the people perished, the rest fled into Yucatan, Guatemala, and the Vale, where, at a later period, Mexico was founded.

The Checemas made their appearance about a century after the disappearance of the Toltecas, likewise from the northern countries. They were a singular people, living in communities, under laws recognizing different ranks in their society; but they neither practised agriculture nor the arts of civilized life. They used the skins of wild beasts for clothing. They wor-

* Clavigero, vol. i. p. 87.

shipped the Sun alone, and to that divinity they offered herbs and flowers, and dispensed with human sacrifices.

“ They mingled with another race, more rude than their own, the Otomies, a predatory, lawless, hunting people. Their kingdom, in Anahuac, began in the twelfth century, and ended in the year 1520.*

The Otomies were accounted a very ancient people, but not of such an antiquity as the Olmecas, a very numerous nation, notwithstanding they continued many ages living in a very barbarous manner in mountain caverns, and supporting themselves by the chase. They were not subdued till the seventeenth century.

The Chiapanese Indians, if their traditions are to be believed, are the first peoplers of the new world.†

Their ancestor, Votan, was the grandson of the man who built a great vessel, to save himself and his family from the deluge; and another of their progenitors, who had undertaken to build a great edifice, that was to reach from earth to heaven, had been sent expressly to that land to people it. Their nation was not governed by a king, but two military chiefs chosen by the priests. Like the Mexicans, they made use of paintings, and computed time, but represented its periods differently. They were finally subdued by the Mexicans.

The Mexicans were the most modern immigrants into Anahuac. Their origin was the province of Aztlan. They spoke the same language as the other people of the seven nations, as did likewise the Thalascans, their implacable enemies in Anahuac, and ultimate occasion of their ruin. The Mexicans, or Aztecas, lived until about the year 1160 A.D. in Aztlan, a country to the north of the Gulph of California. The cause of their migration is unknown. It was not till the year 1216 A.D. they arrived in Anahuac, where they found a considerable city, named Zupanco, in the vale to which their name of Mexico was given. It is very singular that all the migrations of those North American nations were, like those of the Jews, prolonged in an unaccountable manner. They dwelt ten years in one place,

* Clavigero, vol. i. p. 103.

† Idem, vol. i. p. 106.

twenty in another, forty in another, nay, sometimes fifty years, before they proceeded on their journey to their ultimate and fixed destination.

The Mexicans brought their horrid human sacrifices with them from the north; at Colhuacan the people were terrified at their inhuman deeds.*

At length they reached the little island, on the lake named Tenochtitlan, where they founded their city (of Mexico), in the year 1315 A.D.

The first act of the new settlers was to build a temple dedicated to their god, Huitzilopochti, or Mexitli, as he was also called, a name from which their city got its denomination. They multiplied places of worship as their territory extended, and priests were appointed to them in numbers that startle the ears even of Italian monks. They made great wars on their neighbours, enlarged their borders, gained numerous victories, and sacrificed more human victims to their gods than all the other American nations had previously done.

In 1521, a Spanish adventurer, and a band of four hundred desperadoes, bucaniering speculators, and soldiers of his nation, aided by a multitudinous rabble of Indians of a neighbouring rival nation, the Thalascans, who had been warred on constantly by the Mexicans for victims for their altars, overturned an empire it is said, by some Spanish writers, of thirty millions (let us suppose it to be of five millions), seized its capital of at least 100,000 inhabitants,† made a captive of its king, and suffered or caused him to perish in captivity the same year.

The inhuman policy is attributed to the Mexicans by their strenuous champion, Clavigero, of leaving the nation of the Thalascans unsubdued within sixty miles of their capital, in order that they might have an enemy at hand always to war upon, for victims for their sacrifices. The barbarities of this nation in sacrificing human beings, not occasionally, or by single victims, or at certain annual festivals, but regularly at short intervals by hecatombs in honour of a multitude of gods, in honour of every

* Clavigero, vol. i. p. 121.

† Clavigero estimates the population at 300,000.

month of the year, in scores, in fifties, in hundreds, in countless hosts of prisoners taken in wars perpetually waged for the acquisition of human victims for their sacrifices, have no parallel in history.

When we mourn over the misfortunes of Montezuma, recall the commendations we have read of his character, of his mildness and amenity, his excellent discourses with the blood-reeking Christian Conquestador, the redoubtable butcher of the Mexican people, Ferdinand Cortes, and wonder how the divine retribution was stayed, and that the murderous career of the Spaniards was one of triumph throughout Mexico, from first to last;—let us also reflect on the terrible crimes committed in this barbarous nation against humanity, the crimes of the most sanguinary superstition which this world ever saw, or, at least, that has been recorded in its annals. The atrocities of this superstition called for vengeance, and it pleased Heaven to make ruthless men, professing to be Christians, merciless men of great prowess and ability, like the Spanish Cortes, the ministers of it.

And yet this Mexican religion was not degraded and debased by such obscenities as disgraced the rites of paganism in Greece and Rome.

MEXICAN SHRINES AND ALTARS.

The lips of the Mexican idols were daubed with the blood of human victims, but their ears and eyes, of stone and wood, were spared the indecencies which were spoken and acted in honour of some of the divinities of the polished people of the two most celebrated nations of ancient Europe.* The Mexican altars—stones for human sacrifices well deserve the attention of Celtic antiquarians.

Those large flat stones, about a man's length, were laid in a horizontal position, but sloping downward, and resting usually at the distance from the ground of from three to five feet: such were the *cromlecs* of Mexico. The following passage is taken ver-

* The Eleusinian festivals in honour of Venus, the games in honour of Cybele, Flora, and Bacchus, the nuptial ceremonies in honour of another deity, rites of various kinds in honour of incestuous and adulterous divinities, are those referred to.

batim from Clavigero's work, descriptive of the stones on which the Mexican priests sacrificed their victims, and of the process pursued by them on such occasions.

“In general the victims suffered death by having their breasts opened; but others were drowned in the lake, others died of hunger, shut up in caverns of the mountains, and, lastly, some fell in the gladiatorial sacrifice. The customary place was the temple, in the upper area of which stood the altar destined for ordinary sacrifices. The altar of the greater temple of Mexico was a green stone (probably jasper), convex above, and about three feet high, and as many broad, and more than five feet long. The usual ministers of the sacrifice were six priests, the chief of whom was the Sophiltzin, whose dignity was pre-eminent and hereditary; but at every sacrifice he assumed the name of that god to whom it was made. For the performance of this function he was clothed in a red habit, similar in make to the scapulary of the moderns, fringed with cotton; on his head he wore a crown of green and yellow feathers, at his ears hung golden ear-rings and green jewels (perhaps emeralds), and at his underlip a pendant of turquoise. The other five ministers were dressed in white habits of the same make, but embroidered with black; their hair was wrapped up, their heads were bound with leathern thongs, their foreheads armed with little shields of paper painted of various colours, and their bodies dyed all over black. These barbarous ministers carried the victim entirely naked to the upper area of the temple, and after having pointed out to the bystanders the idol to whom the sacrifice was made, that they might pay their adoration to it, extended him upon the altar, four priests held his legs and arms, and another kept his head firm with a wooden instrument made in the form of a coiled serpent, which was put about his neck; and on account of the altar being convex, the body of the victim lay arched, the breast and belly being raised up, and totally prevented from the least movement. The inhuman Topiltzin then approached, and, with a cutting knife made of flint, dexterously opened his breast and tore out his heart, which, while yet palpitating, he offered to the sun, and afterwards threw it at the feet of the idol; then taking it up

again, he offered it to the idol itself, and afterwards burned it, preserving the ashes with the utmost veneration. If the idol was gigantic and hollow, it was usual to introduce the heart of the victim into its mouth with a golden spoon. It was customary also to anoint the lips of the idol and the cornices of the door of the sanctuary with the victim's blood. If he was a prisoner of war, as soon as he was sacrificed they cut off his head to preserve the skull, and threw the body down the stairs to the lower area, where it was taken up by the officer or soldier to whom the prisoner had belonged, and carried to his house, to be boiled and dressed as an entertainment for his friends. If he was not a prisoner of war, but a slave purchased for a sacrifice, the proprietor carried off the carcase from the altar for the same purpose. They ate only the legs, thighs, and arms, and burned the rest, or preserved it for food to the wild beasts or birds of prey which were kept in the royal palaces." *

Clavigero relates, that in the fifth month of the Mexican year, a youth of an unblemished appearance was sacrificed with some very strange and peculiar rites.

If this description of sacrifice should be found to be practised in any part of the old world, and especially in a region lying nearly in the same latitude, and only separated from it by a sea that might be traversed in half the time it takes a sailing vessel to proceed from England to North America, if distance only were taken into account,—it would afford an additional argument for the belief, that the first inhabitants of Mexico and all the Indian nations to the south of it, though of Asiatic origin, had taken their departure for the other continent, from Africa, and had long been sojourners in that country.

After the procession of the priests and youths and virgins of the temples, bearing in triumph the idol of the great Mexican god, Tercatlipoca, at the festival of the fifth month, where the people, as the idol passed, kept kneeling, striking their backs with thick knotted cords, the sacrifice of the unblemished victim began.

"They selected," says Clavigero, "this victim a year before

* Clavigero's History of Mexico, vol. i. p. 278.

the festival, and during that whole time he was always dressed in a similar habit with the idol; he was permitted to go round the city, but always accompanied by a strong guard, and was adored everywhere as the living image of that supreme divinity. Twenty days before the festival, the youth married four beautiful girls, and on the five days preceding the festival they gave him sumptuous entertainments, and allowed him all the pleasures of life. On the day of the festival they led him with a numerous attendance to the temple of Tezcatlipoca, but before they came there, they dismissed his wives. He accompanied the idol in the procession; and when the hour of sacrifice was come, they stretched him upon the altar, and the high priest with great reverence opened his breast and pulled out his heart. His body was not, like the bodies of other victims, thrown down the stairs, but carried in the arms of the priests and beheaded at the bottom of the temple. His head was strung up in the Tzompantli, among the rest of the skulls of the victims which were sacrificed to Tezcatlipoca, and his legs and arms were dressed and prepared for the tables of the lords." *

In a report of mine on African Affairs, published in 1842,† I gave an account of a human sacrifice, which took place at Bonny, on the western coast of Africa, so remarkably analogous in the character of many of its leading circumstances to that which I have just referred to, and which Clavigero seems to consider of an exclusively Mexican usage, that it may not be amiss to notice here the African "sacrifice of the victim without spot or blemish."

In 1840, Captain Brown, master of the *Mary*, of Liverpool, informed me on the Gold Coast, "that on going on shore with some other captains at the river Bonny, during a long detention at that place for cargo, he and his companions were in the habit of seeing a little negro girl, about ten years of age, who had been brought down from the upper country, and placed under the charge of one of the natives at Bonny, previously to being sacri-

* Clavigero's History of Mexico, vol. i. p. 300.

† Report of Her Majesty's Commissioner of Inquiry on the State of the British Settlements on the Gold Coast, at Sierra Leone and the Gambia, and Foreign Slave Trading Factories on the Western Coast of Africa.

ficed by the Jujumen. The masters of the British vessels frequently saw the child, and were not ignorant of the intended sacrifice of it. This kind of sacrifice, it seems, is made once in each king's reign. The child must be without spot or blemish. If there is the slightest eruption on the skin, or the smallest scratch, the child is held unfit for sacrifice. Consequently the person placed in charge of the child was extremely careful to preserve it from hurt or injury, and in the present case seemed in the greatest alarm at all times, lest any accident should happen to it. The little girl was suffered to go about, in the mean time, to do whatever she liked, indulged and petted, and no one dared to punish or to contradict her. On the appointed day she was placed on a stage of planks across a canoe, and taken by some of the Bonny people over the bar of the river. The men in the canoe kept telling her they were going to send her to see her father and mother; and while engaging her attention in this manner, they slipped the stage on which the poor child was sitting into the sea, and, consigning her to the Fetish, they left her to go down. The people in the canoe then pulled ashore as fast as possible; and at the very time this atrocity was suffered to have been committed, a tremendous tornado set in, and the 'Dalhousie Castle,' a British vessel loading in the river, was totally wrecked on the bar.

"This event, coupled with the murder that preceded it, made a great sensation at the time. The Bonny men could not bear to speak of it, or to be spoken to of it; and the only reason given for this sacrifice was, that it was to do good to Bonny men."*

The funeral customs of the ancient Mexicans are of the highest interest, and throw no small light on similar practices in other countries widely separated, and now different in condition from the civilization of the ancient people of America.

The most authentic and exact account of those customs that is extant is probably that of the Abbot Clavigero.†

"Concerning the funeral rites and sepulchres of the Mexi-

* Madden's Report on the Western Coast of Africa, p. 38.

† Clavigero Abate Hist. Mex. lib. xvi. sect. 39. Translated by Cullen, 1807. vol. i. p. 332.

cans," he says—"However superstitious the Mexicans were in other matters, in the rites which they observed at funerals they exceeded themselves. As soon as any person died, certain masters of funeral ceremonies were called, who were generally men advanced in years. They cut a number of pieces of paper, with which they dressed the dead body, and took a glass of water, with which they sprinkled the head, saying that that was the water used in the time of their life. They then dressed it in a habit suitable to the rank, the wealth, and the circumstances attending the death of the party. If the deceased had been a warrior they clothed him in the habit of Huitzilopochtli; if a merchant, in that of Jacatuetli; if an artist, in that of the protecting god of his art or trade; one who had been drowned was dressed in the habit of Tlalot; one who had been executed for adultery, in that of Tlazolteotl; and a drunkard in the habit of Tezcatzoncatl, god of wine. In short, as Gomara has well observed, they wore more garments after they were dead than while they were living.

"With the habit they gave the dead a jug of water, which was to serve on the journey to the other world; and also, at successive different times, different pieces of paper, mentioning the use of each. On consigning the first piece to the dead, they said: 'By means of this you will pass without danger between the two mountains which fight against each other.' With the second they said: 'By means of this you will walk without obstruction along the road which is defended by the great serpent.' With the third: 'By this you will go securely through the place where there is the crocodile Xochitonal.' The fourth was a safe passport through the eight deserts; the fifth through the eight hills; and the sixth was given in order to pass without hurt through the sharp wind; for they pretended that it was necessary to pass through a place called Itzehecajan, where a wind blew so violently as to tear up rocks, and so sharp that it cut like a knife; on which account they burned all the habits which the deceased had worn during life, their arms, and some household goods, in order that the heat of this fire might defend them from the cold of that terrible wind.

“One of the chief and most ridiculous ceremonies at funerals was the killing a techichi, a domestic quadruped, which we have already mentioned, resembling a little dog, to accompany the deceased in their journey to the other world. They fixed a string about its neck, believing that necessary to enable it to pass the deep river of Chiahuapan, or New Waters. They buried the techichi, or burned it along with the body of its master, according to the kind of death of which he died. While the masters of the ceremonies were lighting up the fire in which the body was to be burned, the other priests kept singing in a melancholy strain. After burning the body, they gathered the ashes in an earthen pot, amongst which, according to the circumstances of the deceased, they put a gem of more or less value; which they said would serve him in place of a heart in the other world. They buried this earthen pot in a deep ditch, and fourscore days after made oblations of bread and wine over it.

“Such were the funeral rites of the common people; but at the death of kings, and that of lords, or persons of high rank, some peculiar forms were observed that are worthy to be mentioned. When the king fell sick, says Gomara, they put a mask on the idol of Huitzilopochtli, and also one on the idol of Tezcatlipoca, which they never took off until the king was either dead or recovered; but it is certain that the idol of Huitzilopochtli had always two masks, not one. As soon as a king of Mexico happened to die, his death was published in great form, and all the lords who resided at court, and also those who were but a little distant from it, were informed of the event, in order that they might be present at the funeral. In the meantime they laid the royal corpse upon beautiful curiously wrought mats which was attended and watched by his domestics. Upon the fourth or fifth day after, when the lords were arrived, who brought with them rich dresses, beautiful feathers, and slaves to be presented, to add to the pomp of the funeral, they clothed the corpse in fifteen or more very fine habits of cotton of various colours, ornamented it with gold, silver, and gems, hung an emerald at the under lip, which was to serve in place of a

heart, covered the face with a mask, and over the habits were placed the ensigns of that god in whose temple or area the ashes were to be buried. They cut off some of the hair, which, together with some more which had been cut off in the infancy of the king, they preserved in a little box, in order to perpetuate, as they said, the memory of the deceased. Upon the box they laid an image of the deceased, made of wood or of stone. Then they killed the slave who was his chaplain, who had had the care of his oratory, and all that belonged to the private worship of his gods, in order that he might serve him in the same office in the other world.

“The funeral procession came next, accompanied by all the relations of the deceased, the whole of the nobility, and the wives of the late king, who testified their sorrow by tears and other demonstrations of grief. The nobles carried a great standard of paper, and the royal arms and ensigns. The priests continued singing, but without any musical instrument. Upon their arrival at the lower area of the temple, the high-priest, together with their servants, came out to meet the royal corpse, which, without delay, they placed upon the funeral pile, which was prepared there for that purpose of odoriferous resinous woods, together with a large quantity of copal, and other aromatic substances. While the royal corpse, and all its habits, the arms and ensigns, were burning, they sacrificed at the bottom of the stairs of the temple a great number of slaves of those which belonged to the deceased, and also of those which had been presented by the lords. Along with the slaves they likewise sacrificed some of the irregularly formed men, whom the king had collected in his palaces for his entertainment, in order that they might give him the same pleasure in the other world; and for the same reason they used also to sacrifice some of his wives.* The number of the victims was proportioned to the

* Acosta says (lib. v. cap. 8) that at the funerals of lords all the members of his family were sacrificed. But this is grossly false, and in itself incredible; for had this been the case, the nobles of Mexico would have soon been exterminated. There is no record in the history of Mexico, that at the death of the king of Mexico any of his brothers were

grandeur of the funeral, and amounted sometimes, as several historians affirm, to two hundred. Among the other sacrifices, the techici was not omitted; they were firmly persuaded, that without such a guide it would be impossible to get through some dangerous ways which led to the other world.

“The day following, the ashes were gathered, and the teeth which remained entire; they sought carefully for the emerald which had been hung to the under-lip, and the whole were put into the box with the hair, and they deposited the box in the place destined for his sepulchre. The four following days they made oblations of eatables over the sepulchre; on the fifth, they sacrificed some slaves, and also some others on the twentieth, fortieth, sixtieth, and eightieth day after. From that time forward, they sacrificed no more human victims; but every year they celebrated the day of the funeral with sacrifices of rabbits, butterflies, quails, and other birds, and with oblations of bread, wine, copal flowers, and certain little reeds filled with aromatic substances, which they called acajetl. This anniversary was held for four years.

“The bodies of the dead were in general burned; they buried the bodies entire of those only who had been drowned, or had died of dropsy, and some other diseases; but what was the reason of these exceptions we know not.

“There was no fixed place for burials. Many ordered their ashes to be buried near to some temple or altar, some in the fields, and others in those sacred places of the mountains where sacrifices used to be made. The ashes of the kings and lords, were, for the most part, deposited in the towers of the temples,* especially in those of the greater temple. Close to Teotihuacan, where there were many temples, there were also innumerable sepulchres. The tombs of those whose bodies had been buried sacrificed, as this author would intimate. How is it possible they could practise such cruelty, when the new king was usually elected from among the brothers of the deceased?

* “Solis, in his History of the Conquest of Mexico, affirms, that the ashes of the kings were deposited in Chapoltepec; but this is false, and contradicts the report of the conqueror Cortes, whose panegyric he wrote, of Bernal Dias, and other eye-witnesses of the contrary.”

entire, agreeable to the testimony of the anonymous conqueror who saw them, were deep ditches, formed with stone and lime, within which they placed the bodies in a sitting posture upon *icpalli*, or low seats, together with the instruments of their art or profession. If it was the sepulchre of any military person, they laid a shield and sword by him ; if of a woman, a spindle, a weaver's shuttle, and a *xicalli*, which was a certain naturally formed vessel, of which we shall say more hereafter. In the tombs of the rich they put gold and jewels, but all were provided with eatables for the long journey which they had to make. The Spanish conquerors, knowing of the gold which was buried with the Mexican lords in their tombs, dug up several, and found considerable quantities of that precious metal. Cortes says in his letters, that at one entry which he made into the capital, when it was besieged by his army, his soldiers found fifteen hundred *castellanos*, that is, two hundred and forty ounces of gold, in one sepulchre, which was in the tower of a temple. The anonymous conqueror says also, that he was present at the digging up of another sepulchre, from which they took about three thousand *castellanos*.

“ The caves of the mountains were the sepulchres of the ancient Chechemecas ; but, as they grew more civilized, they adopted in this and other rites the customs of the Acolhuan nation, which were nearly the same with those of the Mexicans.

“ The Miztecas retained in part the ancient usage of the Chechemecas, but in some things they were singular in their customs. When any of their lords fell sick, they offered prayers, vows, and sacrifices for the recovery of his health. If he was restored, they made great rejoicings. If he died, they continued to speak of him as if he was still alive, and conducted one of his slaves to the corpse, dressed him in the habits of his master, put a mask upon his face, and for one whole day paid him all the honours which they had used to render to the deceased. At midnight, four priests carried the corpse to be buried in a wood, or in some cavern, particularly in that one where they believed the gate of paradise was, and at their return they sacrificed the slave, and laid him, with all the ornaments

of his transitory dignity, in a ditch, but without covering him with earth.

“Every year they held a festival in honour of their last lord, on which they celebrated his birth, not his death, for of it they never spoke.

“The Zapotecas, their neighbours, embalmed the body of the principal lord of their nation. Even from the time of the first Chechemecan kings aromatic preparations were in use among those nations to preserve dead bodies from speedy corruption; but we do not know that these were very frequent.”*

The funeral rites of the Mexicans are briefly noticed by Picard:—

“The Mexicans believed the immortality of the soul, and the eternity of rewards and punishments. They placed the mansion of the blessed near the sun. Among these happy souls, those were allowed the first places who had been killed in battle, or had been sacrificed to the gods. Prepossessed with the same notion as the ancients, especially the Greeks, that courage was the chief of all the virtues, and being persuaded that the sacrificing of men was the most heroic act of religion, it is no wonder that they ascribed the most supreme felicity to their heroes, and to those men who devoted their lives to please the gods. They assigned different mansions in the other world to the souls of the departed, according to their different deaths: as, for instance, still-born children did not reside with those who died of old age, nor such as died of sickness with those who were put to death for their crimes: and even with regard to the latter, parricides did not inhabit in the same mansion with the other kind of murderers. They established, as we see, different degrees of punishment; and, in all probability, different degrees of reward.

“Burials, and all funeral rites, were regulated by their priests. They generally buried their dead in their gardens, or houses, and commonly chose the court-yard for that purpose: they sometimes buried them in those places where they sacrificed to the

* Clavigero Abbate Hist. Mex. Chapter on Funeral Customs.

idols. In fine, they frequently burnt them, after which they buried their ashes in the temples, together with their moveables, their utensils, and all they thought might be useful to them in the next world. They used to sing at funerals, and even made feasts on those occasions; which custom, how ridiculous soever it may be, yet some Christian nations have not been able to prevail upon themselves to lay it aside. Above all, they buried their great lords in a very magnificent manner, and used to carry their bodies with great pomp and a numerous train into the temples. The priests walked first with their pans of copal, singing funeral hymns in a melancholy tone, accompanied with the hoarse and mournful sound of flutes. They lifted the body several times on high, whilst they were sacrificing those who were appointed to serve those illustrious dead. The domestics were put to death to keep their master's company. It was a testimony of great affection, but very common among the lawful wives, to solemnize by their deaths the funerals of their husbands. They buried a great quantity of gold and silver with the deceased for the expenses of his journey, which they imagined was long and troublesome. The common people imitated the grandees in proportion to their substance. The friends of the deceased came and made presents to him, and talked to him as though he were still living; the same ceremonies were practised whether they burned or buried their dead. We must not omit that they carried the achievements and trophies of the deceased, in case he were a man of quality; and that the priest who read the funeral service was dressed in those of the idol whom the nobleman represented. The funeral lasted ten days."*

The funeral customs of the Peruvians are thus spoken of by Picard :

“The Amautas made a distinction between the body and soul of man, ascribing immortality to the latter, but as for the former, they gave it no other name than animated earth. Moreover, experience taught them, that animals grow, and are indued with sensation; they therefore supposed them to be informed

* Picard, p. 755.

with a vegetative and sensitive soul, but not with a reasonable one. They were of opinion that there was another life after this, which would be happy for the good, but unhappy for the wicked, to reward the former, and punish the latter. Further, they divided the universe into three worlds; to the first, which was heaven, they gave the name of Hanan-Pacha, or the high-world, where the good receive the recompense of their virtues; the second Hurin-Pacha, or the low-world, because of generation and corruption; and the third Veu-Pacha, signifying the centre of the earth, or inferior world, where the wicked were to inhabit. They likewise gave the name of Cupaypa-Huacin to this last world, *i. e.* the devil's house: but they imagined that the life to come was a corporal one, similar to that which we pass upon earth, and made the repose of the higher world to consist in leading a life of tranquillity, free from the cares and anxieties of this; but then, on the other side, they affirmed, that the lower world, which we call hell, was filled with all those diseases and evils which afflicted mankind here below, without once enjoying the least interval of repose or contentment. They did not rank the sensual pleasures, nor the vices with which the soul is sullied, among the pleasures of the next life; but they made all happiness to consist in the tranquillity of both soul and body, which they placed in a state wholly unruffled with cares or troubles.

“The Incas also believed in a universal resurrection, but then their minds did not soar higher than this animal life, for which they said we were to rise, but without any expectation of either glory or misery. They were very careful of the parings of their nails, and the combings of their hair, or that which they cut off; these they laid in the crevices or holes of walls. If any of these excrescences happened at any time to fall to the ground, and were found by an Indian, he always took them up, and laid them where they were before. On being asked the cause of this superstitious custom, they said, ‘Do you know that all who are born here below are to live again in this world, and that the souls will come out of their graves with every thing that belonged to their bodies? In order, therefore, that we may not be put to a

great deal of trouble in hunting after our nails and hair, in the prodigious crowd and confusion of that day, we deposit them altogether, in order that we may be able to find them immediately; if possible, we would always spit in the same place.' Francisco Lopez de Gomara, speaking of the interment of the kings and great lords of Peru, says, when the Spaniards opened those graves, and scattered the bones they found in them up and down, the Indians besought them not to act in that manner, that they might not prevent their finding them at the day of judgment. Whence it is manifest that they believed in the resurrection of the body, and the immortality of the soul.

"The Peruvians embalmed their dead bodies in such a manner as not only preserved them from rottenness and corruption, but also made them grow prodigiously hard and callous. They used to embalm the bodies of their incas after this manner: whenever the inca, or any great man of the empire, happened to die, his wives and domestics used to offer to be put to death, in order to attend upon him in the other world; and there was sometimes such a crowd of them, that they were frequently obliged to dismiss the greater part of them. They carried the body to the place of interment on a kind of throne, supported by a sort of litter, which was followed by the wives and domestics of the deceased, with provisions necessary for their support in the next life. During the procession, one of the nearest relations of the deceased used to shoot some victuals into his mouth through a tube, like that through which children shoot their peas, being persuaded that it would be impossible for the deceased to undergo the fatigues of that journey without some such sustenance.

"After they had embalmed the bodies of the incas, they set them before the figure of the sun in the temple of Cusco, and there offered sacrifices to them, as to divine persons who were the children of the sun. The first month after the king's decease was spent in tears; the citizens wept all day long, and gave the highest testimonies of sorrow; the people of the several districts of Cusco used to assemble together, and carried the trophies, the banners, the weapons, the clothes of the inca, and

all things that were to be buried with him, by way of honouring his obsequies. Their complaints and wailings were intermixed with a recital of the victories the inca had gained, his remarkable achievements, and the grants he had made to those provinces where such and such persons, which they named, were born. The first month of mourning being expired, they renewed it every fortnight, every new moon, during the first year. In fine, they concluded it with all imaginable solemnity and the deepest lamentations; for which purpose they had certain hired mourners, who used to sing the virtues and achievements of the deceased in a melancholy tone. In this manner all the inhabitants of Cusco used to mourn. The incas of the blood-royal observed the same custom, excepting that it was performed with greater pomp and solemnity.

“The same custom was observed in all the other provinces of the empire, every great man giving the highest testimonies of his sorrow for the death of his sovereign. They visited all those places which the king had peculiarly distinguished, intermixing the recital of the favours which they had received with sobs and lamentations. They celebrated the memory of their cairacas and other great men after the same manner.”*

FUNERALS OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS.

“The primitive inhabitants of America,” says Muret, “always took a particular care to bury their dead, because they believed that on that ceremony depended the rest of the soul departed. They were all of them generally persuaded of the soul’s immortality, though to this truth (which nature taught them) they added a thousand fables of their own invention.

“They fancied almost as many different places for the dead, as there were different kinds of deaths, as well as different sorts of crimes. For example, they were of opinion that good and honest men, as those that had been killed in battles, or had devoted themselves to be a sacrifice in honour of their gods, went directly after their death to the house of the sun, which they placed near that luminary. This was the highest degree of

* Picard’s Religious Ceremonies, &c. pp. 768.

happiness among them. As for the wicked, they said that they remained here below on the earth, and were yet more unhappy there than they had been during their lives; that those who had been thieves were continually pursued by demons, that never left them at quiet. That the adulterous were scorched with the flames of their unlawful lusts; and though they had always many handsome women before their eyes, yet they were the only dead to whom it was forbidden to marry again in the other world, because they had indulged and given themselves too much liberty in this. That those who had killed their fathers, their wives, or children, were eternally slain by the same persons, and with the same kind of death wherewith they had formerly destroyed them; that they who had murdered their kings met after their death with a company of mad, riotous fellows, with whom they were fain to fight incessantly, giving and receiving large wounds continually, without having so much liberty as to lay down their arms for one moment, or stop the blood gushing out from all parts of their body. And finally, that those who had put any of their priests to death were perpetually praying to the gods, without any hope of ever being heard.

“Another opinion they had concerning those that died without having committed any crime, and who otherwise were neither good nor bad. If they were young children, who had lived but a short time, or died before they were weaned, they believed that they met with an invisible mansion upon earth, where they enjoyed that life they had been deprived of, and that there they attained to such an extreme old age, that they could no more tell their years. And if they were old men, their opinion was, that they began to grow young, as soon as they were arrived in the other world, and that at length they became so very young, that their former old age was by them wholly forgotten. If any died of a sudden death, they supposed him to go to a place where he was most delightfully surprised, and struck with a ravishing admiration, to see in that region every thing contrary to, or, at least, very different from what he had seen in this; in the admiring of which strange and agreeable metamorphosis he

was employed to eternity. And lastly, if any were drowned, they fancied him to pass from the water into a dry place, where he immediately voided the water he had let down, and where he was no more in danger of meeting with the same misfortune, the gods having taken care to leave neither sea, river, brook, nor any spring there, lest the sight of water should occasion any trouble to them who had miscarried thereby.

“They had also several ways of decking their dead, which were generally very rich and pompous, and suitable to the place or office they had discharged, or to that which in their life-time they were most taken with. For example, they put upon their priests the ornaments of the idols they had ministered unto. Courtiers they arrayed in such a garb as their prince most affected, and apparelled the common sort in such an habit as was most agreeable to the condition, trade, or fancy of every one of them. These were their ordinary ways of dressing the corpse. But they had others which were extraordinary, wherewith they set forth the bodies of debauched and wicked fellows; for they clothed drunkards in the habit of Ometochtli, the god of wine; and adulterers in that of Tlaxolteutl, the god of lust. They had also particular manners of apparelling those that perished by shipwreck or in battle, dressing the former like to Tlacot, the god of water; and the latter in the warlike ornaments of Vitzilopuchtli, the god of war.

“Nor was their mourning less different and various; it being more or less, according to the age of the party deceased; for they were extremely sorrowful for the death of their children, and almost not at all concerned for the departure of aged persons; insomuch that as they spared nothing to take care of the nourishment and education of the one, so they did much neglect the other. And what I find most remarkable therein is this, that their mourning for children was not only very long, but universal also, they being generally bemoaned by the whole city or town in which they were born. On the day of their death, nobody durst come nigh their parents or nearest relations, who carried themselves like furious and mad people, and made a most dreadful noise within their houses, howling and crying

like persons in despair, plucking off their hair, biting, scratching, and tearing their flesh. On the next day they flung themselves down upon their beds, and bathed them with their own tears. On the third day they began their lamentations, which continued the whole year; during which time neither the father nor mother of the child ever washed themselves; and the rest of the whole city, to condole with them for their loss, did weep three times a day, till the corpse was carried to the grave.

“As concerning their mourning for others, it was regulated according to the number of years they had lived; lasting eleven months, if the party had lived but five years; ten, if he had lived ten years; nine, if fifteen; eight, if he had attained to twenty years of age; seven, if twenty-five; six, if thirty; five, if thirty-five; four, if forty; three, if he was above forty-five; two, if he passed fifty; one only, if he was sixty; and, as I have said before, they scarcely mourned at all for such as were very old and decrepid.

“Most commonly they buried the dead; and some of them placed them sitting upright in their graves, leaving with them some water, bread, salt, and fruits, together with the weapons they used in their lifetime. Others shut them up in most rich and curious coffins, whereof some have been found at Cusco, in Peru, of the value of above sixty-five thousand golden ducats. Others did bury them after a plain and simple manner, and erected on their graves four pillars (in the form of a gallows) whereon they hanged their arms, crests, and plumes of feathers, together with a great number of flagons of wine and several sorts of meats. Others, after having let the body lie in the ground for the space of a whole year, at the end thereof took it up out of the grave, and paid a duty or service to it, which was so much the more ridiculous, because it was made of weeping and laughter. And not to speak of other barbarous ceremonies which attended it, they first began these obsequies with songs, that contained a relation of the whole life of the dead, which were oft interrupted with the doleful noise of wailing and lamentations. After which they sat down to eat the provisions they had brought along with them; and having thus feasted themselves,

they rose and danced a kind of jig round the corpse, which they concluded with huge cries, roaring out as loud as ever they could, stamping their feet against the ground, and lifting their eyes towards heaven. At last they burnt the bones of the deceased, and gave his head to his widow, or nearest relation, that they might keep the same as a relic.

“ And for the souls, they believed that they retired themselves into a pleasant and plentiful region, where they ate the best meats and drank the most delicious liquors ; they also fancied that these souls were the echoes that answer people when they cry or speak aloud.

“ Nor ought we here to omit some other ceremonies of theirs, which are no less curious and observable. Those among them that considered their physicians as petty gods, because of their procuring and preserving of health (which of all temporal blessings is the greatest), that they might show them a proportionable honour at their death, did not bury them as others, but burnt them publicly with solemn rejoicings ; men and women confusedly singing and dancing together round about the fire ; and when the bones were burnt to ashes, every one endeavoured to get some part of them, to carry to his own house, which they afterwards drunk in wine, as an antidote against all manner of diseases. Now, though these ashes did, by the law of the country, belong to the relict, or other nearest relations of the deceased, to the end they might by drinking the same, preserve his skill and knowledge in their family ; yet they, for the most part, had much ado to save them from the rabble, especially if the physician had been a person of great repute for curing of diseases ; for as every one does naturally love his health, they believing that this was an infallible remedy to preserve it, we need not wonder that they used their utmost endeavour to procure some of these relics, which they often snatched by force out of the hands of his kindred and relations.

“ Neither was this custom of drinking the ashes of their dead physicians, so peculiar to the inhabitants of Panuco, for I find that a like ceremony was commonly used in the country of Venezuela, at the death of all manner of persons, whose bodies

they generally roasted, cut them out into small pieces, and then brayed them till they came to the consistence of a thick jelly, which they dissolved in wine, and drank with great pleasure ; this being accounted the most delicious drink among them, who fancied they could never make any splendid entertainment, but when they had some of this high cordial to render it complete. Whence it was, that all the grief they had conceived from the death of their relations was soon washed away by the delight they took in drinking the remainder of their bodies.

“The custom of the people of Florida seems somewhat more civil, though full of superstition ; who keep the bodies of all their dead friends within their houses, fearing that if they should come to lose one of those relics only, some great mischief or other would befall them. As soon as any one is dead among them, they place his corpse near a great fire, turning it from time to time, to the end it may be well dried ; and when it is thoroughly dried, and the flesh become stiff and hard, they deck it the most gorgeously they can, not sparing any thing that is costly or curious, as cloth of gold, plumes of feathers, and precious stones, to set it forth, and then enshrine it in a niche or hollow made in the wall for that purpose ; which they look upon as the greatest ornament of their houses ; those being reckoned the finest and most richly furnished, that have the longest rows of these mummies ; with which also they often entertain several discourses, recounting all that they know of the deceased. And so great a comfort is the presence of these objects to them, that it soon makes their mourning to cease ; for by having their friends continually before their eyes, they can scarcely believe that they have lost them by death.

“Almost the same custom is used among the inhabitants of Nova Granada, especially towards the bodies of their great captains, whose mummies they carefully preserve, carrying them along with them in all their warlike expeditions, as being persuaded that they can never be vanquished whilst they have those relics in their company ; and if they chance to be so unfortunate as to lose the day, they attribute it to the injustice of their cause, and, with tears, beg pardon of the corpse of their

general for the shame they have exposed him to. But when they prove victorious, they offer many sacrifices to him, in acknowledgment of his aid and assistance.

“And not to pass by the account of the burials of their kings, I shall only mention those of Mexico and Mechuacan, which are the two most considerable and civilized countries in all America ; that thereby I may give the reader an idea of their most magnificent funeral pomps and obsequies. And first of Mexico.

“As soon as their king was fallen sick, they put a mask upon the face of their principal idol, and did not take it off till he was either dead or perfectly recovered. If he died they presently published a solemn mourning for him, not only in the city, but throughout the whole kingdom ; to every part of which expresses were sent, to give notice thereof, to the end that all manner of rejoicings might immediately cease. Upon which notice given, all the great lords repaired to court to attend his funerals : and in the mean time his corpse was well washed and embalmed. Now when the court was full and complete, and all the grandees were met together in the palace, the body of the prince was taken out of his usual bed, to be laid open to the sight of all, on a straw bed, in the midst of the hall : and this sad object, which drew tears from the eyes of all the standers-by, was in this manner exposed for the space of three days, during which time it was not lawful for any lord to absent himself from the place ; and to that purpose every one of them ordered their necessaries to be brought thither to them by their servants and vassals ; nor did they take any rest but in their chairs.

“Having thus attended and watched him, they put on his face the vizard of the idol, for which he always had the greatest devotion ; they stopped his mouth with a large emerald, and covered him with seventeen very rich carpets or coverings ; upon each of which the name of the idol, in whose temple he had chosen to be buried, was written. Then they cut a handful of his hair, which they laid up as a precious relic, saying, that the memory of his soul remained in that hair ; and sacrificed a slave to him, whose office it was, during his life, to light his lamps and burn

his perfumes ; that he might do him the same service in the other world.

“ Though, indeed, this human (or rather inhuman) sacrifice was not solitary, but was attended by an infinite number of others, that were never a whit less cruel ; yet this was the first of all that was slaughtered, to the end he might go before, and prepare all things for the reception of so great a prince ; for they believed that his soul did not depart this world till his body was burnt ; and that whilst they were making preparation for his funeral pomp, it stayed with the body, to observe if they punctually paid their duty to it. Upon which score they were careful not to omit the least circumstance thereof, for fear of being punished for it upon the spot.

“ This first sacrifice being over, some of the chief lords carried the corpse upon their shoulders, having round about them a multitude of others, who with feigned lamentations made a most dreadful noise ; for those that were appointed to weep were fain to do it, though never so much against their heart, unless they would incur the rigorous punishments that were by the law ordained in that case ; insomuch as they thought themselves very happy who could escape this office ; and to avoid all contents and disputes on that account, they before the funeral march begun to cast lots who should bear the corpse, who should weep, and which of them should carry his arms and presents ordained for him ; which last marched in great numbers at the head of the company, making a fine show of all sorts of arms in use amongst them, and those of the best that could be ; as bucklers, darts, arrows, bows, clubs, colours, plumes of feathers, and a thousand other things, no less beautiful and pleasing to the eye, than rich and precious.

“ In this order they approached the temple, where at the entrance of the yard, or court which compassed it, they were received by the high priest, who with the whole clergy attended there for that purpose, having aforehand prepared a large wood pile in the same place, which being kindled, and the high priest having with a mournful accent pronounced certain words over the corpse, commanded it to be cast into the fire, where, whilst

it was consuming, the whole nobility drew near in the same order in which they came, and threw their presents into it. In the mean time the priests were not idle on their part, being employed in butchering two hundred slaves, both men and women (most of them being designed for particular services of their sovereign in the other world), besides some dwarfs and jesters for their prince's diversion; the hearts of all which persons they flung into the fire, to the end that every one of those servants they sent to accompany their prince, by having their hearts burnt together with him, and their ashes mingled with his, might the more cordially be devoted to his service.

“These ashes they gathered the next day, and laid them up in a vaulted grot, all painted within, which after they had well closed, they placed upon it the embossed figure of their prince, that they might still, from time to time, offer the like sacrifices to him. For on the fourth day after his being burnt, they sacrificed fifteen slaves to him, in honour of the four seasons of the year, that he might always have them fair and pleasant in the other world. On the twentieth they sacrificed five others, that he might to all eternity enjoy the same strength and vigour which a man has at twenty years of age. On the sixtieth, three; that he might feel none of those three distempers that attend old age, viz.; weakness, cold, and dulness, or heaviness. And at the end of the year they sacrificed nine other slaves to him; that number being the most proper to express eternity, by reason that beyond it we still begin anew.

“As for the funerals of the king of Mechuacan, they were yet attended with more ceremonies. As soon as he felt himself sick to death, he declared his successor; and this new prince, in acknowledgment of it, did immediately thereupon give order for putting all things in a readiness to pay him his last duty in the most pompous and glorious manner imaginable. In pursuance whereof, he, as soon as the old king had given up the ghost, assembled all the nobility of the realm, and ordered them to bring rich presents along with them. The palace in the meantime was kept close shut all the while the corpse was embalming, which being done, they laid it upon a bed of state,

decked with all their usual ornaments, viz.: with feathers curiously stitched and plaited together upon a very fine linen shift (wherewith his back and breast were covered), a pair of kid leather shoes on his feet, a set of small golden bells a little beneath his knees, rings on his fingers, bracelets about his arms, a necklace of torquoise stones about his neck, and pendants in his ears. They also laid by him upon the same bed, on the one side of him, his bow and quiver full of arrows, and on the other side a puppet or baby, all covered with precious stones.

“All things being in this order, the gates of the palace were set wide open, and the nobility being entered, they all went and laid their hands upon the corpse, making very great lamentations; and having besprinkled it with sweet water, they set down upon the bed by him the presents they had brought along with them.

“In the mean time all sorts of officers were provided and made ready to serve him in the other world; and among them seven young virgins, the most beautiful that could be found; one of which was appointed to keep all his jewels, another to be his cup-bearer, another to serve him with water to wash his hands, another to reach him the chamber-pot, another to be his cook, another to take care of his clothes, and last of all, another to be his laundress. And in order to the fitting of them for the service they were severally designed to, they bathed and washed them well, shaved off all their hair, fed them with variety of dainties for the space of many days, painted their bodies with a yellow colour, and adorned their heads with chaplets or garlands.

“On the day of the funeral solemnity, these poor wretches, together with all the rest designed for sacrifice, marched in procession before the corpse, some of them making a noise by clapping certain shells together, others playing upon instruments, some whistling, and others singing after their manner. The corpse was carried by the prince himself, who was immediately followed by the principal officers of the crown, and others of the king's family; next after them came the nobility, and last of all the common people.

“Neither did they begin their funeral march till twelve of

the clock at night; the blaze of many thousand burning torches supplying them with light, and the streets through which they were to pass being carefully swept and cleansed. As soon as they were come to the temple they went thrice round the wood pile; and then having laid the corpse upon, and put fire to it, they with a club knocked down all these poor unfortunate victims which were to accompany their prince into the other world, and to that end were in the same fire consumed with him. This fire lasted till daylight, and then they took up the ashes in a large blanket, in which they brought him to the gate of the temple, where two priests having consecrated them, a paste was made thereof, which they shaped into the fashion of a great human figure, adorning it with the most precious things they had, and afterwards buried it in a large hole or cave, all lined with mats; placing round about it, not only all manner of weapons, and several coffers full of treasure, but also great variety of all sorts of most dainty meats.

“In this ceremony they spent five whole days, during which all manner of commerce and trade ceased; none durst stir abroad, or be seen in the street, and it was prohibited to light a fire in any house but in the palace and temples. And as they accounted all those defiled who had touched either the dead body, or ashes, they were very scrupulous of coming nigh them till after they were purified. In a word, to make an end of this chapter, the greatest part of the nobility did both sleep and eat in the court of the temple all the time this solemnity lasted, expressing an extraordinary sadness and affliction in their countenances, without daring to speak a word.”*

Humboldt's account of Indian burial customs, and of the sepulchral caves of Atarnisse, affords much valuable information:—

“The further side of this rocky valley is thickly wooded. It is in this shady spot that the cave of the Atarnisse is situated; properly speaking, however, it is not a cave, but a vault formed by a far projecting and overhanging cliff,—a kind of bay hollowed out by the waters when formerly at this high level. This spot

* Muret, pp. 93, *et seq.*

is the grave of an extinct tribe. We counted about six hundred well-preserved skeletons, placed in as many baskets, formed of the stalks of palm-leaves. These baskets, called by the Indians *massires*, are a kind of square sack, varying in size according to the age of the deceased. Even new-born children have each their own massire. These skeletons are so perfect, that not a rib or a finger is wanting.

“The bones are prepared in three different ways: some are bleached, some dyed red with onoto, the pigment of the *bixa drellana*; others, like mummies, are anointed with fragrant resin, and wrapped in banana leaves.

“The Indians assured me that the corpse was buried during several months in a moist earth, which gradually destroyed the flesh; and that after being disinterred, any particles of flesh still adhering to the bones were scraped off with sharp stones. This practice is still continued among many tribes of Guiana. Besides these baskets or massires, we saw many urns of half-burnt clay, which appear to contain the bones of whole families. The largest of these urns are upwards of three feet in height and nearly six feet in length, of an elegant oval form, and greenish colour, with handles shaped like crocodiles and serpents, and the rims bordered with flowing scrolls and labyrinthine figures. These ornaments are precisely similar to those which cover the walls of the Mexican palace at Mitla. They are found in every clime and every stage of human culture,—among the Greeks and Romans, no less than on the shields of Otaheitans, and other South Sea islanders,—in all regions where a rhythmical repetition of regular forms delights the eye. The cause of these resemblances, as I have explained elsewhere, are rather to be referred to psychical conditions, and to the inner nature of our mental qualifications, than as affording evidence in favour of a common origin and the ancient intercourse of nations.

“Our interpreters could give us no certain information regarding the age of these vessels; but that of the skeletons did not in general appear to exceed a hundred years. There is a legend amongst the Guareke Indians, that the brave Atures, when closely pursued by the cannibal Caribs, took refuge on

the rock of the cataracts,—a mournful place of abode, in which this oppressed race perished, together with its language! In the most inaccessible portion of the bandal other graves of the same character are met with; indeed it is probable that the last descendants of the Atures did not become extinct until a much more recent period. There still lives, and it is a singular fact, an old parrot in Massures which cannot be understood, because, as the natives assert, it speaks the language of the Atures.*

“Climbing bignonia, fragrant vanillas, and golden-flowered banisterias, adorned the entrance of the cave, while the rustling palm-leaves waved over the resting-place of the dead.

“Thus pass away the generations of men!—thus perish the records of the glory of nations! Yet, when every emanation of the human mind has faded—when, in the storm of time, the monuments of man’s creative art are scattered to the dust—an ever-new life springs from the bosom of the earth. Unceasingly prolific nature unfolds her germs—regardless though sinful man, ever at war with himself, tramples beneath his foot the ripening fruit!”†

The religion and funeral rites of the Indians in Upper California are noticed in a remarkable account of “The Gold Washings of California,” recently published:—

“The Indians (I believe some writers have called them ‘root-diggers’) in the district where I am at present working, are a quiet, peaceable, and timorous race, and appear to me to be about the rudest and most uncultivated of all human beings. Their colour is of a dark copper; they are small of stature, the formation of the head and features evidencing them to be of Asiatic origin. They generally go armed with bows and arrows, but have a great dread of a white man and fire-arms. They go perfectly naked, except the women, who wear a very primitive covering, much like that of our first mother, and which is merely a small bunch of rushes, secured round the middle by a thong of the same frail material. They are very ill-featured (both sexes), although I have noticed a soft, agreeable expression of counte-

* Humboldt’s Views of Nature, pp. 171, 172.

† Idem. p. 173.

nance in some of the men. Their wigwams are circular holes, covered with branches of trees and plastered with mud.

“As regards their religion, it is difficult to form any exact idea. They have an idea of a good and evil spirit. The former is called ‘Puis’ in their language, and they say that the eagle (which abounds in the country) is his minister. The name of the evil spirit I could not comprehend, from their articulation being so imperfect, but they said that the fox was his minister. They direct no prayers to the good spirit, because they say that he will do them no harm; and all their supplications are made to the evil one. They have a very curious funeral rite, which is that of burning the body; and upon making inquiry why this was done, they said that the spirit of the deceased ascended to the sky in the smoke of the body.”*

Picard gives the following details of the funeral rites of some nations of the American Indians:—

FUNERAL CEREMONIES OF THE CANADIANS, MISSISSIPPIANS, ETC.

“They bury their dead with as much pomp as possible; they dress them, paint their faces and bodies with different colours, after which they lay them in coffins made of the bark of trees, the outside of which they make exceedingly smooth with light pumice-stones. They then set up a pallisade round the tomb, which is always raised seven or eight feet from the ground.

“They make entertainments for their dead, which are every way suitable to the circumstances that occasion them. Every thing is sad and mournful; the parents of the deceased keep a deep silence, and will not allow either dancing or singing. All the guests on these occasions make presents to the parents, which they throw at their feet, making at the same time a little compliment after their way; this, they say, is to cover him; that to make a hut for him, or to surround his grave with a palisade, &c.

“Their women wear a mourning habit for a year together, during which they are not allowed to take any diversion. The

* Letter from San Francisco, Upper California, July 2nd, 1849, in the *Times*.

father and brother of the deceased husband take care of the widow. La Hontan, on the contrary, relates, that widowhood among the Canadians lasts no longer than six months; during which time, if either of the surviving parties dream two nights together of the deceased husband or wife, they poison themselves with the utmost coolness and deliberation. But if the widower or widow dreams but once of the deceased, they say that the spirit of dreams was not very certain the deceased was unsatisfied with being in the region of souls, since he is but just gone thither, and does not dare to return again. They then think themselves no longer obliged to keep the deceased company; and indeed it is but just they should expect a second summons on such occasions; and though they were not to visit the deceased till after the tenth, it would still be acting a very friendly part.

“Several of these nations solemnize festivals in honour of the dead. They take their bones out of the graves, and convey them into others, having first adorned them with skins, and a kind of china necklace; all this, they say, is of use to comfort and relieve the deceased. These festivals are celebrated annually, but not on any fixed day. They send deputies to one another to solemnize these anniversaries. In a word, the North Americans perform very scrupulously whatever may reflect an honour on the memory of the deceased. They weep over their graves, they groan, say prayers, and make presents to the surviving relations, in order, they say, to dry up their tears. They have particular ceremonies for the children of those persons who are dear to them; they wrap their bodies in a skin painted with several colours, and afterwards carry them to the grave on a kind of sledge; but they do not make any presents to the relations of these children, but, on the contrary, have some gifts made to them, in order to dry their tears. The corpse is in general very well equipped, having new shoes on, a steel to strike fire with, an axe, china necklaces, a calumet, a great kettle, meat, tobacco, and an earthen vessel full of sagamite, or milk thickened with corn. If the deceased were a warrior, they dress him in a military habit, and give him his bow and arrows; the souls of the

latter never fail to follow their masters ; even those of all their utensils, not excepting the souls of their very kettles, which the warrior had made use of in his life-time, and are greatly delighted to serve him in a delicious country, which they say lies to the west of them, and is inhabited by immortal hunters ; for the only notion they have of this paradise is, that they shall hunt in it to all eternity.

“ When a savage dies, they dress him as handsomely as possible, and then the slaves of his relations come and bewail his death ; but the mothers, sisters, or brothers of the deceased do not discover the least token of sorrow. They say that he is very happy in being out of the reach of sufferings, for they believe that death is a passage to a better life. As soon as they have dressed the corpse, they seat it on a mat, as though he were living. His relations seat themselves round about him, after which they all make a speech to him ; they repeat to him all his noble exploits, and the glorious achievements of his ancestors, when the last who speaks addresses him as follows :— ‘ Thou art now,’ says the savage orator, ‘ sitting in the midst of us ; thou hast exactly the same shape as one of us ; thou neither wantest arms, a head, or legs ; nevertheless thou now ceasest to be, and dost begin to evaporate like the smoke of this pipe. Who was it that spoke to us two days ago ? It was not thou, otherwise thou wouldst still continue to speak ; it was therefore undoubtedly thy soul, that is now in the great region of souls, in company with those of our nation. Thy body which we see before us, will in six months be what it was two hundred years ago. Thou neither feelest nor seest any thing, since thou thyself art nothing ; nevertheless, because of the friendship which we had for thy body, when thy soul animated it, we bestow on thee these marks of our veneration, &c.’

“ These speeches ended, the male relations go out to make room for those of the other sex, who pay the same compliment to the corpse. They afterwards shut him up for twenty hours in the hut of the dead, during which they dance and have entertainments, although unsuitable to the occasion. The twenty hours expired, the slaves carry him on their shoulders to the place, where

they set him on stakes ten feet high, buried in a double coffin of bark, in which they lay his weapons, some tobacco, pipes, and Indian corn. As these slaves carry the corpse, the relations of both sexes accompany it all the way dancing, while other slaves load themselves with the baggage, which the relations present to the deceased, and lay upon his coffin. The savages of the Long River burn their bodies, keeping them first in little vaults, till there is a considerable number of them, when they burn them all together, which is done at some distance from the village, in a place appointed for that purpose. The savages have no mourning, and never make an especial mention of the dead, that is, they never call them by their names. They laugh at us whenever they hear us talk of the fate of our relations, kings, generals, &c.*

“Whenever a savage dies, his slaves marry other female slaves, and become free. They adopt the children that result from these marriages, and look upon them as the children of the nation, because they are born in their villages and country; nor is it just, they say, that they should labour under the same ill fate with their fathers, or be born slaves, since they themselves do no way conspire to their own begetting. The same slaves go daily and offer some pipes of tobacco at the foot of their master’s coffin, as a testimony of gratitude for their enfranchisement.

“La Potterie tells us, that whenever a child dies among the savages of Hudson’s Bay, the father or mother cuts off some of its hair, which they make up into a bundle like a doll, and set it in the finest part of their hut, together with their most valuable goods. The child’s mother mourns twenty days, and pours forth her grief to the friends of the family, who come and visit her. The husband makes an entertainment for them, gives them tobacco to smoke, and they in return make presents to him. The friends are obliged to eat every thing that is set before them, but the afflicted father does not touch a morsel, but satisfies himself with the smoke of his tobacco.

“The same author relates, that those who are present at the burial strip the body, which is their perquisite; and in case the

* Picard, pp. 775, 776.

deceased left nothing behind him, the relations are obliged to make up the deficiency. They mourn by not cutting off or greasing their hair ; by not taking the least care of their persons, and wearing nothing but tattered clothes. The parents wear mourning for their sons ; the sons mourn for their father, and the daughters for their mother."

The funeral rites of the Virginians are thus described by Picard :—

"The Virginians preserve religiously the bodies of their kings and of their chiefs, in the following manner. They first cut the skin all down the back, and take it off whole, if possible : they afterwards take the flesh from the bones, without hurting the nerves, to prevent the joints from disuniting ; they then dry the bones in the sun, which they afterwards set again in the skin, having first taken care to moisten it with oil or fat, which keeps it from rotting. After the bones are fixed in the skin in their proper places, they fill up the hollows very dexterously with very fine sand, and sew it up in such a manner, that the body appears as entire as if they had not taken the flesh from it. After the corpse has been prepared in this manner, they carry it into a place made for that purpose, and lay it upon a great piece of wood matted over, that is raised a little from the ground, which they cover over with a mat to keep it from the dust. They expose the flesh which they have taken from the body to the sun, by laying it on a hurdle ; and when it is thoroughly dried, they put it up into a basket sewed up very close, and set it at the feet of the corpse. They place an idol of Kiwasa in these sepulchres, which they say looks after those bodies. A priest watches day and night in this mausoleum by a lighted fire, and it is there he acquits himself of some pious duties, which he imagines affect the deceased in some measure. If he himself do not give credit to it, it is certain he imposes the belief of it upon the people.

"Private persons are not interred in the same manner, but are buried rather in deep graves, their bodies being wrapped up in skins or mats, which they afterwards set upon poles, together with the best of their effects, and cover the whole with earth. After the burial of the bodies, the women put their faces in

mourning ; for we may give this name to that colour with which they daub themselves, made of coal steeped in a certain quantity of oil, prepared for that purpose. In this condition they howl and mourn for four-and-twenty hours successively.

“ They believe the immortality of the soul, and that it will be either happy or unhappy after this life, according to its good or evil actions. Their hell is a great ditch, which they place at the extremity of the universe, where the sun sets. It is there the wicked souls are to burn without having the least mercy shewn them. Others say, that they hang between heaven and earth. They add, that the truth of these torments is confirmed to them by the dead themselves, who from time to time bring them an account of what passes in the other world, as they formerly did to us, and still do to this day, in some countries. They call this hell Popogusso. The Werowances and priests never fail of going into a paradise, which they also place towards that part where the sun sets, and behind the mountains. It is there that those happy souls rejoice to all eternity ; and in what should this rejoicing consist, but in their being crowned with feathers, in having their faces daubed over with certain odd colours, and in being peaceable possessors of certain trifles, the most considerable of which are pipes and tobacco, where they dance and sing with their ancestors. Such is the object of their immortality. The whole, indeed, is very trifling, and yet they exclude the common people from the advantages of it, and do not allow any but their priests and great men to enjoy the benefit of rising again after death.”*

THE FUNERAL RITES OF THE FLORIDA INDIANS, AND NOTIONS
WITH REGARD TO THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL.

“ The Floridan women are not satisfied with shedding tears at the king’s feet, to excite him to revenge the unhappy death of their husbands, but they weep and groan over their graves ; and as a last testimony of their conjugal affection, these disconsolate widows cut their hair quite off, and scatter it over them. Floridan women are not allowed to marry again till their hair be

* Picard, p. 785.

grown as long as it was before, that is, till it descends below their shoulders.

“ They inter their Paraoustis in the most magnificent manner possible. The sepulchre is surrounded with arrows, with the points fixed to the ground: over it is placed the cup, which the monarch made use of in his life-time. They spend three days in tears and fasting over the grave, by way of honouring his memory. The Paraoustis, his allies, bemoan his death with the same solemnity: they shave their heads as a testimony of their affection. Hired female mourners lament his death thrice every day, viz.: in the morning, at noon, and at night, for six months together. They burn every thing that belonged to him in his life-time, and observe the same ceremony at the death of their priests. They burn them in their houses, after which they set fire to the house, and everything that is in it. Purchas relates that the Floridans, after having burnt those sacred bodies, beat the bones to powder, and a year afterwards gave them to the near relations of the deceased to drink. The Floridans of those provinces which Ferdinand de Soto visited buried live slaves along with their monarchs, to wait upon them in the other world.

“ The inhabitants of Apalache embalm the bodies of their relations and deceased friends, and leave them almost three months in the balm. They are afterwards dried with aromatic drugs, wrapped up in rich furs, and laid in cedar coffins, which the relations keep for twelve moons at their own houses: they then carry it to the neighbouring forest, and bury it at the foot of a tree. But they shew a greater regard for the bodies of their Paraoustis; for they first embalm them, then dress them up with all their ornaments, and adorn them.

“ The savages of New Granada are as great friends to polygamy as any other Americans; but they do not marry out of those degrees of consanguinity which are forbidden by the law of nature; as, for instance, a brother never marries a sister. Their caciques have more wives than the common people; and the children of his best-beloved consort are the true and only heirs.

“They used formerly to bury their caciques with gold necklaces, adorned with emeralds : or buried whatever they possessed during their lives, not forgetting to set both victuals and drink near their bodies, in which particular they were imitated by their subjects.

“A wife sometimes followed her husband into the other world. In case a woman was to die while she was suckling her child, the infant was put to death after her, to prevent, say these Americans, its being left an orphan. They lay it to the breast of its deceased mother. They do not believe that any other souls are immortal but those of their great men.” . . .

The inhabitants of Campeche and New Granada appear to have a great respect for the devil.

“The person,” says Picard, “whom they commission to consult the oracle of the idol is seated, and the rest are standing. While the devil is expected, the magician makes much less noise : and the moment he appears, it ceases entirely, when the conjuror prostrates himself, and gives the signal for the homage that is to be paid him. This is the account which the old Spanish writers give of the ancient superstitions of the Americans, they being eye-witnesses to them. They add, that one day certain friars undertook to exorcise the priest who was raising the devil, and that by the power of the signs of the cross and holy water, which was wonderfully assisted by a stole that was put about the conjuror’s neck, he answered very penitently to all the questions which the friars put to the devil. Among other things, they asked him where the souls of the Indians would go after their death ? The answer he made was, ‘to hell.’

“Those who are designed for priests, are initiated in the priesthood from their infancy. They oblige those children to retire for two years to the most remote parts of the woods, where they are not allowed to feed upon any thing that has blood in it, or see any women ; but must forget their kindred, and are not allowed to stir out of their caverns. The old Piaias, which is the name of these Indian priests, visit and instruct them in the night. When the probation-time of these young candidates is expired, their Piaias give them a certificate, upon

which they are looked upon as licensed priests, and doctors in physic and magic."

THE FUNERAL RITES OF THE CARIBEES.

"Whenever a Caribee dies, they call all his relations together, to shew them that he died a natural death; and if only one of these should have escaped seeing the deceased, the united testimony of all the rest would not be sufficient to persuade him, that he died according to the common course of nature, but he would imagine they had all conspired his death, which he would think himself obliged to revenge, by killing some one or other of them. They lay the deceased in a well, which they dig in a corner of a carbet, or Caribee hut, about four feet in diameter, and six or seven deep. He is here laid all on a heap, his elbows on his knees, and the palms of his hands on his cheeks. He is painted red, with whiskers and black strokes of a richer dye than those commonly used, which are generally made of juniper. They bind his hair behind his head; his bow, his arrows, his club, and his knife lying by his side. They put him in sand knee-deep, which they only do to keep him fixed in that posture; for the sand does not come up as high as the top of the pit. After all the relations have examined the body, they fill up the hole.

"We may easily imagine that their mourning is whimsical enough. They first lay the corpse into the pit, then light a fire just by, when every one squats himself round about it. The men seat themselves behind the women, and invite them to weep, by giving them a tap on the arm: they then all roar and cry together, breaking out into long and repeated exclamations on the death of the deceased, at the same time asking him what made him die.

"They believe that the human body is inhabited with a variety of souls, and that the soul of the heart is immortal. They assign one soul to the head, which is the second in dignity. The others, they say, are seated in the joints and those parts of the body where a pulse is felt.

"The first is immortal, which after its leaving this world, goes

and inhabits another young, beautiful, newly-created body in the next. The other souls continue upon earth, and transmigrate into the bodies of beasts, or are changed into evil genii. They look upon this soul as a sensual being, which is necessitated to eat, drink, and divert itself in the next world: but then if we ask what places are the scenes of these pleasures? some of them will answer, that the soul will go into certain fortunate islands, where their enemies will be their slaves; and others, that it will be plunged up to the neck in a flood of pleasure.

“They have an infinite number of omens and superstitions, two of which only shall be mentioned. They pretend that bats are Chemens, whose office it is to watch during the night. They often preserve the hair or the bones of some of their deceased relations in a gourd-bottle, which they consult upon occasion; and their Boias make them believe that the spirit of the deceased acquaints them with the designs of their enemies.

OF THEIR PRIESTS AND DISCIPLINE, ETC.

“The Boias, who are the medico-priests of the Caribees, have each their particular genius, whom they pretend to conjure up by humming over certain words, and the smoke of tobacco. They never call upon this genius or demon but in the night time, and that, too, in a place where there is neither fire nor light. It is believed that these Boias are wizards, and have the secret of killing their enemies with charms which they employ against them.

“The old Boias make all their candidates to the priesthood pass through a very severe discipline: the novice is obliged from his infancy to abstain from several kinds of meats, and even to live upon bread and water in a little hut, where he is visited by nobody but his masters, who make incisions in his skin. But they do not stop here: they give him tobacco juice, which, as it acts upon him in a violent manner, frees him, they say, from all terrestrial uncleanness, and prepares his mind for the reception of the Chemen. They then rub his body over with gum, which they afterwards cover over with feathers, in order to make him exact and diligent in his consultations of the genii, and ready to

obey their orders. They teach him to cure the deceased, and to conjure up the spirit."*

Among the superstitions of the Senecca Indians, Sir H. Ellis relates the following: "When a maiden dies, they imprison a young bird until it first begins to try its power of song: and then, loading it with kisses and caresses, they loose its bonds over her grave, in the belief that it will not fold its wings nor close its eyes until it has flown to the spirit land, and delivered its precious burden of affection to the loved and lost. It is not unfrequent to see twenty or thirty loosed at once over one grave."

* Picard, p. 780.

APPENDIX.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS OF THE MONTENEGRINS OF SERVIA, MINGRELIANS, MODERN GREEKS, MUSCOVITES, LAPLANDERS, ARMENIANS, MARONITES, AND OTHER SYRIAN CHRISTIANS.

“Bis vetus eversum est Argivis Ilion Armis
Bis nova victores Grecia luget avos.
Maxima Trojanos retulit cum Roma nepotes :
Atque iterum imperium cum modo Turcus habet.”—I. C. SCAL.

— “Sic magna fuit censuque virisque,
Perque decem potuit tantum dare sanguinis annos,
Nunc humilis veteres tantummodo Troja ruinas,
Et pro divitiis tumulos ostendit avorum.”—OVID, *Met.* l. xv.

MONTENEGRINS OF SERVIA.

MONTENEGRO is bordered on three sides by the Turkish territory, and on the fourth by Albania.

The people in this district, though hemmed in for ages by the Turks, have maintained their religion (that of the Greek church) for several hundred years, probably with fewer changes than any other people of their persuasion in the Turkish empire.

Their patron saint is St. Basil, whose hermitage is about a mile from the monastery that bears his name. In this hermitage the patriarch, St. Basil, is said to have passed thirty years in penance and sanctity. The chapel adjoining the hermitage is cut out of the solid rock, and here the saint was buried ; and the Montenegrins affirm, his remains are buried in a coffin formed of the trunk of a cypress tree.

Pilgrims to this hermitage come from many distant countries to visit the shrine of St. Basil. The religion of the Montenegrins conforms more to that of Roman Catholics than that of the Greeks elsewhere. The Servian Greek ritual is what they profess to follow. They have the same sacraments, but not the same doctrines, as the Roman Catholics. They deny the validity, however, of baptism administered by the latter. They require converts to renounce the pope, the Catholic crucifix, and the

carved or sculptured images of their saint, and fasting on Saturdays. They have, however, their own crosses and representations of saints painted on boards. Their church has frequently influenced the fate of Europe. In 1333, Stephen, King of Servia, having conquered Bulgaria, caused himself to be proclaimed "Imperator Romanorum et Serviarum," and gave a Servian archbishop the title of patriarch; and the religion has continued distinct from that of both Greek and Latin churches since that time.

Mr. Jowett, in his "Christian Researches in Syria" (p. 194), cites the following passage from a work entitled "Voyage Historique et Politique a Montenegro, par M. le Colonel Vialla de Sommieres." Paris, 1820, tom. i. pp. 275-6.

"The mourning of the Montenegrins bears a great resemblance to that of the oriental nations. On the death of any one, nothing is heard but tears, cries, and groans, from the whole family; the women, in particular, beat themselves in a frightful manner, pluck off their hair, and tear their faces and bosoms. The deceased person is laid out for twenty-four hours, in the house where he expires, with the face uncovered, and is perfumed with essences and strewed with flowers and aromatic leaves, after the custom of the ancients. The lamentations are renewed every moment, particularly on the arrival of a fresh person, and especially of the priest. Just before the defunct is carried out of the house, his relations whisper in his ear, and give his commissions for the other world, to their departed relatives or friends. After these singular addresses, a pall or winding-sheet is thrown over the dead person, whose face continues uncovered, and he is carried to church: while on the road thither, women, hired for the purpose, chant his praises, amid their tears. Previously to depositing him in the ground, the next of kin tie a piece of cake to his neck, and put a piece of money in his hand, after the manner of the ancient Greeks. During this ceremony, as also while they are carrying him to the burial ground, a variety of apostrophes are addressed to the defunct, which are interrupted only by mournful sobs, asking why he quitted them? Why he abandoned his family? he whose poor wife loved him so tenderly, and provided every thing for him to eat! Whose children obeyed him with such respect, while his friends succoured him whenever he wanted assistance; who possessed such beautiful flocks, and all whose undertakings were blessed by heaven! When the funeral rites are performed, the curate and mourners return home, and partake of a grand entertainment, which is frequently interrupted by jovial songs, intermixed with prayers in honour of the deceased. One of the guests is commissioned

to chant 'a lament,' impromptu, which usually draws tears from the whole company. The performer is accompanied by three or four monochords, whose harsh discord excites both laughter and tears at the same time."

If we read the whole account of the Montenegro funeral customs, with the exception of the passage respecting the lacerations of the mourners (with a simple change of names and places, substituting for Montenegro, south and west of Ireland), we have a description of an Irish wake and funeral, which a Munster man or Connaught man could not fail to recognise.

From another source we have a still more detailed account of their funeral customs:—

"The idea of death does not produce the same awful sensations on the Montenegrins as on the people of other countries. They are wholly absorbed in sorrow at the thought of eternal separation from their relations and friends.

"When a Montenegrin dies, nothing is heard through the house but mourning and lamentation. The women, in particular, tear their hair and strike their bosoms in the most furious way imaginable. The corpse is kept in the house for twenty-four hours; the face is uncovered, and it is perfumed with essences, and strewed with flowers and aromatic shrubs, after the manner of the ancients. When the priest arrives, the lamentations of the family are redoubled; and when the corpse is about to be removed from the house, the relations whisper in its ear, giving it commissions to their departed friends in the other world. After these singular addresses, the corpse being lightly covered with a napkin, with the face exposed, is carried to church. On the way, women, who are hired for the purpose, sing songs, narrating the history of deceased's life.

. . . "As soon as the funeral is concluded, the curate and all the train of mourners return home, where a grand feast is prepared; Bacchanalian songs are sung, and prayers offered up in favour of the deceased. One of the guests makes an oration, which usually draws tears from the whole assembly. He is accompanied by three or four discordant monochords.

"The men of Montenegro allow their beards to grow, as a mark of mourning; the women cover their heads with a blue or black handkerchief, for the first year, after the death of a relative. The women invariably repair, on every festival day, to weep on the tomb of their husband or children, and to strew it with fresh-gathered flowers. If by chance they should omit doing so, they ask pardon of the deceased, and explain the reasons which prevented them from fulfilling this pious duty.

"Nowhere is the belief in ghosts, magicians, and evil spirits,

so inveterate as in Montenegro. The imaginations of the people are incessantly haunted with phantoms, dreams, and forebodings; but nothing can equal the terror with which they are inspired by the *brucolaques*, or bodies of excommunicated persons, which are cast away without burial. The ground where they lie is fatal ever after; no Montenegrin will venture to approach it; and if the spot should recur to their recollection, they fancy they are pursued by ghosts. Others imagine they see the shades of their forefathers hovering in the clouds above their heads; they speak to them in the silence of night, give them commissions to their deceased relatives, and think they are thus in open communication with the other world.

“When a Montenegrin dies from any unknown cause, whether he is supposed to have died a natural death, or to have fallen a victim to the vengeance of an enemy, his relations have him proclaimed in every part of the village where they reside, by three youths, whose business it is to discharge this office. It is only within a short period that the Montenegrins, and the Greeks in general, have been in the habit of allowing the dead to remain unburied for forty-eight hours. The following circumstance took place in 1813:—

“A man named Zanetto, returning home one evening in a state of intoxication, he threw himself on his bed, and was soon seized with horrible convulsions. He continued for some time perfectly motionless, and destitute of heat and respiration, and was naturally supposed to be dead. In carrying him to the church, it was necessary to proceed by a very uneven road, intersected with rocks and stones. The frequent jilting, occasioned by the irregular motion of the corpse-bearers, soon revived Zanetto, and starting up, he poured forth a volley of abuse on the afflicted mourners. The bearers immediately threw down the coffin and ran off, and the mourners fled to the neighbouring village, where the strange story filled the people with terror. The priests were the only persons who remained with the coffin, and were ignorant of the real cause of the confusion, until Zanetto thus addressed them:—‘Living demons, you shall account for this; carry me back instantly, or I’ll throw you into the hole that has been dug for me.’ The priests accordingly conveyed him back in his coffin, with all due humility and patience.”

MINGRELIAN FUNERAL CEREMONIES OF THE GREEK CHURCH.

“The mourning of the Mingrelians, according to the accounts of several travellers,” says Picard, “is like that of persons in the

* Nightingale’s Religious Ceremonies of all Nations, pp. 110—112.

very depth of despair, and consists not only in weeping, or rather howling, in honour of their dead, but also in shaving their beards and eyebrows. Moreover, when a wife loses her husband, or some near relation, she rends her clothes, strips herself naked to the waist, tears her hair, scarifies her body, and scratches her face all over. The men likewise behave nearly in the same manner, and are more or less violent, as necessity, inclination, or the circumstances of their mourning prompt them. This continues forty days, with a gradual diminution of their sorrow, as that term draws near to its expiration.

“On the ten first days, the relations and intimate friends and acquaintance meet constantly, to weep over the deceased. Their cries and howlings, their transports of sorrow, and their silence and serenity of mind, alternately succeed each other. On the last day they inter the corpse, on which occasion the Catholics put upon the breasts of those who die in the faith, a prayer or petition, in which they humbly beseech St. Peter to open the gate of heaven for them, and to admit of their entrance. This ceremony is sometimes performed even before they put them in their shrouds. On the fortieth day of their mourning, the Georgians have a funeral entertainment for the relations, friends, and acquaintance of the deceased, at which the men sit at one table, and the women at another. The bishop now reads a mass for the dead, and takes, for his fee or gratuity, every thing that was allotted to the service of the deceased.

“In some parts of Mingrelia, the natives, actuated by a barbarous kind of benevolence, remove the pillows from under the head of those persons who are at the point of death, and likewise every thing that can possibly support and sustain them, in order that they may be strangled, and delivered at once from all their sorrows. This custom is certainly suitable enough to a people, amongst whom, according to Tournefort, persons of the highest distinction think it a great honour to be public executioners; and where it is deemed a most glorious illustration of their pedigree to be able to enumerate a long train of such officers among their predecessors.”

MODERN GREEK FUNERAL RITES.

The funeral customs of the modern Greeks, as they prevailed at the commencement of the seventeenth century, are well and accurately described by Sandys. It will be seen by his account how much they retained of their ancient heathen usages and ceremonies. “Of old,” he observes, “the nearest in love or kindred laid their mouths upon the lips of the dying, to receive their last breath, and closed the eyes of the departing.

“Being dead, they washed their bodies with sweet oils, crowned them with garlands of flowers, and clothed them, as they now do, in their richest apparel; for fear, saith the scoffer Lucian, that they should take cold by the way, or be seen naked by Cerberus; decking their houses with branches of cypress, a tree destined to the dead, in that once being cut, it never reflowereth. So laying them upon their backs on beds, they conveyed them unto the funeral pile (as now unto the grave) on biers. But their lamentations are the same that they were, and beyond all civility. The women betimes in the morning do meet at appointed places, and then cry out mainly, beating their breasts, tearing their hair, their faces, and garments; and that the clamour may be the greater, they hire certain Jewish women—

———‘*Ficta pietate dolores
Mygdoniosque colunt, et non suâ sunera polrant.*’—STATIUS.

that have loudest voices, joining therewith the praises of the dead, from the hour of his nativity unto the hour of his dissolution, and keeping time with the melancholy music. The manner of their lamentings of old may appear by this ironical personating of father following the exequies of his son, introduced by Lucian: ‘O my sweet son! thou art lost, thou art dead; dead before thy day and hast left me behind, of men the most miserable! Not experienced in the pleasures of life, the comfort of children, warfare, husbandry; not attained to maturity; henceforth, O my son, thou shalt not eat, nor love, nor rejoice amongst thy equals.’ And although these Ethnick lamentations, reprovèd in the Scripture, were prohibited by the Athenian lawgiver, the civil law, and, lastly, by the Venetians within their Greek jurisdiction, yet still the Grecians do use them. Nor want they store of spectators, partly drawn hither to delight their eyes, and partly by jealousy; for then the choice and prime women of the city, if the deceased were of note, do assist their obsequies, with bosoms displayed and their hair dishevelled, glad that they have the occasion to manifest their beauties, which at other times are secluded from admirers. The ancient Greeks were wont to cut their locks, and cover the corpse therewith, before they committed it to the fire, as in the funeral of Patroclus.”*

“The ceremonies,” says Muret, “used by the modern Grecians, at the interment of monks, priests, laity, and particularly of women and children, are diverse, much differing one from another; for they strip the monks of their frock and cowl, and let their bodies lie naked, covered only with a hair-cloth, to show by their nakedness that they have lived in absolute and entire abnegation of the things of this world; and by the hair-cloth, that

* Sandys’ Travels, book i. p. 65.

their lives have been nothing else but penance and austerity. As for the priests, they apparel them with their own sacerdotal garments and ecclesiastical ornaments, thereby to represent the high excellency of their employment and dignity of their character. As for the lay people, they are, after their death, adorned with their richest clothes; and if they be such as have been magistrates, with their gowns and robes of state, as thinking they cannot be too neatly and handsomely dressed, being to appear in the presence of God. Their women are all covered with a long veil, which reacheth down from their head to their very feet; by this means to intimate the care women ought to take to hide themselves from the sight of all men, except their own husbands. Last of all, they apparel their children like angels, because they believe they are going to take their place amongst the number of those blessed spirits.

“They usually have three services for their departed friends; the first on the third, the second on the ninth, and the last on the fortieth day after their death; for the solemnizing of each they allege these reasons:—As first, for that on the third day the body does then begin to change,* and the face to lose its features and lineaments: and also, because our blessed Lord rose again on the third day. For that on the ninth, because the whole body by that time corrupts, putrifies, and becomes noisome, the heart only excepted. And lastly, for that on the fortieth the very heart doth then decay, there remaining nothing sound in the whole corpse besides the bones; and moreover, because our Lord ascended into heaven the fortieth day after his resurrection.

“These services consist in hymns, prayers, ceremonies, breathings or insufflations, and alms. Whilst the priests are singing, making every foot the sign of the cross, the deacon rehearseth some prayers, and at every turn breathes upon the offerings, begging of God that the departed soul may rest in peace. Now these offerings, which generally are of all sorts of pulse, and very good wine, are afterwards brought to the foot of the altar, and there distributed to the standers by. Lastly, they conclude these ceremonies with general alms and charities to all there present, that stand in need of them.

“Amongst the Muscovites, funerals are attended by daylight, it being neither usual nor lawful with them to carry the dead to their graves after sunset; for which custom they allege this reason, that it is not becoming at all to carry them in the dark, who are entered upon eternal light. As often as any one is dead amongst them, they contend one with another who shall

* Crus. in not. ad Turco-Græc.

bury him, as accounting that duty, not only for a work of mercy, but meritorious also.

“They do not consecrate their cemeteries, because, they say, that it belongs to the bodies anointed and sanctified by the Holy Ghost to consecrate the earth, and not to the earth to consecrate the bodies. Their clergy, together with the friends and relations of the departed, accompany the corpse towards the place of burial; whereof some are singing certain hymns and prayers, whilst others weep, and make great lamentation. They have besides, this particular custom, that they burn incense all along the way by which they carry the dead, some of the priests having censers in their hands for that purpose; for they believe that thereby the devils are put to flight, and frightened from approaching the dead. They also celebrate several masses for the rest of the departed souls, though they hold no purgatory, hoping that by means of these masses, and their prayers, God will grant to the deceased a better place in heaven than that which his merits could otherwise have procured for him. This being done, all the company sit down to eat rice-cakes in the church itself; and after this sober and simple repast, they arise and mutually embrace, and wish one another an eternal satiety and fulness of everlasting pleasures in the bosom of God.”*

A modern traveller thus speaks of

RUSSIAN BURIAL GROUNDS.

“These grounds are planted around with trees, and studded thick with wooden crosses, oratories, and other permanent marks of reverence. The general appearance of piety with which they are kept up, their sequestered situation apart from any town, the profound veneration with which they are saluted by the natives, added to the dark and sepulchral shade of the groves, lend them an interest with which the tinsel ornaments of more gorgeous cemeteries can in no degree compare.”

FUNERAL SOLEMNITIES OF THE RUSSIANS.

“The Russian funeral solemnities,” says Picard, “are as remarkable in all respects as their nuptial ceremonies. As soon as a sick person has expired, they send for the relations and friends of the deceased, who place themselves about the corpse, and weep over it if they can. There are women likewise who attend as mourners, and ask the deceased ‘What was the cause of his death? Were his circumstances narrow and perplexed?’

* Muret, Cer. Fun. pp. 234, *et seq.*

Did he want either the necessities or conveniences of life?' &c. The relatives of the deceased now make the priest a present of some strong beer, brandy, and metheglin, that he may pray for the repose of the soul of the deceased. In the next place, the corpse is well washed, dressed in clean linen, or wrapped in a shroud, and shod with Russian leather, and put into a coffin, the arms being laid over the stomach, in the form of a cross. The Russians make their coffins of the trunks of hollowed trees, and cover them with cloth, or, at least, with the great coat of the deceased. The corpse is not carried, however, to church, till it has been kept eight or ten days at home, if the season or circumstances of the deceased will admit of such a delay; for it is a received opinion, that the longer they stay in this world the better reception they will meet with in the next. The priest thurifies the corpse, and sprinkles it with holy water till the very day of its interment.

“The funeral procession is ranged or disposed in the following manner. A priest marches in the front, carrying the image of the particular saint who was made choice of as patron of the deceased, at the time he was baptised. Four young virgins, who are the nearest relations to the deceased, and the chief mourners, follow him; or, for want of such female friends, the same number of women are hired to attend, and to perform that melancholy office. After them comes the corpse, carried on the shoulders of six bearers. If the party deceased be a monk or a nun, the brothers or sisters of the convent to which they belonged perform this last friendly office for them. Several friends march on either side of the corpse, thurifying it, and singing as they go along, to drive away the evil spirits, and to prevent them from hovering round about it. The relations and friends bring up the rear, each having a wax-taper in his hand. As soon as they arrive at the grave, the coffin is uncovered, and the image of the deceased's favourite saint is laid over him, whilst the priest repeats some prayers suitable to the solemn occasion, or reads some particular passages out of the liturgy. After that, the relations and friends bid their last sad adieu, either by saluting the deceased himself, or the coffin in which he is interred. The priest, in the next place, comes close to his side, and puts a paper into his hand containing some prayers. This billet is a testimonial of the virtue and good actions of the deceased, or, at least, of his sincere repentance of all his sins. The priest always recommends the deceased to the favour and protection of St. Nicholas. To conclude, the coffin is nailed up and let down into the grave, the face of the deceased being turned towards the east. The friends and relations now take

their last farewell in unfeigned tears, or, at least, in seeming sorrow and concern, which are expressed by mourners who are hired for that purpose.

“The Russians frequently distribute money and provisions amongst the poor who hover round the grave; but it is a very common custom amongst them, according to Olearius, ‘*to drown their sorrow and affliction in metheglin and in brandy* ;’ and it too often happens that they get drunk on those occasions, in commemoration of their deceased friends.

“During their mourning, which continues forty days, they make three funeral entertainments, that is to say, on the third, the ninth, and the twentieth day after the interment. A priest, who is contracted with for that purpose, must spend some time in prayer for the consolation and repose of the soul of the deceased every night and morning, for forty days successively, in a tent, which is erected on that occasion over the grave of the deceased. They commemorate their dead likewise once a year.”

BURIAL CUSTOMS OF THE LAPLANDERS.

“Although great pains have been taken by the Danes and Swedes to inform the minds of the Laplanders on the subject of religion, yet the majority of them continue to practise superstitions and idolatries, as gross as any that are to be met with among Pagans. Augury and witchcraft are practised among them; and they have been considered by many of our modern traders as very skilful in magic and divination. They are professedly Christians of the Lutheran persuasion, but so superstitious, that if they meet any thing in the morning esteemed ominous, they return home, and do not stir out the whole day: they pray to their ancient idols for the increase and safety of their herds.

“Their magicians make use of what they call a drum, an instrument not very dissimilar to the tambourine. On this they draw the figures of their own gods, as well as those of Jesus Christ, the apostles, the sun, the moon, stars, birds, and rivers. On different parts of this instrument and its ornaments are placed small brass rings, which, when the drum is beaten with a little hammer, dance over the figures, and according to their progress, the sorcerer prognosticates. When he has gone through all his manœuvres, he informs his audience what they desire to know.

“These operations are generally performed for gain; and the northern ship masters are such dupes to the delusions of

these impostors, that they often purchase of them a magic cord, which contains a number of knots, by opening of which, according to the magician's directions, they expect to gain any wind they want.

"The Laplanders still retain the worship of many of the Teutonic gods, and have among them considerable remains of druidical institutions. They frequently sacrifice to the trunk of a tree, which they cut into something like a human face, as may be seen in many idols. They believe in the transmigration of the soul, and have festivals set apart for the worship of certain spirits, who, they imagine, inhabit the air, and have power over human actions; but being without form or substance, they assign to them neither images nor statues. They also follow the practice of *invoking the dead*.

"When a Laplander is supposed to be approaching his dissolution, his friends exhort him to die in the faith of Christ. They are, however, unwilling to attend him in his last moments; and, as soon as he expires, quit the place with the utmost precipitation, apprehending some injury from his ghost, which they believe remains in the corpse, and delights in doing mischief to the living.

"A Laplander's funeral is thus described by an eye-witness—'Coming to the house of the deceased, we saw the corpse taken from the bear-skins on which it lay, and removed into a wooden coffin by six of his most intimate friends, after being first wrapped in linen, the face and hands alone being bare.

"'In one hand they put a purse with some money, to pay the fee of the porter at the gate of paradise; in the other a certificate, signed by the priest, directed for St. Peter, to witness that the defunct was a good Christian, and deserved admission into heaven. At the head of the coffin was placed a picture of St. Nicholas, a saint greatly revered in all parts of Russia, on account of his supposed friendship for the dead. They also put into the coffin some brandy, dried fish, and venison, that he might not starve on the road.

"'This being done, they lighted some fir-tree roots, piled up at a convenient distance from the coffin, and then wept, howled, and exhibited a variety of strange gestures and contortions, expressive of the violence of their grief. When they were fatigued with noise and gesticulations, they made several processions round the corpse, asking the deceased why he died? whether he was angry with his wife? whether he was in want of food or raiment? if he had been unsuccessful in hunting and fishing? After these interrogatories, they renewed their howling.

One of the priests frequently sprinkled holy water on the corpse, as well as the mourners.'

"The sepulchre is no other than an old sledge, which is turned bottom upwards over the spot where the body lies buried. Before their conversion to Christianity, they used to place an axe, with a tinder-box, by the side of the corpse, if it was that of a man; and if a woman's, her scissars and needles, supposing that these implements might be of use to them in the other world. With the axe the deceased is supposed to hew down the bushes or boughs that may obstruct his passage to the other world; the tinder-box is for the purpose of striking a light, should he find himself in the dark at the day of judgment. For the first three years after the decease of a friend or relation, they were accustomed, from time to time, to dig holes by the side of the grave, and to deposit in them either a small quantity of tobacco, or something that the deceased was fondest of when living. They supposed that the felicity of a future state would consist in smoking, drinking brandy, &c., and that the rein-deer, and other animals, would be equal partakers of their joys."—NIGHTINGALE'S *Religious Ceremonies of All Nations*.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS OF THE ARMENIANS.

"When a child dies," we are told by Picart, "under nine years of age, prayers are offered up during eight days for the soul of the deceased: and the friends have to defray the expenses of the priest to whose care that act of devotion is entrusted. On the ninth day the solemn service for the soul is performed. Those who are pious and in good circumstances have a particular day set apart for the commemoration of their relations, and for the due celebration of all the requisite offices. It is a received custom amongst them to visit the monuments of the dead upon Easter Monday; at which time the men sigh and groan, but the women howl; and this they call the visible testimonies of their sorrow and concern. These sighs and groans of the men, and these howlings of the women, however, are soon over; and a more agreeable scene immediately succeeds; they all withdraw under the refreshing shade of some tree, where an entertainment alleviates their affliction: and the diversions of the afternoon are as excessive as their morning lamentations.

"However ridiculous these ceremonies may appear, the custom of commemorating the dead, described by Cornelius Le Brun, is far more reprehensible. He says, 'on the 26th of August, which is their Festival of the Cross, the women repair,

two or three hours before break of day, to the church-yard where the Christians are interred, and carry with them wood, coals, wax-tapers, and frankincense. After that, they kindle a fire near the monuments of their deceased friends and relations, upon which they set up lighted wax-tapers, and throw incense into the fire, making exclamations all the time. They now prostrate themselves likewise upon these tombs, embrace them, and bathe them with their tears. Those who are in good circumstances light up five or six large wax tapers round about them, and rend the air with their outcries. These monuments, at a distant view, very much resemble the ruins of a city laid waste by fire, amongst which the few surviving inhabitants are employed in making a strict search with their candles, in the dead of night, after their lost friends and relations, condoling with each other, and complaining of their dismal fate. Although the husbands for the most part stay at home, whilst the women are engaged in the performance of these funeral solemnities; yet some few will now and then attend, and likewise some priests, who pray for those that will pay them. These priests, in their sable habits, make an odd appearance amongst such a crowd of women, dressed all in white.

“At the interment of the dead, the women attend as well as the men. The priests and deacons sing all the way. The corpse is carried upon a kind of bier, by four or eight bearers, who relieve each other, if the place of interment be at any considerable distance. They make use of no coffin, but raise the head of the deceased as he lies in the grave. The priest now throws mould over the corpse, in the form of a cross, and all those who are present follow his example.”

FUNERAL CUSTOMS OF THE MARONITES.

“The Maronites,” says Sandys, “are Christians inhabiting mount Libanus: so called of Marona, a village adjoining, or of Maro, their abbot. They use the Chaldean tongue and Syrian character in holy matters. A limb they were of the Jacobites, and once subject to the Patriarch of Antioch; but won to the Roman church by John the Baptist, a Jesuit, in the days of Gregory the Thirteenth, who sent them a catechism printed at Rome in the Arabian language: so that now they do join with the Latins. An ignorant people, easily drawn to any religion, that could not give a reason for their own: poor in substance, and few in number.”*

* Sandys' Travels, p. 134.

Their customs now vary little from those of the other Syrian Christians.

Picart's account of their funeral usages, as far as it goes, is correct in all main points.

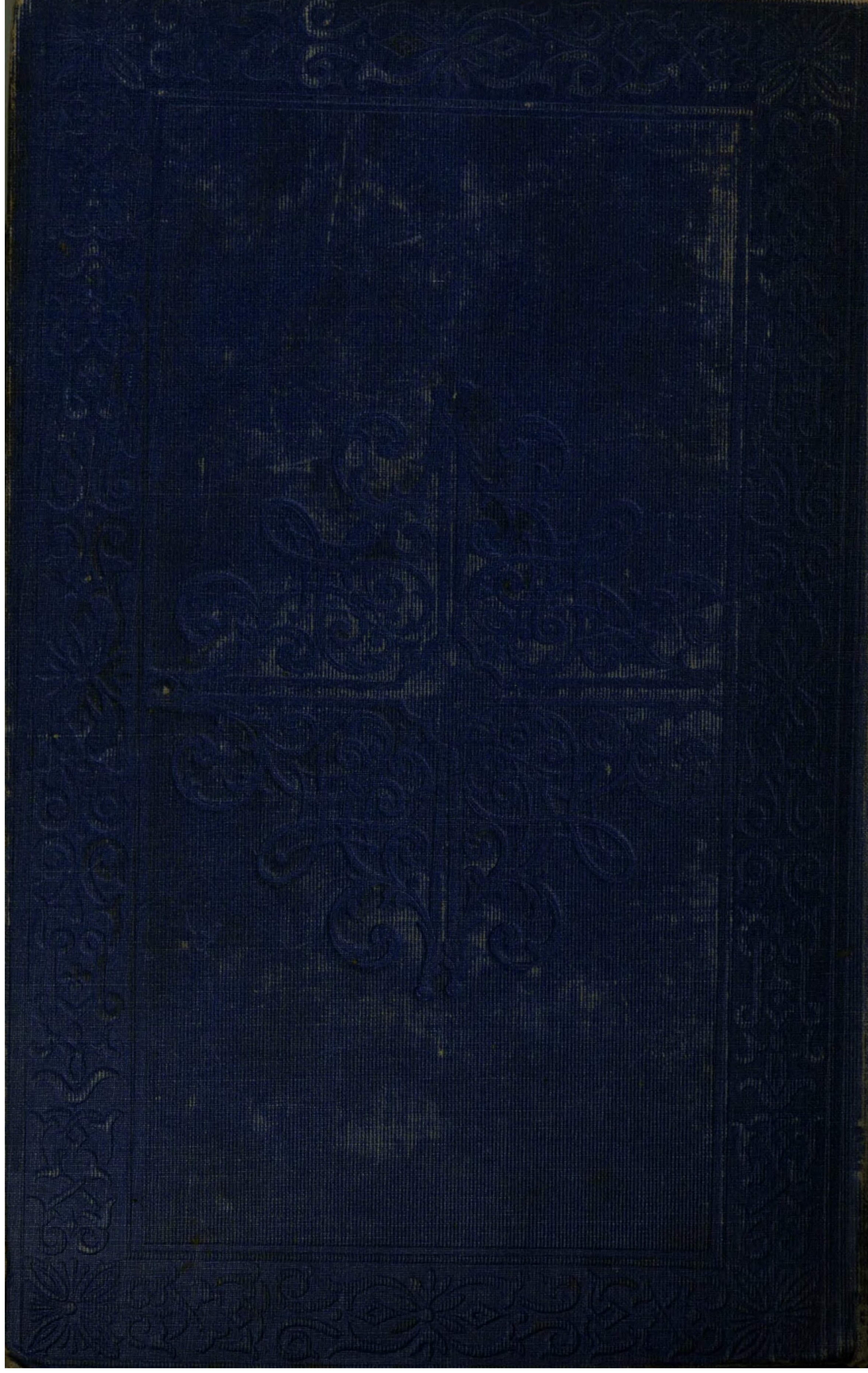
"The sick persons among the Maronites who are past recovery, are totally disregarded; for after administering the unction of the lamp, and having supplied them with a cross and a little incense, they let them expire without any further ceremony! They bemoan the loss of the dead, however, with outcries and hideous lamentations, accompanied with many contortions of the body and countenance. Besides this outward show, no provisions are, from a sense of decency, dressed, for a considerable time, at the house of the deceased. The relations and friends bring victuals and drink to the dwelling, and having eaten and drank with them, endeavour to alleviate the sorrows of the mourners.

"When a Christian dies at Bagdad, the neighbours assemble in order to perform his funeral obsequies. At their return from the place of interment, a handsome collation is always prepared for their refreshment at the house of the deceased, where every one is welcome without distinction, inasmuch, that sometimes a hundred and fifty, or more, appear at these funeral entertainments. The next day, the company meet in order to pray together over the grave of the deceased, which is likewise repeated on the third day; when there is another public entertainment provided for them, and in general the same welcome is given to all as before. These ceremonies are repeated on the seventh day, the fifteenth, the thirtieth, and the fortieth, after the decease.

"At Damascus the Christian women sing and weep over their dead. Thevenot saw a company of these female mourners, accompanied by two men with lighted candles in their hands, howling over the dead, and beating their breasts to express their sorrow. Every now and then they made a halt; then fell into a ring, and snapping their fingers, as if they were playing with castanets, danced and sung to the sound, whilst others kept time in hideous howlings. The ceremony concluded with mutual testimonies of respect; after which they departed, dancing and snapping their fingers as before. Nearly the same ceremonies are observed at Rama on similar occasions. Father Le Brun says, 'that they weep for about half an hour over the grave of their deceased friends; then rise and fall into a ring, as if they were going to dance the *brawls*.'—Two of them after this quit the ring, and planting themselves in the middle, there make a thousand grimaces, howling and clapping their hands. After

this frightful noise, they sit down to drown their sorrow in tears. All the female mourners that Le Brun saw relieved each other. Those who had finished went home, and others supplied their place. When these women stood up, in order to form themselves into a ring, they covered their heads with a black veil."

END OF VOL. I.



Madden, Richard Robert,

The Shrines and sepulchres of the old and new world records of pilgrimages
in many lands, and researches connected with the history of places
remarkable for memorials of the dead, or monuments of a sacred character;
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